



Lives of the
ROMAN EMPERORS
*From Suetonius to the
 Fall of the Empire*

London Printed for Charles Harper
 at the Flower de Luce over against St.
 Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet. 1698.

THE
L I V E S
 OF THE
Roman Emperors

FROM *A2*
DOMITIAN where *Suetonius* ends,
 to *Constantine the Great*.

Containing Those of
NERVA and **TRAJAN** from *Dion Cassius* :

A
Translation of the six writers
 of the *Augustean* History,

And Those of
DIOCLESIAN, and His Associates,
 from *Eusebius* and Others.

With the Heads of the Emperors in Copper Plates,
 A N D

A Chronology Running through the whole
 Time, being the Space of two hundred and ten Years.

Dedicated to His Most Sacred Majesty.

By **JOHN BERNARD, A. M.**

In Two Volumes.

London: Printed for Charles Harper, at the
 Flower de Luce over against St. Dunstan's Church in
 Fleetstreet. 1693.

EUROPE

TO THE
K I N G.

May it Please Your Most Excellent Majesty;

THESE Histories, Now first
Published in the *English*
Language, do most Hum-
bly beg to Offer themselves to the
Royal Patronage of Your Majesty;
whereunto they are Encouraged by
A 2 this

326878

The Dedication

this ; that in the Originals, to which there are Prefixed the Imperial Names of *Constantine the Great* and *Dioclesian*, They have been anciently Consecrated unto Princes, the most Glorious, and the most Invincible, Then, on Earth.

Your Majesty is the *Constantine* of This Age ; and by as Great a Hand, and as Peculiar a Happiness, and with as Immortal Glory, hath Rescued the Liberties of all *Europe* ; and more especially, the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this Church and Nation, as that Emperor did the Primitive Christians from the Powers of Paganism.

Nor could the Potentates, whose Lives are here Represented, find any where a more Illustrious Patron, and a Better Judge of their Great Actions,

To the KING.

Actions, than Your Majesty. Had Your Majesty swayed the *British* Scepter in those days, *Hadrian* and *Severus* had visited, as they Then did, Your Coasts ; but not to pretend to Conquests, but to Adore You.

Happy I! That I have this Opportunity of Presenting, with all Humility, a small Oblation to Your Majesty, as a Mark of my entire Fidelity and Affection to Your most Sacred Person and Government. The God of Arms hath Miraculously Acted for you against Your Enemies. And may He be pleased to Grant, that Your Majesty, supported ever by His Hand, may long Continue to Adorn, as You do, the Gloriously Crown, joyned with the best Church, in the World, by a Reign, which is so

A 3 infi-

The Dedication, &c.

Infinitely Worthy of the One and
the Other.

I am, with the most Profound
Veneration,

S I R,

Your MAJESTY'S

Most Humble,

Most obedient Servant,

and Most Faithful Subject,

John Bernard.

THE
P R E F A C E.

I Hope, it will appear, that there are many things in these Lives of that great Moment, and which are no where else in the World to be found, that This Publication of them will not be unacceptable to the Ingenious Reader. They are the most Authentick accounts of the Princes of whom they speak, that are Extant to us at this day. I had almost said, they are the very only Histories which we have of them. For Victor and Eutropius give us no Better than a few Sketches upon them. Herodian begins a great deal too late, and ends a great deal too soon for the Reigns of many of these Princes; and Dion Cassius Concludes his History with his own Consulship under Alexander Severus. Neither is Herodian, in what he says, much less the Imperfect Part of Dion Cassius, so Particular and

The Preface.

of that Latitude, as the Method is, that is taken by these Historians : and therefore whoever would inform himself, or the world, of the Lives and Actions of these Princes, he Unavoidably comes hither for his Materials ; and all that any of the Moderns have done, or can do, upon the same Subject, is, to gather from this Stock, and Glean from this Harvest.

This I presume is enough for me to say, to represent at once the Authority, and the Value of the Augustéan Historians. They were Persons, who were Employed upon what they did by the Command of the Emperors, to whom they Dedicate ; and I take that to be a very good reason to think, that they took all the care they could of their Performance, and that they had the Reputation in their own Age of being None of the worst Hands.

Yet it is very certain, that the Originals are strangely Coarse, and wonderfully Rugged. The Learned Salmasius, Casaubon, and Gruterus, but especially the two first, have bestowed incredible Pains upon them, to make them intelligible. The Text, and the Manuscripts out of which the Text hath been Printed, are all so very Vitious. But there is no Necessity, that I should Pub-
lish

The Preface.

lish here, all that I have observed as to those Matters. I must confess, it hath been a Work of no small difficulty to me to Translate them. So obscure and dark as they are in their own Language, it was almost impossible to make them shine in another. But yet when I observed, how very much these Lives have been long wanting to the Publick, and no Collections I thought out of them could be so satisfactory, nor comparable with the Original ; I was pleased, that I had chose the Part that would be the most beneficial to the Reader, although at the same time it was the most painful to me.

In what manner I have acquitted my self, I must leave it to his Candor, and to his Goodness to determine. I have endeavoured to make both the Language and the Story so Easie and so Natural, by the Liberty that I take, and which I think is no more than just, that whilst they are in the Original some of the difficultest Books in the World, he that Runs may Read them here, and there is no need of the least Notes to Explain any thing. I have for the most part given to Places the Modern Names, under which they are now known to us : except when it is inconsistent with the Modern Geography so to do, or when they are such Places, as have been long
Extinct,

The Preface.

Extinct, and we have no modern Names for them. Nor is the Reader to be surpris'd, if he should see the City of Byzantium called Constantinople, even before Constantine. This is a Solecism in point of time. But I stand not upon that, when I consider; that howsoever my Authors writ to the Ages long since past, yet I do translate them to my own.

There is a Question amongst the Criticks, but of not much more moment, than generally the Questions of those Gentlemen are; whether the several Persons, to whose Names these Lives are attributed as the Authors, were really the Authors of them or not; and whether Ælius Spartian and Ælius Lampridius be not the same Person under three Names; because Salmasius says, that in the Palatine Manuscript, all the Lives of the first Volume, contrary to the Example of other Manuscripts, and to the received Opinion, are attributed to the Name of Spartianus. Now, as to this, I need say no more, than that I cannot think, that Spartianus was the Author of all the first Volume, for this Reason; because the same Person would never have made so many Repetitions: And so it seems the most probable to me to be, that each Part was written by the Hand that it pretends to; but yet all, or however, most of them, written by a common Consent, and Undertaking of the Authors, one amongst another. One

The Preface.

One thing there is, wherein I crave the Liberty farther to speak my Opinion, as to the Praise of these Authors. The Acts which they have faithfully extracted out of the Journal of the Senate, and out of the Ulpian Library; the Bitter Exclamations of the Senate against the Memories of their evil Princes, and their Applauses of their good Ones; the Letters and Speeches which are Here, not as in other Historians invented, but all true Originals; These I say, I think, are such Beauties, as are not to be parallell'd out of the best of the Antients, that have ever writ the Roman History.

The Lives of Nerva and Trajan, I have translated from the Original Greek of Dion Cassius: He being the only Historian of the Antients, that are now extant, that hath them. And it was necessary that those Two Lives should be premised to the rest, to make the Line of the Roman Emperors perfect, from the end of Suetonius.

Where the Augustean Historians have themselves ended, I have been obliged to adjoyn a few Collections of my own, for the Lives of Dioclesian, Maximian; Constantius and Galerius: Because we have no antient Originals left us of those Emperors; and to end with Carinus, it was thought improper, it being

The Preface.

being no period; whereas the Addition of those Four, after him, brings down the Account entirely unto Constantine the Great.

To Regulate the better the whole, I have added a Chronology for the satisfaction of any who shall be pleased to turn to it.

The Extract out of the Learned Vossius, which follows, prevents me in the rest, that I might have to offer; it was done to my hand, by an ingenious Gentleman.

I shall only add, that after I had entirely finished this Translation, I received a French one, made about thirty Tears ago by the Abbé de Villeloin, a great Writer, who dedicates it to the French King; and, I observe, takes the Liberty to say, that it is the Tenth Book which he hath had the Honour to dedicate to him. It begins but with Hadrian, and ends with Carinus. I perused it, and compared Mine with it; and I shall be glad, if this may be something the better for that Labour.

These Historians have not affected to be eloquent, but they may the more be depended upon for the Truth.

THE

THE
L I V E S
OF THE
Roman Emperors
FROM
DOMITIAN where Suetonius ends,
TO
CONSTANTINE *the Great.*

V O L. I.

T H E
Lives in Vol. I.

Cocceius Nerva, } *By* Dio Cassius.
Trajan.

Hadrian, }
Ælius Verus Cæsar. } *By* Ælius Spartianus.

Antoninus Pius, }
Marcus Antoninus, } *By* Jul. Capitolinus.
Verus.

Avidius Cassius, *By* Volcatius Gallicanus.

Commodus, *By* Ælius Lampridius.

Pertinax, *By* Julius Capitolinus.

Didius Julianus, }
Severus, } *By* Ælius Spartianus.
Pescennius Niger.

Clodius Albinus, *By* Julius Capitolinus.

Caracalla, }
Geta, } *By* Ælius Spartianus.

Opilius Macrinus, *By* Julius Capitolinus.

Alexander Severus, }
Diadumenus, } *By* Ælius Lampridius.
Heliogabalus.

T H E



P. 1 Vol. 1.

Vol. I.

A. Christi
XCVII.

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
COCCEIUS NERVA.

BY
DIO CASSIUS.

Rom. Hist. Lib. 68.

VOL. I.

AFTER the Death of Domitian, the Senate set up Cocceius Nerva to succeed upon the Throne of the Empire of Rome.

The Statues of Domitian which were of Silver, and others which were of Gold, as he had

Domitian's Statues destroyed

many of both, were out of hatred to his Memory melted down: A great quantity of Money was made of them, and the many triumphal Arches were destroyed that had been erected to his Glory.

Persecution of the Christians remitted. Nerva remitted the Persecution which was raised against the Christians by Domitian, and pardon'd such as stood Condemned, and recalled home others that were fled. He put to Death all the Slaves and Servants, who had taken the Advantage of that Reign, by Informing, to seek the Lives of their Masters. He ordered, that that Rank of People should not be heard in any Accusation against their Masters at all. He ordered, that none should be Prosecuted for being either of the Religion of the Christians, or that of the Jews. But yet as he was a Prince who was slack in his Government, many Persons were notwithstanding upon the Accusations of Sycophants condemned, and particularly *Saras* a Philosopher, was one of this number.

In fine, the Correction which he took of the ill Ministers of the last Reign, and the Liberties which he gave in his own, were an occasion that the Mouths of all the People were opened against one another, till Rome was in a Mutiny; hereupon *Tirenta* the Consul said, *It is ill when a Prince ties up the People so, that there is no Liberty of any thing for any one; but yet a Liberty for every thing for every one is worse than none.* Nerva was made sensible of it, and gave Orders for the time to come, to redress it.

He

He was Old when he came to the Empire, and very weak and infirm. His Stomach seldom retain'd what he eat. He allowed no Statues of him to be set up either in Silver or Gold. All the Goods about the Court, belonging to such as had been injured by Domitian, he restored to the Owners. He gave Six Hundred *Sestertiums* to be laid out upon a Purchase of Land to be divided amongst the Poor of Rome, and he appointed some of the Senators to buy it, and to make the Distribution. His Coffers being empty, he sold a great many rich Robes, and Plate, and Furniture both of what was his own before his elevation, and of the Furniture Royal, several Estates also, and Houses, and in general, all things, except the Necessaries that he could not be without. He was not difficult in the Prices for which he sold them. He did a kindness to many in the Penny-worths that he gave them. He took away divers Sacrifices, Races of the *Cirque*, and other publick Shews to save Charges, and retrench his Expences as much as he could.

He assured the Senate upon his Oath, *That he never would be that Prince who should spill the Blood of any Senator.* Which Oath he kept, notwithstanding the Conspiracy afterwards form'd against him, which might well have provoked him to other Sentiments. He did nothing without the Counsel of the Great Men. He made several Laws. Amongst the rest, he made a Law, *To forbid the Gelding of any one for an Eunuch;* and another, *That no*

B 2

body

Moderation of Nerva.

body should Marry his Brother's, or his Sister's Daughter.

Makes
Viginius
his Col-
league.

He appointed *Virginus Rufus* to be the Consul in conjunction with himself, although *Virginus Rufus* was one, who when he commanded in *Germany*, and had overcome *Vindex* in the time of *Nero*, had been often importuned by the Army to take upon him the Empire, which he refused. In Honour whereof, it was written afterwards upon his Tomb when he died, That overthrowing *Vindex*, he had asserted the Empire, not to himself, but to his Country; whose Service, signifying, he had intirely regarded without any Ambition in it of his own.

Nerva comported himself in his Reign in that manner, that he sometime said, He had done nothing to make him think, but that he could resign the Empire, and lead a private Life again in Safety:

Conspira-
cy against
him.

Calphurnius Crassus of the famous Family of the *Crassi*, had with some others confederated in a Plot against him, which he was made acquainted with, to them unknown. He observed them, and placed them by his own Person at a Shew of the Combats of the *Gladiators* in the *Cirque*; where he took up the Weapons, as if it were only to see if they were sharp, as is usual, and then he gave them out of his Hand into the Hands of the Conspirators. What think you, says he, will not these do? Are they not sharp enough? He intended this as a secret Reflection to them of his knowledge of that Design of theirs, and at the

the same time he seemed to shew such a Neglect of his Life, as if he did not care tho' they killed him upon the place.

The Captain of the Guards under him was *Casperiuss Alianus*, who was the same before under *Domitian*. This Officer set the Soldiers against *Nerva*, and work'd them to a heighth, that they demanded the Heads of several that were about his Person, to which *Nerva* opposed himself so, that stripping bare his Bosom, and offering it bare to them in a Passion, says he, Take my Life, not theirs. However, this did not save them, for as many as *Casperiuss Alianus* had mark'd out, fell a Sacrifice to the Pleasure of the Guards.

The Age of *Nerva* was one thing which lost him much Respect. After this Action of the Guards, he went to the Capitol, and declared his Adoption of *Marcus Ulpius Trajan* with a loud Voice thus, He adopts Trajan.

Together with my hearty Wishes for the Prosperity of the Senate and People of Rome, and that what I do may be Happy to them and my self; I make *Marcus Ulpius Trajan* my Son.

Then he created him in the Senate his Caesar, which is the Title of a Person when he is chosen to succeed in the Empire; and having done this, he wrote to *Trajan*, who at that time commanded in *Germany*, with his own Hand, amongst other things a Greek Verse out of *Homer*,

Τίστιαι Δαναοὶ ὅμῃ δούρῃσιν ὅσῃσι βέλονται.

B 3

by

by which he seemed to signifie, that he left it to him to do him Justice; and to revenge him of that Mutiny of the Guards.

Thus *Trajan* was appointed to succeed to the Empire, even in preference to *Nerva's* own Relations; whereof there were some whom he might have so honoured, if he had not been a Man who regarded the Good of the Publick above the Consideration of his Blood. Nor did it incline him the less to what he did, to know, that *Trajan* was a Spaniard, neither an Italian, nor of Italian born Parents; and that no Alien, as he was, had ever possessed the Roman Empire before. For he considered, That it was the Worth and not the Countrey of any one that was the thing, which he ought to respect. After which *Nerva* died, having Reigned one Year, *His Death*, four Months, and nine Days: And lived sixty five Years, ten Months, and ten Days.

Dio Cassius, Lib. 67.

AS *Nerva* was a Person of very great Worth and Honour, he was offered the Empire before *Domitian* was killed, by the same Party, who to save their Lives, because they found that they were privately mark'd out for the Slaughter by *Domitian*, made themselves the Masters of the Life of that Prince. He was also as much under Danger from that Prince, as they, which made him the more easy to be persuaded to accept their Offer, and to run their hazards. For the Astrologers, with

with whom *Domitian* had advised about the Nativities of Great Men, had accused *Nerva* as one that was to be suspected of having an Eye upon the Empire. And as *Domitian* put several upon that account to Death, even of Men who perhaps never flattered themselves with those hopes, so he had put to Death *Nerva*, if it had not been for a kinder Astrologer than the rest, who to save him, said, That it was good to let him alone, in a few days he would die of himself.

That which above all things deserves to be admired, is, one *Larginus Proclus* had said publicly in Germany, that upon a certain day, which he named, *Domitian* should die; for which the Governour of the Province sent him up to Rome, where he was brought before *Domitian*, and still he continued to say the same thing. He was condemned for't, and to be executed the day after that *Domitian* had out-lived the Danger; but *Domitian* was killed upon that very day, and *Larginus Proclus* escaped, and received a Reward from *Nerva* of four thousand Crowns. *Proclus his Prognostication.*

Aur. Vict. Epitome.

NERVA was born at the City of *Narni*, which is under the States of the Church in Italy. Presently after he had accepted the Empire, there was a rumour, that *Domitian* was not killed, but living, and was coming to him, which put him into that Fright, that he changed colour, was struck Dumb, and could

B 4

scarce

scarce stand upon his Feet, till he was assured of the contrary again, and received a Confirmation of the Death of *Domitian*.

All the Punishment that he took of the Conspirator *Calphurnius Crassus* was, he banish'd him and his Wife to *Taranto* in *Naples*, for which the Senate blamed his Clemency.

When the Guards demanded the Heads of those who were so dear to him about his Person, the Passion which he was in was so great, that it cast him into a Vomiting and Loosness; they were dear to him for this reason, because as they were those who had taken off *Domitian*, so they were the Authors of the Election of himself to the Empire. His Body was interred in the Sepulchre of *Augustus*.

THE

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
Marcus Ulpius Trajan:

BY
DIO CASSIUS:

Rom. Hist. Lib. 68.

TRAJAN, before he was Emperor had a Dream, which seemed to tell him, that the Senate of *Rome* had Chose him, and Seal'd him, as it were for their own. A Person in the like Dress and Form of one, that in Picture the Senate is represented by, that is, in a Robe of State guarded with purple, a Vest purled with large Knaps

*Trajan's
Dream.*

Knaps of purple, a Crown upon his Head, a little elderly, came to him, he dream'd, and with a Seal which he had in a Ring, sealed him now on the right and now on the left Breast.

He wrote to the Senate after he was declared Emperor, several things with his own Hand, and amongst the rest, he assured them of this; That *the Blood of no Man, who was an honest Man, should ever be spilt by him, neither should he be touch'd in his Fortunes or Honour.* He assured them of this upon his Oath, and not only then, but he repeated the same to them at other times.

He punishes the old Mutineers.

He sent for *Alianus Casperius*, together with such of the Soldiers of the Guards, as had mutined against *Nerva*, as though it were upon some Business to employ them. But he did not suffer their Crime and the Murders which they had committed to pass unpunished, for he put them to Death.

When he came to *Rome* he altered several things for the greater Good of the Publick, and in the Favour of Persons who had deserved well. He shewed himself particularly careful of the Cities of *Italy*. He settled Alms and Pensions towards the Maintenance of Children of poor Families, and did a great deal of Good of that nature.

His Empress.

Plotina his Empress, at her first entrance into the Imperial Palace at *Rome*, turned herself upon the Steps to the People and said, *I go in here the same as I would wish my self to come out again;* and through her whole Reign she

she preserved her esteem with a Conduct which was without Reproach.

After some stay at *Rome*, *Trajan* undertook an Expedition against the People of *Dacia*; unto which he was provoked by the Proceedings of that People who had augmented their Forces, and were become insolent; the Money besides which was paid to them every Year, and with which the *Romans* bought their Obedience, was a Burthen, that *Trajan* was willing to throw off.

Decebalus the King of *Dacia* was sufficiently apprehensive of a War made upon him under the Conduct of a Prince so formidable. *The Dacian War.*

He was sensible that he had another Force, and another Person to deal with, than when he had overthrown *Domitian*. For *Trajan* was a Prince with whom the *Roman* State intirely accorded. A Prince that excelled in Justice, Gallantry and Integrity of Life: Strong in Body: In the Forty second Year of his Age when he began his Reign: In the full Maturity of his Mind: Past the Rashness of Youth, and not yet arrived to any thing of the feebleness of old Age. He was one, who envied no Man, and disobliged no Man. All such as he found were really deserving, he esteemed and preferred. The Estates of Men, no less than their Lives, remained untouched by him. If he spent much Money upon his Wars, he spent much also to adorn the Times of Peace. This is seen in the Roads, Ports, and publick Edifices which are his, and which are great and necessary Works. As he

was

His Inscr.
ption on
the Cirque

was by Nature of a Temper to appear in what he did, Great and Magnanimous; he rebuilt the *Cirque*, which was decay'd, much larger than it was before, and more Beautiful. He wrote an Inscription upon it to signify, that he had done it so, *so make it worthy to receive the People of Rome.* He desired rather to be loved than Adored. He was affable to the People, and respectful to the Senate. All loved him, None dreaded him but the Enemy. He Hunted, he Feasted with his Ministers, Visited their Offices, Jested with them: Many times sate amongst them in the fourth Place; came to their Houses without a Guard, and made his Conversation pleasant. Tho' he was not one who was studied in all Parts of Learning, yet he acquitted himself in that respect very well; every thing he did was Excellent. I know that he was given to love Boys, and to Drink; and had he been guilty of any thing in either respect that is Base, he would have been to be blamed. But in Drinking he went not to excess, and as to his love of the Boys, he forced or injured no one. He loved War; yet when he had adjusted Affairs, and weakened the Enemy, and increased his Alliances, he was satisfied. No such thing ever befel him, as is commonly happens to others that command Armies; that is, for the Soldiers to Mutiny and be Insolent. This was a Happiness owing to the Excellency of his Conduct, and therefore if the King of *Dacia* feared him, it was not without reason.

As

As he was upon his March against the Enemy, and near the place where they lay, some body had pretended to cut upon a large Mushroom, which was brought to him, with words in *Latin*, signifying, That others of his Allies, and particularly the *Byrrhi*, who bordered upon *Dacia*, advised him to make a Peace with the Enemy, and retire. But yet this did not hinder, but he began the Fight, in which many of the Enemy were killed, and many of his own Men were wounded; to bind up whose Wounds he did not spare to tear his own Cloaths into Rags for Binders to give them; and for others of his Men that were killed, he built an Altar, and ordered that there should be Sacrifices every Year offered thereupon in their Honour.

He fights
the Enemy.

He pursued his Blow, directing his March over the Hills and Mountains from one to another, not without great danger, till he came up to the Capital City of *Dacia*, whilst *Lucius* employed the Enemy on another side, and killed and took great Numbers of them.

Then *Decebalus* sent to *Trajan* to desire Peace, by some of his chief Officers, who coming into his Presence, laid down their Arms, and prostrated themselves upon the Ground before him, and said, That *Decebalus* did above all things covet the Honour to come and confer with him in Person, being ready on his Part to receive all his Commands. But if this was otherwise to be resolved on, he desired that some Persons might be sent to him with Powers to Treat a Peace. *Suras*, and *Clandius Livianus*, the

Decebalus
desires
Peace.

Decebalus
submits.

the Captain of the Guards, were sent from *Trajan* upon this Subject; who were met by others on the side of *Decebalus*. But nothing being concluded, because *Decebalus* refused to appear, *Trajan* took his Castles, and therein his Arms, Artillery and Stores, together with a Roman Standard which had been lost formerly under *Fuscus*. A Sister of *Decebalus* fell at the same time a Prisoner into the Hands of *Maximus*; and a strong Town in the Country was taken by the same. All which coming upon the heels of one another, *Decebalus* recollected himself again, and intirely complied with the Conditions that were offer'd him. He promised to deliver up his Arms, Artillery, the Artificers that made them, and the Deserters that had run over to him: To dismantle his Fortresses, retire from the Land that he had taken from his Neighbours, and have the same Friends and Enemies with the People of *Rome*: To entertain no Deserters, and to take no Soldiers into his Service, out of Places in the Dominions of the *Romans*; because most of his best Men were such, as he had inticed into his Service from thence. All which he promised, against his Mind, and being conducted to an Interview with *Trajan*, he threw himself upon the Ground and adored him.

He sent to the Senate of *Rome* his Embassadors, to have the same Peace confirmed from them, that he had made with *Trajan*. The Embassadors were introduced into the Senate, where they laid down their Arms upon the Ground, and standing before the

the Senate with their Hands within their Fingers, as if they were Captives, they spoke in Terms of great Submission to the Senate, who ratified the Peace, and then they took up their Arms again. *Warbel* the Capital City of *Dacia* received a Garrison of the *Romans*, and the rest of the Countrey being served accordingly, *Trajan* returned back to *Italy*.

He was received in Triumph, and the Title of the Conquerour of *Dacia* was given him, and inserted into his Stile. The Combats of the Gladiators, in which he delighted, and the diversions of the Stage in which *Pylades* was one that gained much of his Favour, were celebrated for his Entertainment. Though he was a Military Prince, he took never the less Care of the Civil Policy, and minded the Affairs of Peace and Justice. In the Forum of *Augustus*, or in the Portico of *Livia*, or in other Places, he many times assisted in Person at the Causes which were pleaded there.

In the mean time *Decebalus* could not persuade himself to keep the Conditions of the Peace which he had made. He proceeded to raise Men, provide Arms, entertain Deserters, re-fortify his Castles, and invite the Nations that were his Neighbours to joyn with him, to whom he represented; That if he was forsaken by them now, their own Ruine was the next thing to follow. It was easier, and the safest way for them, he said, to preserve their Liberties, by standing all by one another whilst they

Decebalus
renews the
War.

they might, for the Common Defence, than it would be to do this after Decebalus was ruined, which would open a Gap to the Enemy to devour them one by one. Pursuant to this, he began the War by falling upon such as had appear'd against him in the former War, and by possessing himself of a part of the Countrey of the *Fazyges*, which was upon the *Danube* towards *Dacia*.

Treachery
of Deceba-
lus defeat-
ed.

Hereupon the Senate declared *Decebalus* again an Enemy, and *Trajan* without committing the War to another, went in Person to reduce him a second time. He marched against him with an Army which *Decebalus* was in an ill Condition by fair Force to resist; but by Deceit and Treachery, he was within a little of effecting that, that he could not by his Arms. He sent Persons under the notion of Deserters into *Mesia* to assassinate him, as *Trajan* was always easie of access; but then more particularly upon the Incidents of the War, any one was admitted to speak to him. That which disappointed this Design was, one of the Conspirators was taken up on suspicion and put to the Torture, who confessed the whole Plot.

Longinus
trapan'd.

There was a Commander of a Legion in the Roman Army of great Skill, and who had often signalized himself in the Wars against *Dacia*, called *Longinus*; *Decebalus* found means by Treachery to get this Colonel into his hands, and then sent to *Trajan* to tell him, That upon Condition the Countrey as far as the *Danube*, might be restored to him, and that

that *Trajan* allowed him for the Charges of the War, he courted his Friendship, and would return *Longinus* again in safety. To which *Trajan* answered in a manner, that was to let him know, that he neither made a small, nor yet such a high Account of the Life of *Longinus*, as to buy it too dear. In the mean time, whilst *Decebalus* was resolving with himself what more to do, *Longinus* found means to procure a quantity of Poyson by the help of a Servant, and he took it in the night and died.

Trajan built a Bridge over the *Danube*, for which I know not how I can sufficiently admire him. The other Works of his are very Magnificent, but this is above them all. It is a Bridge of Nineteen Arches, all of square Stone; the Height one Hundred and Fifty Foot above the Foundation; the Breadth Sixty Foot, and the Distance between each Arch one Hundred and Seventy Foot. How shall I admire the Charge that this cost, and which way also it was possible to Found it in a great River, and a difficult Water which hath an ozy Gravel at the bottom, when in the mean time there was no turning the Stream aside into another Chanel? The River is in other places double and treble the breadth, that it is here where this Bridge covers it. Here it is at the straightest, and therefore so much the more fit place for a Bridge; but yet the Account that I have given, makes it a pretty broad Passage here also. But that which I would chiefly observe from the Breadth of the River

*Trajan's
Bridge o-
ver the
Danube.*

in this and in other places is, that the broader and the more spacious a Flood it is as it comes hither, and the broader and the greater Compaſs that it challenges as it goes from hence, ſo much the deeper and the more rapid muſt it be where it is ſtreightned in its Courſe; and this muſt make it the more difficult to cover it with a Bridge, where it is ſo deep and ſo rapid. Certainly the Greatneſs of the Soul of *Trajan*, ſhews it ſelf in this Work; tho' it be of no uſe to us now, nor paſſable. The Peers are yet ſtanding, which look as if they were only built to ſhew, That *nothing is impoſſible to the Wit of Man*. The reaſon of *Trajan's* Building this Bridge was, to paſs his Forces with readineſs to the Succour of the *Romans* on the other ſide of the *Danube*, in caſe the *Barbarians* attack'd them at a time when the River was frozen up. *Hadrian* fearing on the contrary, that the *Barbarians* might ſometime Force the Paſſage of this Bridge, and give themſelves an eaſie deſcent by it into the Country of *Maſia*, demolished it, and broke down the Arches.

Trajan paſſing his Army over the *Danube* by this Bridge, made rather a ſafe than a quick War, and with time and difficulty finiſhed the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Dacia*. He ſignalized his Conduſt and his Gallantry in many things himſelf. The Soldiers by his Example were encouraged to contemn Danger, and acquit themſelves with Honour. Amongſt the reſt a Horſeman who was very much wounded, was brought out of a Fight to the

His Per-
ſonal Val-
lour.

the Surgeon to be dreſs'd; but perceiving that his Life was deſperate, and that his Wounds were uncurable, he quitted the Tent again before his Spirits fail'd him, and rejoyn'd the Battel, and died, fighting with great Bravery.

In fine, *Decebalus*, after his Capital City *Decebalus* was loſt, and his Country all taken, and him-ſelf in danger to be taken, killed himſelf. His Head was brought to *Rome*: *Dacia* was made a Province of the Empire, and *Trajan* planted it with Colonies of *Romans*. He had hid his Treasure in the Bed of the River *Iſtrig*, not far from *Warbel*. For he had made his Slaves turn the Water aſide another way, and into the Channel dig a Pit, in which he buried a great deal of Gold and Silver, and precious Things that could endure the Wet, which he covered with a heap of Stones and Earth, and then brought the River to run over them in its uſual Courſe again. He hid his Robes and other things of that nature, in Caves of the Earth, by the Hands of the ſame Slaves, who when they had done their Work, were killed, becauſe they ſhould ſay nothing. But one *Biculus*, who was one of his Favourites, knowing the thing, and being taken Priſoner by *Trajan*, he diſcovered all to him, and the buried Treasure was brought to Light again.

About this time *Palmas* the Governour of *Syria* reduced the *Stony Arabia* under the Obedience of the Empire of *Rome*.

After *Trajan* was returned to *Rome*, Embaſſies were ſent to him from many Nations

C 2

*Trajan re-
turns to
Rome.*

of the Barbarians, and amongst the rest from the *Indians*. The Publick Games and Shews were Celebrated one hundred twenty and three days together: in which eleven thousand Beasts of all sorts were killed, and ten thousand Gladiators diverted the People, spilling their Blood over the Fens called *Auferte Palude* in the *Campagna di Roma*. He made Causeways, and built Houses upon the Roads, and built Bridges which were very Magnificent.

*His
Friend
Licinius
Suras dies.*

He Called in, and Melted down all the Diminished Coin. He buried *Licinius Suras*, when he died, with a Publick Funeral, and set up his Statue: who had attain'd to be so Rich and so Great, as to Found at his own Expence a Publick School for the Plays and Exercises of the *Romans*. This Person, and *Trajan*, had such a Friendship, and such an Intimacy in one another, that many times when the Enemies of *Suras*, who were such as envied him, had Accused him to *Trajan*, *Trajan* went nevertheless to his House to Sup with him, Uninvited; and dismissing all his Guards, First he trusted himself to the Physician of *Suras*, to do something to his Eyes and Eyebrows; then he trusted himself to his Barber to shave him; For this was antiently the Custom, as of all other *Romans*, so of the Emperours: For *Hadrian* was the first Emperor that let his Beard grow unshaved. When this was done, he washed, and went to Supper. The day after he said to those about him, who were always suggesting something

ill

ill to him of *Suras*, *If Suras had a mind to kill me, he would have done it Yesterday*. This was a great thing in him, to trust his Person in the least with one, who was pursued with such Accusations: But yet it is more to be admired, how unalterably he preserved with him his Friendship, and how that nothing was able to make him believe that ever *Suras* would hurt him. When first he made him a Captain of the Guards, which is to be done by a Ceremony of delivering to him a Sword; he drew the Sword, and as he gave it, he said, *Take this Sword to Use it for me, if my Reign deserve it; or otherwise, to Use it against me*.

He set up the Statues of *Sossus*, *Palmas*, and *Celsus*, who were three, that he had a Favour for before others. He referred the Conspiracies at any time against him, to the Cognizance of the Senate, by whose Sentence the Offenders were Punished: of which Number was *Crassus*. He built Libraries for Books. He set up in his own *Forum*, a vast Column, partly for a Tomb for himself, when he dyed, and partly for an Historical Monument of all his Exploits. All the Ground, on which that *Forum* stands, was before a Mountainous Earth, which he digged down as deep as his Column is high, and so built the *Forum* Level. After this, He began a War against the *Armenians* and *Parthians*; pretending, it was, because the King of *Armenia* had received his Crown at the Hands of the King of *Parthia*, and not of him; but really it was out of a desire of Glory.

His public Works.

C 3

When

His Par-
thian Ex-
pedition.

When he came as far as to *Athens* on this Expedition, the Ambassadors of *Cbroses* the King of *Parthia* met him; who were sent to desire a Peace with him, and brought Presents to give him from their Master. For when *Cbroses* had received advice of the Preparations of *Trajan*, and that *Trajan* was resolved to second his Words with good Blows, the Fear, that he was in, obliged him to abate of his Height, and to send to beg, *That he might not be troubled with a War: For he humbly asked the Crown of Armenia at his Hands, in the behalf of Parthamasiris, his Nephew, the Son of Pacorus, the late King of Armenia; Exedreas, having, as being neither agreeable to the Romans nor the Parthians, Abdicated, he said, the Crown again.* *Trajan* refused to Accept their Presents, and returned no other Answer; than that a *Man's friendship is to be proved by Actions, and not Words; and that when he came into Syria, he should do, all things that were fitting.* Persisting in which Opinion, he took his way through the *Lesser Asia*, *Cilicia*, and the rest of the Provinces, and so came to the City of *Seleucia*, and from thence to *Antioch* in *Syria*.

Courted
by the
Eastern
Kings.

As he was at *Antioch*, *Abgarus* the King of the *Osrhoeni* in *Mesopotamia* sent him Presents, and Messages of Friendship. But being equally in fear of the *Romans* and the *Parthians*, and desiring to please both Sides, he declined for that reason the waiting upon him in person. Others of the Kings and Governours of the Countries, where he came, met him, brought

brought him Presents, and amongst the rest, they Presented him with a Horse, that was taught to Adore; kneeling upon his Forefeet, and bowing his Head to the Ground, as *Trajan* stood before him. He accepted all their Presents.

But the behaviour of *Parthamasiris* upon this Conjuncture, who had taken upon him the Crown of *Armenia*, was altogether a piece of Rashness. First, he wrote a Letter to *Trajan*, in which he gave himself the Name of King of *Armenia*: and receiving no Answer, He writ another, in which he omitted that Name, and desired that *Marcus Junius* the Governour of *Cappadocia* might be sent to him, as if he intended to mediate something by him. *Trajan* sent to him, the Son of that *Junius*. In the mean time *Trajan* march'd to the City of *Schemsar* in *Comagena* in *Syria*, and took it without a Blow. Then he came to *Satala*, which was the Seat of *Anchiolus*, the King of the *Heniochi*, and the *Macheloni*. Him he obliged so much, as to make him a Present. Then he came to the City of *Elegia* in *Armenia*, where *Parthamasiris* met him, and was received; but the manner thus.

Trajan sat, as in a Council of War, in the Camp. After *Parthamasiris* had saluted him, He took the Crown, with which he came, off of his Head, and prostrated it at the Feet of *Trajan*, and stood silent; expecting when *Trajan* would return to him the Crown again. The Soldiers seeing this, set up an Huzza, and Congratulated *Trajan*, as is usual, after a Vi-

Story: For they cried, *This was a Victory without a Battel, an unbloody Victory; to see a King of the House of the Arsacidae, the Son of Pacorus, and the Nephew of Choroës King of Parthia, stand before Trajan like a Captive without a Crown.* Parthamasiris amazed at the Noise, and thinking that it was designed for an Affront to him, and to his ruin, turned himself about in a Passion to be gone. But as he was so well surrounded that he could not, he desired, *Not to be obliged to speak, what he had to say, in that Crowd.* So he was taken into the Tent of Trajan, to whom there he offered the Propositions that he had to make; but Trajan was not pleased to consent to them. Then he threw himself in a Passion out of the Tent, and was retiring through the Camp; when Trajan sent for him back again, and in the Council of War, where he had received him at first, he desired him to speak what he had to say Publickly, in the hearing of the Company; because Persons, who were ignorant of what had passed betwixt them in Private, should not suggest false Accounts of it, and misrepresent it to the World. Hearing this, Parthamasiris could not contain himself longer; but with a great Courage, amongst other things, said, *That he neither had been Conquered, nor taken Prisoner. He came thither voluntarily, in confidence that no Injury would have been offered to him, and that he should receive his Kingdom of Trajan, as Tiridates did of Nero.* Trajan answered him, what he saw fitting, and withal told him; *That Armenia should*

His
Speech in
the Coun-
cil of
War.

should be no bodies Kingdom. It belonged to the Romans, and should receive a Roman Governour. As for himself, he gave him the liberty to go where he pleased. So he sent Parthamasiris, together with the Parthians that came with him, out of the Country under a Guard, that he should speak with no one, nor attempt no Novelties; but all the Armenians that came with him he ordered to abide in their Proper Dwellings, as being now his own Subjects.

Trajan secured the Country with convenient Garrisons, and came from thence to the City of Rhoa in Mesopotamia, where he saw King Abgarus, whose Seat was there. Abgarus had before sent Presents and Persons to him often, to Complement him: but sometimes for one, sometimes for another reason that he pretended, he had not as yet waited upon him himself, as neither had Manos the Governour of the Arabia next adjoyning, nor Sporaces the Governour of Aribemisia in Mesopotamia. Now the Son of Abgarus, Artabdes, was a handsom charming Youth, whom Trajan had seen, and could not choose but love for his beauty. By the persuasion of this Son, and partly by the fear which Abgarus had of the presence of Trajan, Abgarus met him at his coming to Rhoa, and excusing himself to him, Trajan received him very well, and admitted him to his Friendship. His handsome Son was indeed Apology enough for him. He entertain'd Trajan at a Banquet, in which he brought in his Son to dance before him after the Barbarian Mode.

Trajan's
Congress
with Ab-
garus.

The

A new
Title de-
creed him.

The Senate of *Rome*, among other things which they decreed in the honour of these Successes of their Prince, gave him the Title of *Optimus*, or the *Best of Princes*. He always marched on foot at the Head of all his Army; whom against every Expedition he Review'd and Furnished; and sometimes marched them in one manner, sometimes another. If they crossed the Rivers on Foot, so did he: sometimes he told them a piece of false News, and acted the part of a Spy amongst them, to make them keep themselves the more carefully to their Duty, and to be ready and intrepid against every thing. He took the Cities of *Nisibis*: and *Ecbatana*, from the *Parthians*, upon which he was Saluted by the Style of *Conquerour of the Parthians* by the Army. But in none of all the Titles, that he acquired, did he delight so much as in that of the *Best of Princes*: because this was a commendation rather of his own Nature and Virtues, than of his Arms.

A great
Earth-
quake.

Whilst he Wintered at the City of *Antioch* in *Syria*, a dreadful Earthquake happened, which did a great deal of mischief to many Cities in that Country, but *Antioch* was in a more particular manner afflicted with it. There was at that time a great number of Soldiers, and an extraordinary Concourse of others from all parts in the place, either upon Business of Law, or upon Embassies, or Trade, or Curiosity: whereby it was so, That there was no Nation, nor no Province but what had a share in the Calamity, and all the *Roman* World suffered in that one City. This Earthquake

was

was preceded by great Thunders, and unusual Winds: but yet no body suspected from thence the mischief which followed. First, a mighty bellowing Noise was heard on a sudden, from the Earth; then followed a Shock which was so violent, that it made all the Earth Bounce and Swell. The Houses Danced: some immediately fell with the Toss, and broke into pieces; some reeled to and fro like a Ship in the Sea, and took a compass on one side and the other, and then fell: And the noise of the cracking, and bursting of the Timber, the Brick, and Stones together, was most dismal. A Dust was raised, that it was impossible to see any one, or speak, or be heard to speak. Many who were without their Houses suffered. They were so tossed up, and then down again, as in a Precipice, and struck against one another: some were wounded, some killed. Trees were torn up from the Roots. But of the rest, who were overtaken within their Houses, an infinite number perished; a great many with the Houses falling upon their Heads; a great many were suffocated under the Ruins: Others, who were held under the Wood and Stones so, by any part of their Bodies, that they could not possibly recover themselves, were in the highest degree miserable: they could not live, and yet they could not soon expire. If, out of such an infinite number as were overtaken within their Houses, several escaped with their lives, yet they were generally hurt; their Legs broken, or their Arms, or their

Fore-run-
ners
thereof.

Heads,

Heads, or they vomited Blood. *Pedo* the Consul was one of these, who died soon after. In short, there was no figure of Misery and Destruction but what was to be seen amongst these People: GOD shook the Earth for many Days and Nights together. The People were all in a Distraction, and without help to fly to. Whilst some were immediately killed, and buried under the Ruins, others were starved to death, who were penned up in any void Spaces left by the Timber, or betwixt Pillars, and in Vaults. After the Earthquake was ceased, a Person who had the Courage to go presently upon the Ruins, heard the Voice of a Woman crying. Nor was she alone: the sucking Infant was with her; and she had kept both her Child and herself alive, with her Milk. They were digged up and saved: and search was made for others. But they found no body more alive, besides one Child, which was hanging upon the Breasts of its Mother, and the Mother dead. When they took the Dead up out of the Ruins, it was so lamentable a sight, that the living had no Hearts to rejoyce so much as for their own safety; so great was the Calamity which then afflicted *Antioch*. *Trajan* escaped through a Window out of the House where he was, by the help of a Man who was extraordinarily Tall, and who came and carried him off, but not without some small Hurts. As the Earthquake continued several days, he kept himself all that time in the open Air, in the Cirque. The Mountain

Miserable
Effects of
it.

tain *Lison* was so shook, that the Top of it bowed and burst, and threatned to fall down upon the Town. Other Mountains fell, and great Waters started up where none was before, and Streams that had flown before, forsook their Course and vanished.

The Spring being returned, *Trajan* carried Trajan his Arms into the Country of the Enemy. He furnish'd himself with Boats for a Bridge to transport his Forces over the River *Tigris*, from the Woods about the City of *Nisibis*; because the Country upon the Banks of that River affords no Timber for that purpose. The Boats were all brought from thence to the River upon Land-Carriages; being built in that manner, that they were to be taken asunder, and joyned again into a Bridge at Pleasure. Which was done; and the Bridge was laid over the *Tigris* at the Foot of the Mountain *Cardynus*; not without the great annoyance of the Enemy on the other side, who were Posted to oppose it. To give whom a Diversion, whilst the Bridge was fitting with all speed, as *Trajan* had Men and Boats in plenty, he Armed out some Boats with Archers and other Soldiers, and detached them against the Barbarians. He detached others to be moving up and down, as it were to try to Land in other places, which so distracted the Barbarians, and especially they were so surprized to see such a number of Shipping gotten together in a Country that is destitute of Wood, that they gave way, and the Roman Army passed the River.

The

proceeds
in his Ex-
pedition.

The Roman Army landed in the Country of *Adiabene*, which is a part of *Assyria*, and *Assyria* was then under the Obedience of the King of *Parthia*. They took all *Adiabene*, and the Towns of *Arbela* and *Gaugamela*, where *Alexander the Great* did heretofore overthrow *Darius*. The Barbarians call it *Atyria*, instead of *Assyria*, changing the Letters *ss* into *t*. But as the Forces of the *Parthians* had been diminished in their Civil-Wars, and still they were at Variance with one another, there was such a scarcity of the Enemy to make Opposition to the March of the *Romans*, that they came up to the City of *Babylon*.

He comes
to Baby-
lon.

Here *Trajan* beheld the Lake of *Bitumen*, with which the famous Walls of *Babylon* were built. It is a sort of a Slime so Clammy and so Strong, that when it is mixt with Brick and Pebbles, it makes a Wall that is stronger than any Stone, and Iron it self. He view'd the Mouth of it, from whence proceeds such a noxious Stench, that it kills all the Beasts, and all the Birds that are brought within its reach. And certainly did it arise much higher, to disperse it self far and wide in the Air, it would render the place Uninhabitable. But it Circulates within it self, and does not exceed its limits. I have seen such another Lake as this at the City of *Hierapolis* in the *Lesser Asia*, and I made an Experiment of it in Birds; my self being in an Upper Apartment, from whence I overlook'd it. For it is shut up in a sort of a Cistern, and above it is built a Convenience, where you look down and see the fatal

fatal effects of this Stench in safety. It kills every thing, Living: *Men only excepted, that have been Gels*. I do not understand the reason of this. But I speak the things that I have seen, as I saw them, and the things that I have heard, as I heard them.

Trajan was once designing to make a Cut for the River *Euphrates* upon which *Babylon* stands, to fall into the *Tigris*; that passing his Vessels by that Cut, out of the First into the other River, he might give himself a Bridge to March his Army over the *Tigris* to the Siege of *Ctesiphon* in *Assyria*. But when he understood that the Bed of the *Euphrates* was much higher than the Bed of the *Tigris*, he forbore that design, lest the abundance of the Water running into the Lower Bed should render the *Euphrates* unnavigable. So he mounted his Vessels upon Land-Carriages, and brought them to the *Tigris* over the little Streight of Land which is betwixt the two Rivers; and having passed his Army, and taken the City of *Ctesiphon* from the *Parthians*, he was Confirm'd in the Title of the Conquerour of the *Parthians*, and the Senate of *Rome* decreed, that he should enjoy what Triumphs, and what Festivals for the Honour of his Victories, soever he pleased.

After he had taken *Ctesiphon*, his Curiosity led him to go on Board his Fleet, and Sail for the *Red Sea*; which is a Branch of the *Indian Ocean*, and called *Erythraeum Mare*, that is, the *Red Sea*, from a King of the Name of *Erythrus*,
His Expedition to the Red Sea.

Erythras, who was sometime very Powerful upon it. He took in his way the Island of *Messene*, which is in the *Tigris*, the King whereof was *Athambylus*, without any difficulty: only the Winter, the rapidity of the *Tigris*, and the Tides of the Ocean were something dangerous. The Town of *Spasinum*, belonging to *Athambylus*, received him well. From thence he came upon the Ocean, where informing himself in the Nature thereof, and discovering a Ship that was bound to *India*, he said, *Was I Young, I would certainly make a Visit to the Indians.* He enquired much about them, and their Actions, and admired the Happiness of *Alexander*, who had Conquered them, and who had gone so much further than he. He writ the same to the Senate; But yet at the same time he was not able, what he had already Conquered to keep. The Senate decreed several things in his Honour; and amongst the rest, that in relation to as many Nations as he pleased, his Successes should be adorn'd with Triumphs. For they were more than were known to them, so much as by Name, as they continually understood by his Accounts. They set up in his Honor a Triumphal Arch in his own *Forum*, and the Citizens prepared themselves to go a great way to meet him, at his return to *Rome*. But he never came thither; nor was the End of his Actions suitable to his Beginnings, because what he had Conquered, he lost again.

Honour
done to
him by the
Senate.

In

In the time that he was Sailing for his Pleasure upon the *Indian Ocean*, all his Conquests were chang'd and revolted, and the Garrisons which he had left amongst them were either turned out or killed. It was nothing but the Fame of the *Indian Ocean* which had draw'd him thither, together with his Honour for the Memory of *Alexander the Great*, to whom he had sometime sacrificed in the House, in which he dyed at *Babylon*. But as he met with nothing worthy of that Fame; Fables and Prospects of Ruins were his only Entertainments.

A general
Revolt.

He was as yet on Board, when the News was brought to him of the revolt of his Conquests; against whom, he dispatched *Lucius* and *Maximus*. *Maximus* was defeated and killed. *Lucius* acquitted himself very well, and amongst other things recovered the City of *Nisibis*, Storm'd, Plundered, and Burnt the City of *Rhoa*, whilst *Erycius Clarus*, and *Julius Alexander* took and burnt the City of *Seleucia*. In the mean time, fearing lest the *Parthians* of *Ctesiphon* should attempt something, *Trajan* was willing to oblige them, by giving them, instead of a Roman Governour, a King of their own. He Assembled, when he came to *Ctesiphon*, all the *Romans*, and all the *Parthians* that were there into a large Plain; and raising himself upon a high Throne, and glorying in the great Actions that he had done, he appointed *Partbarnaspates* King of the *Parthians*, and put the Crown upon him.

Trajan
gives a
King to
the Par-
thians.

D

Then

*Expedition
on against
the Hagar-
ens.*

Then he came into *Arabia*, to Reduce there the People called the *Hagarens*, who had also Revolted. Their Town is neither Great nor Rich; but the Country adjoyning to it is for the most part a Desert; without Water, which it seldom hath, and then it is naught; without Wood, and without Forage: all which make it impossible for a great number of Men to lye long before it, defended as it also is by the heats of the Sun, to which it is exposed. So it was neither taken by *Trajan* then, nor by *Severus* afterwards, though they both made Breaches in part of the Walls. *Trajan* disguised himself, and Headed a Body of Horse up to the Walls in Person; but his Horse returned in an ill Condition to the Camp, and himself escaped very narrowly: For the Barbarians believing it was he, by his Age and Presence, shot at him, and killed a Horseman that was next him. It Thundered and Lightened, Rainbows appeared in the Clouds, Storms of Hail and Wind fell upon the *Romans*, when they made their Attacks. The Flies rendred their Victuals and their Drink nauseous. So *Trajan* raised the Siege, and fell sick not long after.

*Jewish
Barbari-
ty.*

About this time the *Jews* about *Cyrene* in *Africa*, Commanded by one *Andrew*, whom they had set up over them, committed great Slaughters upon both the *Romans* and *Grecians*. They Eat their Flesh, made themselves Garlands of their Guts, washed themselves in their Blood, and Cloathed themselves in their Skins. They

They sawed many in Two, from the Head, with Saws. They threw others to Wild Beasts. They forced others to fight till they kill'd one another. About two hundred and twenty thousand Persons were destroyed by this means. They did the like in *Egypt*, and in the Island of *Cyprus*, under the Command of *Artemion*; where two hundred and forty thousand Persons more were destroy'd. For which reason, it is, that it is forbidden a *Jew* to set foot upon that Island; even though by Storm he is driven upon it, he is to be put to death. At length they were reduced under Obedience again, as by others, so particularly by *Lucius*, who was sent against them by *Trajan*. *Jews quell'd.*

Trajan was resolved to have carried the War anew into *Mesopotamia*, if his sickness, increasing upon him, had not obliged him to set Sail towards *Italy*, and to commit to *Publius Aelius Hadrian* the Command of the Army in *Syria*. And now all the Pains that had been taken, and all the Dangers which had been run by the *Romans*, in the Conquest of *Armenia*, the greatest part of *Mesopotamia*, and the *Parthians*, became in vain: for the *Parthians* turn'd off King *Partabaspates*, of the appointment of *Trajan*, and betook themselves to be Governed by their own Measures.

Trajan suspected, in his own mind, that he was poisoned; but others say that he had been used every year to void Blood downward, and that

Death of
Trajan.

that this Evacuation had stopped; that he had a Dead Palsie upon him, and was insensible in a part of his Body; and that he was all over Dropfical. He came as far as to the City *Iclenos*, which is otherwise called *Trajanople* from him, in *Cilicia*, in the *Lesser Asia*, and there immediately dyed; having Reigned nineteen Years, six Months, and fifteen Days.

Dio Cass. lib. 67.

HE had been Consul in Conjunction with *Acilius Glabrio*, in the Reign of *Domitian*, and then received some Omens of his future Reign.

Dio Cass. lib. 69.

HE was a Native of the same Town in *Spain* with *Hadrian*, whose Guardian he was, and to whom he married his Niece. He dyed without Children, and his Ashes were interred in the Column of his own Work.

Entrop. Cassiodor. & Victor.

THE Town in *Spain*, at which *Trajan* was born, was *Old Sevil* in the *Lower Andalusia*. He lived sixty three Years, nine Months, and four Days. He was Proclaim'd Emperor at *Cologne* in *Germany*. The Height
of

of his Column was one hundred and forty, or one hundred forty and four Feet. The Younger *Pliny*, born at the City of *Como* in the Dutchy of *Milan*, who was a famous Orator and Historian, flourished in his time, who has left us a Panegyric on this Emperor, pronounc'd by him the first day of his Consulship.

D 3

T H E

THE
Life and Reign
 OF THE
EMPEROR
Publius Ælius Hadrian.

Written by
ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS:

And Addressed to the

EMPEROR
DIOCLESIAN.

His Ex-
 traction.

IF we take the Original of the Emperor *Hadrian* at the highest, it is to be derived from the Antient People of the *Marca d' Ancona*, and particularly from the Town of *Adria* in *Italy*, which was the Place which his Ancestors were of, before they removed into *Spain*; where, as himself says in the Account

Account which he writes of his own Life, they settled in *Sevilla la Viegia*, or *Old Seville*, in the times of the *Scipio's*. His more immediate Descent was from that Family in *Spain*. *Ælius Hadrian Afer* was his Father, who was Cousin-German to the Emperor *Trajan*. His Mother was *Domitia Paulina*, who was Originally of *Cadiz*. His Sister *Paulina* married *Servianus*. His Wife was *Sabina*, and his great Grand-father's Grand-father, *Marullinus*, was the first of the Family who was a Senator of the City of *Rome*. He was born at *Rome* upon the Ninth of the Calends of *February*, in the Year when *Vespasian* and *Titus* were the Consuls, which was then the Seventh time of the Consulship of the first, and the Fifth of that of the other. In the Tenth Year of his Age, he lost his Father, and received for his Guardians, his Kinsman, *Ulpian Trajan*, who had been then a *Prætor*, and afterwards arrived to be Emperor, together with *Gaius Tadianus*, a *Roman Gentleman*.

In his Fifteenth Year after having finished his *Greek*, unto which his Genius inclined him in that manner, that by some he was called by the Name of the *Little Grecian*; he went into *Spain*, where he entred immediately into the Army, and was eager of exercising himself in Hunting, almost to a Fault. *Trajan* recalled him out of that Country unto *Rome* again, where he lived with him as his Son; and it was not long before he was put into the Commission of the *Decemviri*. He was removed from thence to be the *Tribune* or *Colonel* of the *Second Auxiliary*

Presages
concern-
ing him.

His Di-
ligence.

liary Legion. After that, he was translated into the *Lower Masia*, which was about the latter end of the Reign of *Domitian*. In *Masia*, he was informed by an Astrologer of the same thing, as to his future Succession to the Empire, which he had heard, that his great Uncle *Ælius Hadrian*, who also was skill'd in the Doctrine of Nativities, had sometime before predicted concerning him. He was sent out of *Masia* at the time that *Trajan* was adopted by *Nerva*, with the Congratulations of the Army to the Emperor, upon the Subject of that Adoption. *Nerva* translated him into the *Upper Germany*, from whence he hastned, upon the News of the Death of *Nerva*, to be the first who should bring it unto *Trajan*. And altho' he was by *Servianus*, his Sister's Husband, who had endeavoured to possess *Trajan* against him, by telling him of his Expences, and his Debts, not only a long time detain'd, but furnished also with a Carriage that broke by the way, on purpose to stop his haste; He nevertheless prosecuted his Journey afterwards on Foot with that diligence, that he came up to *Trajan* before the Express, which the same *Servianus* dispatched upon the same occasion. And *Trajan* continued to love him, but yet he was not without those Enemies who represented him to that Prince, who was a Lover of Boys, to be as it were his Rival in that sort of Pleasure. And because he was solicitous in this Conjunction, to know what the Inclination of *Trajan* towards him was, as to his Adopting him to succeed in the Empire,

pire, he consulted his Fortune by Lots, in which he was answered in certain Verses out of *Virgil* that favoured his desire. Others say, That he received a Lot of the same nature out of the Verses of the *Sibyls*. But that which was a greater Presage to him still than all this, of the Empire unto which he should succeed, was, an Answer which he received from an Oracle of *Jupiter Nicephorus*, which *Apollonius Syrus* the Platonist hath set down in his Works. In fine, by the interposition of *Suras* in his Favour, he easily attained unto a higher Degree than ever of Favour with *Trajan*, whose Niece by his Sister's side, he married, which was a Match that was encouraged by *Plotina*, and consented unto by *Trajan*, as *Marius Maximus* says, at least in some measure.

He was a Questor in the Year when *Trajan* He is and *Articulcius* were the Consuls, which was made *Questor* then the Fourth time of the Consulship of *Trajan*. In this Office being to recite in the Senate, an Harangue made by the Emperor to them, and being laught at for his ill pronunciation of it, he set himself upon the Study of the *Latin* in that manner, that he acquired himself at length the greatest Skill and Eloquence in that Language. After his Questorship, he was made the Clerk to the Senate. Next he waited upon *Trajan* to the War against *Dacia*; at which time, how intimate he was with him, may be seen by this, that he says himself, That he indulged to Drinking out of Obedience to the Pleasure and Methods of *Trajan*; and

And Tribune.

and this gained him yet greater Favours from him. He was made a *Tribune of the People* in the Year of the Second Consulships of *Candidus* and *Quadratus*. In this Magistracy, it was an Omen (he says) to him of a perpetual *Tribunian Power*; that is, of the Crown, that in wearing the *Pænula*, (a sort of Hanging-Coat) as the *Tribunes of the People* were used to do in time of Rain, but the Emperors of that Age never, that Garment had slipped off from him. In the second Expedition against *Dacia*, *Trajan* gave him the Command of the First Legion of the Name of *Minervia*, and took him along with him. He distinguish'd himself there by a great many fine Actions, in so much that *Trajan* presented him with the same Diamond that himself had been before presented with by *Nerva*, which served farther to raise his Hopes. He was a *Prætor* under the second Consulships of *Suras* and *Servianus*; at the same time he received from *Trajan* Forty Thousand *Sesterces* towards the Charges of the publick Games, with which he treated the People. After this, being made the *Pro-Prætor* of the *Lower Pannonia*, he bridled the *Sarmatæ*, disciplined the Army, and restrained the *Procurators* of the Province from exceeding, as they did, the just Limits of their Power; for these Services he was made a Consul. In which Magistracy, as soon as it was understood from *Suras*, that he was to be adopted by *Trajan*, he was accordingly respected by all, who desired to preserve the Favour of their Prince. After the Death of *Suras*,

And Consul.

Suras, his Interest with *Trajan* did still increase, because he succeeded into the Office of *Suras*, to write his Prince's Speeches, and his Letters as his Secretary; besides all which, he had the Favour of *Plotina*, by whose means he was appointed the Lieutenant of *Syria*, in the time of the Expedition against *Parthia*.

The Persons with whom he at this time en- His retained a Friendship, were *Sossius Pappus* and *Friend- Pletorius Nepos*; of the Order of the *Sensors*; *ships.* and *Tatianus*, who was before his Guardian, and *Martius Licinianus Turbo*, of that of the Gentlemen; *Palmas* and *Celsus* had been always his Enemies. But now those two being fallen into Disgrace upon a Suspicion of a Design to usurp the Empire. This facilitated the Business of *Hadrian's* Adoption, so that being through the Favour of *Plotina*, created a Consul a second time, he indeed conceived within himself entire Assurances of that Happiness. It was the Opinion of many, that he had to this end corrupted also the Servants of *Trajan*, and had made very much of the Boys who were *Trajan's* Paramours, and had furnished them with Oyntments and Washes in the time that he was conversant about the Court. However that is, the Letters of his Adoption came to him into *Syria*, whereof he then was Lieutenant, upon the Fifth of the *Ides of August*, which Day he therefore commanded to be celebrated for a Festival for the same. Upon the Third of the same *Ides*, he received the News of the Death of *Trajan*, he commanded that Day to be celebrated for the Festival

He is adopted.

Festival of his accession to the Empire. It had been many times before thought; that *Trajan's* Design was to have left *Neratus Priscus*, and not *Hadrian* his Successor; because many of his Friends had agreed with him in *Priscus*, to whom he sometimes also had said publickly, *If I die, I recommend the Empire to you*. Others say, That *Trajan* sometime had it in his Thought to die after the Example of *Alexander of Macedonia*, without appointing any certain Successor. Again, others tell us, That it was likewise in his Mind to have sent a Letter to the Senate, to let them know, that if he died, they themselves should give a Prince to the Empire of *Rome*; adding, as from him, some Names only, out of which they were at their Liberty to chuse the Best. Neither do we want those who have pretended, that the Adoption of *Hadrian* was a Trick, wrought by the Power of *Plotina*, after *Trajan* was dead, by suppositing a Person to speak the Thing for *Trajan*, in a languishing Voice.

And poss-
est of the
Empire.

However it was, *Hadrian* possessed himself of the Empire, and falling in immediately with the usual Methods of Business, he desired to secure and establish, as much as possible, the Peace of all Parts. In the mean time the Nations which *Trajan* had Conquered, had Revolted. The *Moors* were making Incursions upon the Frontier Provinces; the *Sarmatae* had declared Open War, the *Britains* could not be contained under the *Roman* Power, *Egypt* was disturbed with Seditions, and *Lycia* and *Palaestine* lifted up their Heads to a Rebellion. There-

Therefore as for all the Countries beyond the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, *Hadrian* even relinquished these by the Example as he said of *Cato*, who pronounced the *Macedonians* a Free People, because they would not be kept in subjection. And as he had observed, that *Parthamaspates*, the King of *Parthia*, of the Appointment of *Trajan*, was of no great Consideration amongst that People, he removed him from thence to be the King over some other Neighbouring Nations. He began his Reign in Clemency, whereunto he shew'd a great Regard by this Instance; that having in some of the first Days of it, had Notice given him by *Tatianus*; by Letters, of Three Persons, whom he advised him, that he should put them to Death; who were, *Babius Macer*, the Governour of the City, in case he in the least opposed his Authority; *Laberius Maximus*, then in Banishment in an Island, because he was suspected to aspire at the Empire, and *Frugi Crassus*; yet nevertheless, he spared them all Three: For altho' the Governour of the Island where *Crassus* was, did execute him for an Escape which he would have made, with a Design of fomenting New Disorders, yet was that Execution a thing that was done without *Hadrian's* Command. He doubled the usual Donative to the Soldiers, for a good Presage, to welcome in his Reign. He took away the Government of *Mauritania* from *Lusius Quietus* and dismiss'd him, because he was one who was suspected to aim also at the Empire; and when *Martius Turbo* had finished the Reduction

duction of the *Jews*, he appointed him Governour of *Mauritania*, and to go and repress the Commotions which were there. He made a Journey out of *Antioch* to meet and receive with Respect the *Ashes of Trajan*, as they were upon the Road, under the Conduct of *Tatianus*, *Plotina*, and *Mattidia*. And having embarked them in a Vessel for *Rome*, and being returned again into *Antioch*, he constituted *Catilius Severus* Governour of *Syria*, and then came himself to *Rome* by the way of *Illyrium*.

Honour
done to
Trajan.

He first sent Letters which were very accurately writ to the Senate, to desire, *That they should make Trajan a God*; to which the Senate agreed unanimously, and even voted a great many more Things of their own accord, to his Honour than what *Hadrian* had mentioned to them. At the same time, Writing to the Senate, he asked their Pardon, *That he had not submitted his Judgment to them in the Affair of his assuming the Empire, the Occasion whereof had been this, that he had been saluted Emperor by the Army in Haste, because the State could not be without a Head to it.* The Senate voted him the same Triumph, which was to have been given unto *Trajan*. He refused it for himself, but accepted it for the Image of *Trajan* to be carried in a Triumphal Chariot, that that incomparable Emperor should not be without the Honor which he so well merited, no not though he was dead. The Title of *Pater Patriæ*, or *Father of his Country*, which was twice offered him, he declined, because it had been late in the Reign of *Augustus* e'er this Title had

had been assumed by that Prince. He remitted to *Italy* all the Duties which they were to pay him upon his coming to the Crown, and abated the same to the Provinces, altho' it was very well known, that at the same time the Treasury was streightened for Money. Then receiving Advice of an Insurrection of the *Sarmatæ*, and the *Roxolani*, he commanded his Troops into *Mæsia*, and went thither in Person after them. He preferred *Martius Turbo*, after he had administered the Government of *Mauritania*, to the Presidentship of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*. As to the Affair of the *Roxolani*, he composed that by a Treaty, and a Peace was established betwixt them and *Hadrian*.

He had sometime designed to appoint *Nigrinus* to be his Successor in the Empire; but *Nigrinus* became guilty of a Conspiracy against the Life of *Hadrian*, which was to be executed as *Hadrian* assisted at the Sacrifices: *Lusius* and many others were in the same Plot with him, which *Hadrian* escaping, hereupon *Palmas* at *Terracina*, *Celsus* at *Baiæ*, *Nigrinus* at *Faenza*, *Lusius* upon the Road, by the Order of the Senate, were all killed. And because these Executions might be a means of creating an ill Opinion of him in the Minds of the People, as if it had been, tho' really it was not, as he says, by his Will, but by the Will of the Senate, that Four Persons, all of Consular Dignity, were sacrificed so all together: *Hadrian* came presently to *Rome*, committing *Dacia* unto the Government of *Turbo*, whom to add to his Authority, he had likewise honoured

A Conspiracy
against
him.

His Bounty.

honoured with the Title of the *Præfecture* of *Egypt*: And at *Rome* he caressed the People to stifle the Apprehensions which were there of him, with a double Largess upon his arrival, which was over and above a Bounty of three Pieces of Gold a head, which had been divided amongst them, in his absence before. He acquitted himself before all the Senate of the Fact that had passed; and as for his own part, he took his Oath, that he would never punish a Senator, otherwise than according to the very Sentence of the Senate. He proceeded to ease the particular Towns and Magistrates of the Charge of the *publick Post* and Carriages, by ordering them to be maintained out of the *Exchequer*; in fine, to omit nothing to make himself to be esteemed, he forgave an infinite number of Debts, which were due to the *Exchequer* from private Persons in the City, and all over the Country; as also he remitted the Arrears of great Sums which were due from the Provinces; the Bonds and Registers relating whereunto were all burnt in the *Forum* of *Trajan*, for a full Security to every one against those Claims. He suffered it not, that the Estates of Persons condemned, should be confiscated into his private Coffers, but ordered them all to be return'd into the *publick Treasury*. And as *Trajan* had begun to provide for the Support of the poor Infants of both Sexes, who were not by the Law to be admitted to the general Dole before such an Age, so *Hadrian* enlarged that Munificence, and made an Addition to their Pension. Unto such

such of the Senators as were reduc'd, but had not consumed their Fortunes by their ill Lives and Debauchery; he set out Pensions suitable to their Quality, and suitable to the Number of the Children which they had; continuing the same to many to their Deaths. It was not only to his Favourites to whom he extended his Bounty, but to others he generously gave great Things, to enable them to acquit themselves in their Offices with Honour. To some necessitous Women he allowed Pensions towards their Maintenance. The Games of the *Gladiators* were exhibited Six Days together, and a Thousand wild Beasts at his Charge were exposed to be hunted and taken upon the Anniversary of his Birth.

He chose himself out of the principal Persons of the Senate, an Imperial Council. He refused to accept of any other of the Games of the *Cirque*, which were decreed in his Honour, than such as those which were celebrated upon his Birth-Day. He said many times, both in his Discourse, and to the Senate, *That his Government should be such, that the World should see, it was the Interest of the People which he minded, and not his own.* As he was three times Consul himself, so he advanced several Thrice to that Dignity: And for the Honor of a Second Consulship, he bestowed that upon a multitude of Persons. The Third time that himself was Consul, he officiated it no longer than Four Months; but yet he often sat in Person in Judgment. He never was absent from the Senate, when he was either

His Prudence and Moderation.

His Re-
spect for
the Senate.

in Town, or nigh the Town upon the Solemn Days of meeting. He carried the Honour of the Senate so high, and made such a Difficulty of creating Senators, that when he created *Tatianus*, who was a Captain of the Guards, and had had all the Ornaments given him of a Consul; he told him; *That he had nothing in his Power to confer upon him, that was a greater Honour.* He did not give leave to those of the Order of the Knights and Gentlemen, to sit in Judgment either without, or with him, in a Cause which concerned the Life of a Senator; altho' until then, it had been the Custom, that when the Emperor takes the Cognisance of a Cause in Person, he call'd not only the Senators, but the *Roman* Gentlemen unto his Assistance, and pronounced Sentence according to the Opinions of all together. In fine, he proceeded even to execrate those Princes who had had a lesser Consideration for the Senators than they ought. He retained so great a respect for *Servianus*, his Sister's Husband, who had been Twice Consul before him, that he always went out of his Chamber to meet him coming; and he created him a Consul the Third time, without his solicitations for it; the Honour whereof was imperfect in nothing but this, that he did not take him to be his own Colleague in that Third Consulship.

His Im-
perfecti-
ons.

In the mean time, this is yet to be remembered of this Prince, that he abandoned a great many Provinces which had been by *Trajan* acquired to the Empire; and the Theatre
which

which had been built by *Trajan* in the *Campus Martius*, he destroyed, contrary to the desires of all the World. And certainly these things seemed to be so much the worse, as he knew very well himself that they were displeasing, and yet he pretended that in doing them, he accomplished the Orders which had been left him by *Trajan*. He was willing when he became weary of the Power of *Tatianus*, the Captain of the Guards, who had been formerly his Tutor, to have had him murdered; but that which call'd him off from those Thoughts, was, he had already a great deal of ill will upon him, upon the occasion of the Murder of those Four Consular Persons before-mentioned, the *Odium* whereof he endeavoured to throw upon *Tatianus*. At length *Tatianus*, of his own accord laid down his Commission, which *Hadrian* conferred upon *Turbo*. *Similes* the other Captain of the Guards, laid down his, which *Hadrian* conferred upon *Septimius Clarus*. Nevertheless those two, *Tatianus* and *Similes*, were Persons who very well might have deserved his utmost Favour. After this, he went a Progress into *His Affa-*
Campania, where he endeavoured to oblige all *bility and*
Places into which he came, with the Kindnesses *Complai-*
he did them, and the Largesses which he bestow- *sance.*
ed amongst them; admitting every where the Gentlemen of Estates and Quality to the Honour of his Friendship. At *Rome* he repair'd often in Person into the Courts of the Prætors and the Consuls. He honoured his Ministers with his Company at their Houses. When they were Sick, he visited them Twice or Thrice a Day.
E 2 He

He visited some, when Sick, who were no more than Servants that he had manumitted, Comforting them in their Infirmities, and Assisting them with his Counsels. He received his Friends to his Table, and was as Easy always with them, as if he was a private Man. The Honours which he bestowed upon his Mother-in-Law at her Death, were the greatest that were possible, in the Games of the *Gladiators*, which he exhibited, and in all other Rites, whereby he shewed his Duty to her.

He goes
into Gaul
and Ger-
many.

Then he went into *Gallia*, where he signa-
lized himself by his great Bounties, and his for-
wardness to Relieve all Persons that were in
Necessity and Want. From thence he went
into *Germany*, and tho' he was one who was
a greater Lover of Peace than War, yet here
he Exercised the Soldiers, as if he was imme-
diately making ready for a War. He incul-
cated to them the Precepts of Patience, to
teach them to be hardy, and to be able to
suffer. He gave them in himself a Model of
the Life of a Soldier, visited them in their
Tents; Eat and Drank in Publick of the same
Provision as they did, that is, *Bacon, Cheese,*
and sower Wine mixt with Water, after the Ex-
amples of *Scipio Emilianus, Metellus*, and his
Father *Trajan*. Were his Commands harder
upon them than ordinary, he gave them Mo-
ney, or preferred them for their Encourage-
ment. He revived as much as it was possi-
ble the antient Military Discipline, which
through the Negligence of many Princes his
Predeces-

His de-
meanor
towards
the Sol-
diers.

Predecessors, had been going to decay ever since
the time of *Augustus*. He settled the Order
of the Offices, and the Expences of the Army.
He suffered no one to be absent from the
Camp without a just Cause. The *Tribunes* of
his Creation were such, as whose Merits re-
commended them to him, and not the Fa-
vour of the Soldiers. He excited all to do their
Duty by the Example that he set in himself.
He walked Twenty Miles together on Foot
at the Head of them in his Arms. He put
down the use of Arbors, shady Walks, Grot-
to's, and Bowers in the Camp. He was dres-
sed many times in a very ordinary Coat, with-
out any thing of Gold to his Belt, without
Jewels to his Cloaths or Buckles, and the Hilt
of his Sword scarce of Ivory. He visited the
Soldiers when they were Sick in their little
Huts. He mark'd out the Camps. He made
none a Centurion, who was not a strong
Man, and of good Repute: Nor a Tribune,
unless he was of such an Age, as by his
Prudence and his Experience to be fit to sup-
port the Weight of that Command. Neither
did he permit the Tribunes to make the least
unlawful Gain of the Soldiers; nor any Per-
sons to serve themselves of nice and delicate
Things, which were therefore wholly cashiered
the Camp. He examined their Arms and their
Equipages whether Clean and Neat, and a-
mended them as he saw Occasion. He con-
sidered what Age every one was of, because
he would have none to serve in the Field con-
trary to the antient Custom, who was either

too young to be of a proper Strength to bear Arms, or too old and past it. He took Care that his Soldiers were personally always known to him, and he kept an Account how many of them precisely they were.

He gave himself the Trouble to examine into the State of the Magazines of Ammunition and Provisions; and whether the Contributions of the Provinces were well paid, and into the State of the Provinces, that if any thing was amiss any where, he might supply the Defect. Particularly, he desired to cut off all superfluous Expences, and that his Officers should lay out their Money upon nothing that was of no use. So having modelled his Army to his own Pleasure, he next set upon an Expedition into Great Britain, where as he corrected a great many Defaults, so he was the first who made a Wall there, that was

*His Wall
in Britain.*

Fourscore Miles in Length, to serve for a Division betwixt the *Barbarians* and the *Romans*. *Septimius Clarus*, a Captain of the Guards, and *Suetonius Tranquillus*, Secretary of the Dispatches, with others, having conversed without his Leave, a little more familiarly with the Empress *Sabina*, than was well consistent with the Honour of the Court; he turned them out, and put others into their places. And certainly, *he would, as he said, have discharged his very Empress, as one that he conceived disagreeable and ill humored, had he been but as a private Person.*

*His Intel-
ligence.*

He was not only inquisitive into all that passed in his own Household, but likewise into the Houses of his Neighbours; insomuch, that by

by his Spies, he was told of all the secret Actions done amongst them, whilst they in the mean time never suspected it, nor knew any thing of it, until himself discovered it. Upon which occasion, it will not be unpleasant to insert a Passage wherein we may certainly see what a Knowledge he had of a great many things as to his Neighbours. A Person had received a Letter from his Wife, in which she told him, *That he was so taken up with his Pleasures and the Baths, that he made no Thoughts of returning again to her Arms.* Hadrian was informed of this by his Spies; so when that Person came to him to desire the leave of him to retire Home, Hadrian gave him a gentle Rub of his Baths and his Pleasures. Sir, says the Gentleman, *Hath my Wife written the same to your Majesty, that she hath written to me?* Indeed this Inquisitiveness was thought to be a very great Fault in Hadrian; all the Amours of the Sparks, and the Secret Adulteries of the married Ladies he took the Pains to pry into; but which was worse, he did not keep the Counsel when he had done, of his greatest Friends.

After having settled the Affairs of Great Britain, he crossed over into Gallia, where he received Advice of a Sedition in Alexandria in Egypt, arisen about their God *Apis*; who having been brought to Light anew, after many Years that he had been lost, the Dispute in what City he ought to be plac'd, created strange Disorders amongst the People, because all of them earnestly contended to have him. At *Nismes* in *Languedoc*, he built a Temple to the

He arrives in Spain.

Honour of *Plotina*, which was an admirable Work. Then he went into *Spain*, and passed the Winter at *Tarragona*, where at his proper Charge he re-edified the Temple of *Augustus*; and having Assembled all the States of *Spain* together at *Tarragona*, he consulted with them with great Prudence and Dexterity in the Politicks, considering their Divisions about the raising of Levies amongst them. At *Tarragona* he escaped a very great Danger, and in a manner, which was not inglorious. As he was walking in a Garden, a Servant belonging to the Master of the House where he was, ran upon him furiously with a drawn Sword, to kill him, *Hadrian* closed with the Man, and took him Prisoner and delivered him to the Custody of the Guards, who were flocking in to his Assistance. But when it was plainly seen that the Man was Mad, he sent him to the Physicians to be cured, and took no more Notice of the Matter. In many Places where the *Barbarians* are not separated from the *Romans* by Rivers, but only by Land-marks, he made Walls of Earth, supported by Stakes, and strengthened with Pallisadoes for a Partition betwixt them. He appointed a King over the *Germans*; he suppressed the Commotions of the *Moors*, so that he merited the Honour from the Senate to have Sacrifices and Solemn Prayers offered for him. The *Parthians* did but make a ween or single Motion towards a War, but it was composed again by one Conference with *Hadrian*.

After

After this he came by Sea along the Coast of *Asia*; and the Islands, unto the Province of *Achaia*, where he was initiated in the *Eleusian* Rites, after the Examples of *Hercules*, and King *Philip*. He was very generous to the *Athenians*, and presided at their Games. He sailed from thence to *Sicily*, where he had the Curiosity to visit the top of the Mountain *Ætna*, from thence to view the Rising Sun; how various they say, it appears there in its Colours, in the Nature of those of the Rainbow. From *Sicily* he came home to *Rome*, and from *Rome* he crossed the Sea again into *Africa*, leaving many Marks of his Liberality upon the Provinces of that Country; so that one may say, that scarce never hath there been a Prince known to Travel over so much Land, and with so much dispatch as he. He had no sooner returned back to *Rome* out of *Africa*, but he set upon a New Voyage into the *East*, and took his way through *Athens*. The Works which he had begun at *Athens*, he now finished and dedicated; amongst the rest, the Temple and the Altar of *Jupiter Olympius*. In *Asia*, as he travelled, he likewise Consecrated Temples there, which abide as so many Memorials of his Name. Whilst he was in *Cappadacia*, he admitted a Number of the People of that Country into the Service of his Army. He invited the Princes and the Kings of the Dominions where he came, to joyn in Friendship with him. Particularly he invited to his Friendship *Chosroes* the King of *Parthia*, to whom he returned his Daughter that *Trajan* had

Several other of his Voyages, &c.

had formerly taken Captive, promising the same as to a Chair of State, which had been then likewise taken and carried away in that War. He received those Kings when they came, so generously, and treated them in that manner, that others who staid away upon the Account, especially of *Pharismans*, who insolently slighted him, might have an occasion to repent themselves. As he traversed the Provinces, he punished some Procurators, and some Presidents of them for their Malversations so severely, that they said, he had a mind certainly to encourage Accusers to appear against them.

He had a great Displeasure against the People of *Antioch*, wherefore it was in his Thoughts to separate *Syria* from *Phanicia*, that *Antioch* should not be said to be the Metropolis of so many Cities. The *Jews* about this time broke into a War, because they were forbidden to Circumcise themselves. He went upon the Mountain *Lison*, which is near *Antioch*, in the Night, for the Curiosity of observing from thence the Rising-Sun. *Jupiter* was worshipped upon that Mountain, to whom, as *Hadrian* was Sacrificing there, a violent Storm arose with Thunder and Lightning, which blasted both the Victim and the Priest. He traversed *Arabia*, and came to the City of *Pelusium* or *Belvais* in *Egypt*. The Tomb of *Pompey* which is at this City being decayed, he rebuilt it with greater Magnificence.

As he was sailing upon the *Nile*, his dear *Antonius* died, for whom he wept with all the tender-

tenderness, and the weakness of a Woman *His Grief* weeping for her Husband. There are several *for Anti-* reports about that Youth. Some say that he *nous.* devoted himself a Sacrifice for *Hadrian*. Others, that he was what his Beauty might probably incite him to be, and the too great Pleasure which *Hadrian* took in a Burdash. However it was, the *Grecians*, at the desire of *Hadrian*, made a God of him; and we are told of Oracles which have been uttered by him; but they are rather some supposed Compositions of *Hadrian*; who was excellent at Verse, and indeed at all sorts of the *Belles Lettres*. For he had a great Hand at Arithmetick, Geometry, and Painting. He understood Musick, and played perfectly well upon many Instruments, and Sung. Loving his Pleasures so excessively, as he did, he could not but Compose many Poems of his Amours. Together with which he was a Master in the matter of Arms; had the Military Art in perfection, and was skilled at the Weapons of the Gladiatours. He was a Person equally Severe and Pleasant, Affable and Grave; Active and Considerate, Close and Liberal, Cruel and Merciful, in all things ever various.

He enriched his Friends, though they never did ask him any favour; and to others upon their asking he denyed nothing. But yet he was easie to give ear to every Tale which was but whispered concerning them. And this was the occasion, that almost all those whom either he had dearly loved, or whom he had raised to the highest Honours, were

His Seve-
rity and
Injustice.

were afterwards treated by him as Enemies; as was *Tatianus*, *Nepos*, and *Septimius Clarus*. Thus also *Eudæmon*, who had once been Privy to all his Counsels, and his Confident in the very Affair of his aspiring to the Empire, was reduced by him to extreme Beggery. He constrained *Polyænus* and *Marcellus* to murder themselves. He made the most notorious defamatory Libels upon *Heliodorus*. He suffered *Tatianus*, under a pretence of his being in a Conspiracy against him, to be Arraigned and Proscribed. He persecuted *Numidius Quadratus*, *Catilius Severus*, and *Turbo*, very grievously. He put to death *Servianus*, his Sisters Husband, when he was in his Ninetieth Year, only because he would be sure, that he should not out-live him. In fine, he Persecuted without remission both his Servants and his Soldiers. As ready as he was at his Compositions, always in Prose and Verse, and skilled in all the Liberal Arts; he yet laugh't at the Publick Professors of the Arts, and triumphed over them; entered many times into Solemn Disputes with all of them together, and with all the Philosophers; only for the Glory of Composing better Books, or better Verses than they. He excepted once particularly against a Word, which was used by *Favorinus*: who modestly submitting himself to him in it; but being blamed by his Friends for yielding the Cause so in a Word for which there was sufficient Authority to be produced out of good Authors; *Favorinus* made a very pleasant Jest upon it. Says he, *My Friends,*

you

you are much mistaken, if you do not allow me to believe him to be a Learned Man than us all, who is the Master of Thirty Legions.

So fond was he of his Glory, as to this Talent, that he writ his own Life, and afterwards gave it to his Servants (that were Scholars) to publish it only under their Names: Thus the Books under the name of *Pblegon*, are *Hadrians*. The *Catachriani* are his, which are extremely obscure pieces, in imitation of *Antimachus*. The Poet *Florus*, having writ-ten to him, thus, as follows;

*Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati Pruinas.*

That is,

I desire not to be *Cæsar*,
To Ramble amongst the *Britains*,
And be starved with the Frosts of *Scythia*.

He answered him again thus;

*Ego nolo Florus esse,
Ambulare per Tabernas,
Latitare per popinas,
Culices pati rotundos.*

That is,

I desire not to be *Florus*,
To Ramble amongst the Taverns,
Skulk about the Eating-Houses,
And be stung to death with Gnats.

He

His

Learning.

He took more delight in the Antient Writings than the Modern, and was pleased with making Declamations. He preferred *Cato* to *Cicero*, *Ennius* to *Virgil*, and *Calvus* to *Salust*; the like Judgement he passed upon *Homer* and *Plato*. He pretended to understand *Judicial Astrology* so very well, that upon the Calends of *January* in the Evening he would constantly set down in Writing, what in the whole ensuing year afterwards was to happen to him; insomuch that in that Year in which he died, he had written a Scheme of things, as far as to his last hour. But although he gave himself the liberty, as hath been said, to reprehend the Musicians, Tragedians, Comedians, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Philosophers, and Oratours, and to teize them perpetually with Questions, yet he preserved a real kindness for them, and honoured them with the marks of his esteem: If he had been the occasion, that many times they went dissatisfied from him, he said, *He however took it ill, if he saw any body do so.* He was more particularly familiar with the Philosophers *Epictetus* and *Heliodorus*, *Phavorinus*, was much in his favour. And when these Doctors became by Age unfit any longer for their Professions, he took care of them, and dismiss them from their Labours, with marks of Honour.

Some particular
Liberalities, &c.

The Enemies which he had in his Private Life, he forgave after he was Emperor. To one of them, his Expression was, after he was Emperor, *It is well, you have Escaped me.* He gave always Horses, Mules, Cloaths, Money,

ny, and all their Equipages to his Officers that he sent into the Provinces. He often sent his Ministers upon the Feasts of *Saturn* Presents, and accepted of others from them again. When he made a Royal Banquet for the Entertainment of a great number of Persons of the Court and the City, he hath ordered Dishes to be brought up to him from the lowermost Tables, to see whether they were well used there by the Servants of his Household. His Presents which he sent at any time to Princes, always exceeded those which they sent to him: He frequently Bathed in Publick, and in the Company of all the World without distinction: which gave an occasion to a pleasant Passage, which was this. There was a *Veteran* Soldier at the Bath, whom he had known in the War, scrubbing his Back and his Body against the Wall in a Corner, by himself. *Hadrian* seeing him, asked him *what was his fancy to rub himself so against the Walls?* The Man said, *It was, Because he had never a Servant to rub him.* Immediately *Hadrian* sent him one, and withal gave him an Estate to keep one. Another day, several other Old Men, in the like manner, were rubbing themselves against the Wall, in hopes to provoke *Hadrian* to be as bountiful to them. But instead of that he ordered them to be called out, and to take their turns to rub down one another. He was a lover of the Common People, and took a glory in shewing it. Fond of Travelling, and whatever he had read in Books concerning any part of the Earth, he was willing to learn

learn the truth of it upon the Place. He endured the Cold and the Weather so hardily, that he never went with his Head covered. To several Kings of the Countries where he came, he paid a great deal of respect. The most part of whom entred into Leagues of Friendship with him; some indeed slighted him. And to many he made great Presents, but no one Person greater than he did to *Pharismanes* the King of *Iberia*; to whom, besides other things which were Magnificent, he sent fifty Elephants. The Presents in return, which that King sent to him, were also great. But among the rest he had sent Tunicks Embroidered in Gold: in derision of which, *Hadrian* ordered Three hundred Malefactours to be dressed in the like Tunicks embroidered in Gold, wherein to fight upon the publick Stage the Prizes of the Gladiatours.

When he came upon Judgment in Person, he took to his assistance not only his Courtiers and Friends, but the professed Lawyers; especially *Juventius Celsus*, *Salvius Julianus*, *Neratus Priscus*, and others, who were Men Universally approved by the Senate. He ordered amongst other things, that no Houses in any City should in any wise be taken down, for the sake of rebuilding them in another, or transferring the Materials to another. He granted unto the Children of Persons proscribed, the twelfth part of the Estates of their Fathers. He admitted of no informations of High Treason. He refused to stand Heir to such as he did not know; neither would he

accept

accept the Inheritances of those he did, in case they had Children of their own to enjoy them. Concerning *Treasure-Trove*, his Constitution was; that if the Party had found it in his own Ground, he should take it to himself; if he found it in anothers, he should give a Moiety of it to the Proprietor of that Ground; if he found it upon the publick Ground, he should share it equally with the Exchequer. He made it unlawful for Masters to put their Slaves to death; and ordered, that Slaves should be Tried and Condemned by the publick Judges as they deserved it. His Law against such as had consumed their Estates, was, that if they were under their own Authority, they should be exposed to a publick Shame in the Amphitheatre, and then turned out of the Town. He took away the Private Prisons, for Servants and Slaves, which had used to be before in the Hands of their Masters. He separated the Baths for the distinct use of either Sex. If a Master was found kill'd in his House, he ordered that not all the Slaves should be put to the Question about the Murder, but those only who were near enough to have perceived and prevented it.

Some of
his Laws.

The Country of *Hetruria* nominated him to be their Prætor, and he was so, when he was Emperour. In like manner he was the Dictator, the *Ædilis*, and the *Duumvir*, that is, the Chief Magistrate so called, of several Towns in *Latium*. The City of *Naples* chose him to be their *Demarchus*. The City of *Sevil* in *Spain*, and that of *Adria* in *Italy*, which

W

were

were the two Places of the Descent of him and his Ancestours, chose him to be their *Quinquennalis*. At *Athens* he was the *Archon*. In almost all the Cities where he came he Built, and gave publick Sports to the People. At *Athens* he exhibited a Chase in the *Stadium*, of above a Thousand Wild Beasts. He never served himself upon these occasions of any Huntsmen, or Players from the City of *Rome*. At *Rome* the Pleasures of the Festivals, which he Celebrated to the Honour of his Mother-in-Law were infinite. Amongst the rest he made the People a Largess of Aromatick Sacrifices: and upon the Festivals to the honour of *Trajan* he commanded the several Seats of the Theatre to be perfumed with Balm and Saffron. He had Plays of all sorts acted in the Theatre, as antiently. He permitted the Comedians of the Court to Act in the Plays which were given by private Persons. He exhibited in the *Cirque* many Wild Beasts, and many times a hundred Lions to be killed at a time. He often treated the People with Anticks and Masquerades. He often went to see the Combats of the Gladiators. Amongst the infinite number of Works which he built in several places, he never caused his own Name to be Engraved upon any of them, but upon the Temple of *Trajan*. He re-edified the *Pantheon* at *Rome*, together with the *Septa*, the Temple of *Neptune*, a great many Religious Houses, the *Forum* of *Augustus*, and the *Bagnio* of *Agrippa*: all which he Consecrated anew, but still under their Proper, and their

their Antient Names. He built a Bridge over the *Tiber*, which he called by his own name, together with a Sepulchre for himself near the *Tiber*. He translated the Temple of the Goddess *Cybele* from the place where it was to another. He did the same to a *Colossus* which stood there, where now is the Temple of the City. This was a great and a laborious Task. It was removed in the Posture in which it was standing; being raised by the Architect *Hadrianus*; four and twenty Elephants were Employed upon it. After he had Re-consecrated this vast Coloss to the Sun, which before was Consecrated to *Nero*, whose Head was to it, he proposed to build such another Monument to the honour of the Moon, by the Hand of the Architect *Apollodorus*.

He was most extremely Affable and Courteous in his Discourses which he had with Persons of low degree; and he hated such as should Envy him a Pleasure which was so sensible to him, upon the pretence of maintaining the Gravity and Port of a Prince. At *Alexandria*, in the Academy, he both proposed several Questions to be answered by the Professors, and answered others which they proposed to him. *Marius Maximus* says, that he was in his own Nature Cruel; but yet that he did many Pious and obliging things: the reason whereof was his fear, that he might otherwise have the same Fortune with that which befel *Domitian*. Although he did not love Titles and Inscriptions upon his Works, he however called several Cities, even *Catagoga*.

His Memory and Wit.

shape it self, and a part of *Athens*, together with a multitude of Aqueducts, after his own name. He was the first who Created the Officer called *Advocatus Fisci*, that is, Advocate of the Exchequer. He had a happy Memory, and admirable Parts. He dictated all his own Speeches, and answered to every thing himself. There are several of his Jest; being a very pleasant Man in Conversation. Amongst the rest, this is one: an old Man in Gray Hairs having asked him something, which he denyed him, and coming to ask it again, but with his Hair tinged first unto a youthful colour; says he to him, *I have already denyed this thing to your Father*. He remembered Persons by their Names so very well, without the help of a Prompter, that though he had heard them but once, he presently corrected any one that mistook them. He remembered even the Names of all the old Soldiers, whom he had disbanded. The Books which he read, though they were out of the common way, and difficult, he would repeat to you again almost entirely by heart. At one and the same time, he Writ, Dictated, hearken'd to Discourse, and discoursed himself with his Ministers. He retained in his mind all the Publick Affairs so well, that no diligent Master of a Family, better knows those of his own House. He loved his Horses and Dogs to that degree, that he built them Tombs, and writ them Epitaphs. He built a Town, which he called *Adrianotheræ*, in a certain place, in *Mæsia*; only because he had hunted with good

good Success there; at what time he kill'd a Bear with his own hand.

He made an exact enquiry always into all things acted by the Presidents of the Provinces, until he was satisfied in the Truth. He suffered not his Servants, whom he had Manumitted, to Influence him, nor to be thought to do so. He said, that it was the easiness of the Princes his Predecessours, which had been the occasion always of the Vices of those Men. Therefore if any of his pretended to have gained an Interest in him, he presently punished them. We have an instance of this Nature, in what he did particularly to one of them, whom he saw out of a Window walking in the midst betwixt two Senatours. It is severe, and yet it comes something near to a piece of Raillery. He sent one to him, to give him a Box on the Ear, and to tell him; *That it was not for him to walk betwixt two Senatours, to whom he might still be reduced to be a Slave*. Of all Dishes of Meat, his fancy was especially for an Oglio of Pheasants, Brawn, &c. In histime a Famine, a Plague, and an Earthquake happen'd. For all which he expiated the Gods by Sacrifices as much as it was possible; and generously succoured the People and the Cities, that were laid wast by them: There was also an Inundation of the *Tiber*. He made several Cities free of *Rome*, and to others he remitted their Tribute. No great Expeditions happened under his Reign. His Wars passed over almost in silence. He was beloved by the Soldiers; because he took

F 3 always

always a great Care of them, and was very bountiful to them. The *Parthians* were his stedfast Friends, because he delivered them from the Yoke which *Trajan* had imposed upon them. He permitted the *Armenians* to have a King of their own; whereas under *Trajan* they received a *Roman* Lieutenant. He did not exact of the *Mesopotamians* the Tribute which was imposed upon them by *Trajan*. The Countries of *Albania* and *Iberia* were very affectionate to him: The Kings of the *Bactrians* sent their Ambassadors to him, and humbly desired his Friendship.

His Care
of the
Publick.

He oftentimes himself appointed the Persons who should be the Guardians to *minori*. He took Care of the publick Manners, no less than he did of the Discipline of the Army. He commanded the Senators and the *Roman* Gentlemen to appear always in Publick in Gowns. Accordingly himself, when in *Italy*, went always in a Gown. He received the Senators standing, when they came to wait upon him at his Banquets. He settled, with the help of the Magistrates for that purpose, the Expences, beyond which no one should exceed in their Feasts; which he reformed according to the antient *Julian* Law. He forbade the Citizens to appear attended with so much heavy Equipages as they did, coming out of the Country. He suffered not the Baths to be opened before Two a Clock in the Afternoon, unless it was for the Sick. He was the first of the Emperors who took of the Knights and Gentlemen to serve him as his Secretaries.

Secretaries. He had a Compassion for such amongst them as were poor, and he knew were of an innocent Life; as much as on the other hand, he hated a Man who was grown Rich by Craft. He took great Care to observe the Holy Rites of the Religion of the *Romans*: But as for others which were of Foreign Institution, he slighted them. He officiated in Person as High Priest. He many times had Causes tried before him at *Rome*, and in the Provinces; admitting the Consuls, the Prætors, and some of the best Heads of the Senate to his assistance, as his Council. He cleansed the Lake *Fucinus*. He appointed Four Proconsuls for the Administration of Justice throughout all *Italy*. At his coming into *Africa* it rained, which it not having done in that Country before in five Years; this was an occasion that he was very dear to that People.

Going always in his Travels in all Parts, with his Head uncovered, and many times in the greatest Showrs, and the greatest Colds, at last he fell into a Sicknèss, which obliged him to take to his Bed; and being solicitous about the Person whom he should make a Choice of for his Successour, his first Thoughts carried him upon *Servianus*; but upon a further Consideration, as hath been said, he put him to Death, together with *Fuscus*, whom he hated upon the account of certain Presages and Prodigies which had happened, and which might give *Fuscus* the Encouragement to dare to hope for the Empire. The like jealousy

He sickens

His Jealousie.

He adopts
Ælius
Venus.

which he was inclined to have of *Pletorius Nepos*, made him, that now he hated him, as much as before he had loved him. Thus he hated also *Terentius Gentianus*, and so much the more, as he knew, that he was beloved by the Senate. In short, he had an aversion to every one, upon whom he look'd with an Eye of jealousy, as if they aspired to the Empire in his place. But still he however stifled all the Motions of that Cruelty which was in his Heart, till such time as he was brought almost to his last, of a Flux of Blood at *Tivoli*; and then he ordered *Servianus* directly to be put to Death, pretending he was one who had affected the Empire, having treated the Servants of the Court with Suppers, and sat himself down in the Chair which is for the Emperor, and courted the Favour of the Soldiers. Several others at the same time by his Order, either publick or private were put to Death; which is the less to be admired, because *Sabina*, his own Consort, died suddenly after, not without a Suspicion of her being Poysoned by him. In the next place, he took up a Resolution to adopt *Cesennius Commodus Verus*, the Son-in Law of *Nigrinus* the Conspirator before-mentioned; being a Youth whose Beauty had formerly recommended him to him. So he accordingly did it, and called him by the Name and Title of *Ælius Verus Caesar*, how displeasing soever this was to others. To honour whose Adoption, he gave the Games of the *Cirque* to the People, and bestowed upon both the People and the Soldiers a Free Bounty. He made him a Prætor,

tor, and gave him immediately the Charge of the Province of *Pannonia*. He created him a Consul, and furnished his Expences. He appointed him a second time Consul, till seeing him in so ill a Condition of Health, as not to be one likely long to live. I have, said he, depended upon a falling Wall, and the Four Thousand Sesterces are lost, which I spent upon the People and the Soldiers upon the Adoption of *Commodus*. And indeed *Commodus* was so ill, he was not able so much as to go and return his Thanks to *Hadrian* in the Senate, for the Honour which he had done him. And having taken at last a Dose which happened to be too strong for him, his Illness redoubled, and he fell into a Sleep, in which he died, the first Day of *January*; which being a solemn Day for Congratulating the Emperor upon the New Year, and of making Oblations to the Gods, there was an Order from *Hadrian* to put off the Mourning on that Day for his Death.

Who dies.

Ælius Verus Caesar being dead, and *Hadrian* finding himself still worse, as to his own Indisposition, he adopted next *Arrius Antoninus*, who was afterwards called *Antoninus the Pious*; that is, he adopted him upon this Condition, that *Antoninus* should adopt two others, who were *Annius Verus*, and *Marcus Antoninus*: who as they were both afterwards Emperors, were the first Two that sat upon the Throne together, and reigned in Conjunction with one another. The reason of giving to *Arrius Antoninus* the Title of the *Pious*, was, because he shew'd

He adopts
Antoninus

shew'd himself so careful of his Father-in-Law in his great Years, that he led him by the Hand, as he went to, or came from the Senate; or according to others, because he was the Occasion of the Preservation of the Lives of several of the Senators, when *Hadrian* was in his Frensie for killing them; or lastly, because he performed great Honours to the Memory of *Hadrian* after his Death. However it is, there were many who regretted the Adoption of *Antoninus*, and especially *Catilius Severus*, the Governour of Rome; who was diligently paving himself a way to the Throne, which being discovered, he was deprived of his Place, and another Person put into it. *Hadrian* impatient under the last Pangs of Life, commanded a Servant to run him through with a Sword. *Antoninus* being made acquainted with this, went in to him, in Company with the Officers of the Court, and beseeching him to take his great Sicknes, as it was unavoidable, with more constancy, he was angry at them, and commanded that the Discoverer of what he had said to the Servant should be put to Death. But *Antoninus* saved him, and said, *That he should think himself a Parricide, if he should suffer Hadrian, who had adopted him, to be murdered.* Then he made his last Will, not forgetting therein the Interest of the State. He endeavoured, after he had made his Will, to kill himself with his own Hand. But the Weapon was wrested from him; and this made him perfectly furious. He commanded a Physician to give him Poyson, who, it is said,

His Impatience in his Sicknes.

said, chose to kill himself upon the Place, rather than to Poyson his Prince.

About this time, there came a certain Woman, who said, *She had been admonished in a Dream, that she should go and advise Hadrian not to kill himself, because he would one day recover; which she not observing to do as she was ordered, she pretended she had been struck blind upon it. However, she said, she was commanded upon the same Errand again, and told, that when she had done it, and had kissed the Feet of Hadrian, she should receive her sight; so she did it, and she received her Sight accordingly, after washing her Eyes in the Water of the Temple from whence she came.* There came out of *Pannonia* to *Hadrian*, whilst he was in a Fever, a Man, who also pretended he had been long blind; who touching *Hadrian*, not only received his Sight, but also *Hadrian* was quitted of his Fever: that is, says *Marius Maximus*, *These things were all a Fiction, of the Contrivance of Antoninus, to heal the wounded imagination of Hadrian, and divert him from murdering himself.* Then *Hadrian* went to *Baie*, leaving *Antoninus* at Rome to govern: but nothing at that Place doing him good, he sent for *Antoninus* to him, and died in his presence at *Baie* upon the Sixth Day of the *Ides* of July. A little before his Death, he ordered *Servianus*, who was Ninety Years old, as I said, to be kill'd, only because he should not outlive him, and as he imagined, gain the Empire. Many others for pretended Offences he ordered likewise to be so served; but

Antoninus

His Death

Antoninus preserved them. Dying, he spoke these Verses;

*Animula vagula, blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca?
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec ut soles dabis jocos.*

That is,

*My little fluttering flattering Soul,
My Body's constant Guest and Mate
To what gloomy Place dost go?
Pale and numm'd, and stript of all,
No more to jest, as thou hast wont.*

*His Per-
sonage.*

He was the Author of some Greek Verses of this sort, which were not much better. He lived Seventy Two Years, Five Months, and Seventeen Days; and reigned Twenty One Years and Eleven Months. He was tall and well made as to his Person; his Hair naturally Curling; a long Beard, which covered some Spots which he had upon his Face, and of a robust Constitution. He rid and walked very well; exercised himself constantly at Arms, and the Javelin; often hunted, and hath kill'd a Lion with his own hand; his Friends hunted in Company with him. At his Banquets, he had the diversions of Tragedies, Comedies, Dancing, Musicians, Rehearsers, and Poets. He built a House at the City of *Tivoli*, which was an extraordinary Structure; and gave the Names of the *Lyceum*, *Academia*, *Prytanæum*,

Prytanæum, *Canopus*, *Pæcile*, and *Tempe*, which are the most Famous Names of Places abroad, together with others of the Provinces, unto the several Parts of it; and that he might leave nothing undone to adorn it, he represented in another Part in Painting, the Infernal Regions. The Signs which fore-shew'd his Death, were these: As he was in his Pray-
ers on the last Anniversary of his Birth, *His Death fore-shew-
ed.* recommending *Antoninus*, his Son, to the Gods, the Lappet of his Robe which he threw over his Head, slipt down of it self, and left him uncovered. A Ring which had his Effigies cut upon it, fell in like manner of it self, off his Finger: The Day before that, there came one, I know not who, screeking and crying into the Senate; none of the Senate understood what he said; but yet *Hadrian* was moved at him, as if he had said something concerning his Death: Speaking to the Senate, instead of *post filii mei mortem*, after the Death of my Son, which he intended to say, he said, *post mortem meam*, after my Death. He dreamt that he had asked, and had obtained of his Father a Potion to make him sleep: Another time, that he was oppressed by a Lion.

After his Death a great many Persons spoke very hard things against him. The Senate would have made void his Acts; neither had he been deified, but that *Antoninus* begged it; who not only did this, but built a Temple to him at *Pozzuolo*, and instituted in his Honour Games to be celebrated every Five Years, and appointed him his Priests and Fraternities,

ternities, with all other things belonging to the Service of a God. Upon which account it was, as many think at least, and as I have already intimated, that the Title of the *Pious* was given to *Antoninus*.

THE
L I F E
O F

Ælius Verus Cæsar.

BY
ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS:

TO THE
THE
EMPEROR
DIOCLESIAN,

ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS *his Slave wisheth*
Health.

AS it is my Design, Sir, humbly to lay at the Feet of your Majesty, who are the greatest of so many Princes, an Account, not only of those who have sat upon the Roman Throne before you, as I have already done in the Princes from Julius Cæsar, down unto Hadrian, but of those also who either have been

been honoured with the Title of Cæsars, or upon any other Account have had the Reputation to be proposed for the Crown, although they did not afterwards succeed to it. I cannot omit here the Life especially of Ælius Verus Cæsar, who was incorporated into the Royal Family by the adoption of Hadrian, but enjoy'd the Name only of a Cæsar, and did not live to be Emperor. And because there is but little to be said of him, and the Preface ought not to be long in a such small Narration as this, I immediately proceed.

Cejonius Commodus, or as he is otherwise called Ælius Verus, was adopted by Hadrian, when the Maladies of that Prince increasing upon him with his Age, pressed him to appoint his Successour, after his return from his many Travels about the World. His Life affords us nothing that is more memorable than this, to wit, His Quality as a Cæsar; given him not by a last Will and Testament, as formerly it had descended; nor yet was it given him in the manner, in which the Adoption of Trajan was by Nerva; but so as in our time, Maximianus and Constantius have been created Cæsars by your Majesty; that is, to signify they are as it were, the Princes of the Blood, and the appointed Heirs of the Empire. And because it may be fit that something here should be said concerning the Name of Cæsar; the Opinion of the most Learned about it, is, That he who was the first called so, was either called Cæsar from an Elephant, which in the Language of the Moors is called Cæsa, which he bravely slew in

The signification of Cæsar.

in the Field; or because his Mother dying in her Labour with him, he was *Ventre Cæso natus*, cut out of her Belly; or because he was born *cum magna Cæsarie*, with much Hair upon his Head; or because *oculis Cæsis viguerit*, he had Grey Eyes, which were bright and vigorous to a Miracle. However it is, it was certainly a happy Necessity that was the occasion of a Name so famous, which is like to be as Eternal as the World: The person, of whom we at present speak, receiv'd it in virtue of his Adoption by Hadrian. His Father was *Cejonius Commodus*, whom others call *Verus*, others *Lucius Aurelius*, others *Annius*. All his Ancestours were Persons of good Quality, whose Original for the most part was out of the Country of *Hetruria*, or the City *Faenza*. Of which Family we shall have an occasion to speak more fully hereafter, in the Life of *Lucius Aurelius Cejonius Commodus Verus Antoninus*, the Son of this *Verus*, whom *Antoninus* the Pious was commanded to Adopt. For in that Life will be contained every thing which concerns the Stem of this House, as it gives an account of a Prince who hath a great many more things to be said of him than this here.

His Ancestors.
his Wife.

So *Ælius Verus* being Adopted by *Hadrian*, in the time, as I have said, that he was very weak, and was necessarily to think of a Successour, and being presently made a Prætor upon it, and appointed to be the President of *Pannonia*, he was in the next place Created Consul: and in regard that he was the Person design'd

His Behaviour
in his
Province.

design'd for the Empire, he was appointed to be Consul a second time. A Largeſs was given to the People upon the occaſion of his Adoption, and three thouſand *Sextertiums* amongſt the Soldiers, and the Games of the Cirque Celebrated; ſo that nothing was omitted to be done in order to proclaim a publick Joy: and his Intereſt with *Hadrian* became in ſine ſo great, that he alone obtained from him whatever he deſired, upon the leaſt Letter which he wrote to him. Nor was he wanting to the Province to which *Hadrian* preferred him. For although he might not ariſe to the ſame of a Governour of the higheſt Form; yet he managed his Affairs ſo well, or rather ſo fortunately, that he was eſteemed to come up to the next ſtep to that Character: but on the other Hand he was ſo ſickly and ſo feeble, that *Hadrian* ſoon repented himſelf of his Adoption, and perhaps if he could, he would willingly have removed him again, if he had lived, out of the Royal Family, becauſe he was often placing his thoughts on others, whom he might admit to the ſame. Some, who have been very diligent to Collect the Life of *Hadrian*, pretend to ſay, that *Hadrian* underſtood very well the Nativity of *Verus*; and not ſo much approving him for a Perſon to make an Emperour of, he had Adopted him, rather to ſerve his Pleaſures, and to ſatiſſie a certain Paſſion which he had conceived for him: and what upon this occaſion was acted betwixt him and *Verus*, was kept ſecret under an Oath. Indeed that *Hadrian* was really ſkilful

ſkilful in the Science of *Aſtrology*, is what is ſo fully attested by *Marinus Maximus*, that he ſays, that he Calculated the future Paſſages of all the days of his own life, to the very hour in which he dyed.

It is beſides certain enough, that *Hadrian* hath many times applied to *Verus*, out of *Virgil*, theſe words;

*Oſtendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
Eſſe ſinent.*————

The Fates will, he ſhall but to th' World be ſhown,

And from its earneſt Graſp be hurried ſoon.

Walking one day in his Garden, he was pleaſed very much with repeating theſe words, and a learned Man being with him, in which ſort of Converſation he delighted, becauſe it was popular, who deſired to add, as it is in *Virgil*,

— *Nimium vobis Romana Propago
Viſa potens, ſuperi, propria hæc ſi dona fuiſſent;*

To th' Gods the Roman Power would ſeem too great,

If their own Sway they could perpetuate.

Hadrian replied, that that part of the Character did not conſiſt with the Fate of *Verus*; and then he added himſelf, as follows,

— *Manibus date lilia plenis,
Purpureos ſpargam flores, animamque nepotis
His ſaltem accumulem donis, & fungar inani
Munere*————

G 2

Come

— Come, hither bring
 Handfuls of Lilies, Flow'rs of purple hue
 Upon his baleful Corps I'll freely strew,
 With these poor Gifts I'll please his fleeting Ghost,
 Vainly bestow'd, alas, on one for ever lost.

Another time he expressed himself concerning him thus, and laughed, *I have Adopted my self a God, and not a Son.* Nor was the Event different from the Horoscope which he had drawn of it: For when *Ælius Verus* was returned from his Province, and had provided himself a very fine Oration, which is now Extant; whether it was of his own Composing, or that his Secretaries, or his Rhetoricians did it for him, in which, upon the Calends of *January* he was to have return'd his thanks to *Hadrian* for the honour which he had done him; he instead of that died upon that very day, and it was forbidden by *Hadrian* to observe the Mourning for him then, because of the Vows and the Congratulations intervening, which are the peculiar business Dedicated to the first day of *January*.

His
 Death.

His Cha-
 racter.

He was one who passed his time in a course of Pleasure, and had been instructed in Letters; but more acceptable unto *Hadrian*, at least as some would have it, more for the sake of his Beauty, than any thing else. He had not been long at the Court. His private life, as it was not admirable nor much to be commended for his Virtues; so neither was it much subject to be reproached. He was mindful of the Family

mily into which he was Adopted. Went always neat and proper in his Dress; had the Meen and Air of a Prince, an obliging Aspect, a handsome way of expressing himself, ready at the making of a Verse, and no unfit Person for the Service of the State. Those who have written his life, have made mention of a great many Pleasures which he delighted in; and which although they are not infamous, yet perhaps he was a little too much addicted to them. The Oglia of Pheasants, Brawn, &c. which was *Hadrian's* great Dish, is said to have been of the invention first of *Ælius Verus*. And another sort of Pleasure of his invention was this: he made himself a Bed with four Heads to it; that is to every Quarter of it a Head, with Curtains all about of fine Net-work: and strewing it full of the Leaves of pick'd Roses, there he lay enjoying his Concubines, and his Company, covered with a Sheet of Flowers, and perfumed with the Odours of *Persia*. He had always the Books of *Ovid's Amorum* upon the Bed with him, together with *Martial's* the Epigrammatist, who he said, was his *Virgil*. And not to omit his other, though more inconsiderable Actions; He gave his Lackeys and his Couriers Wings to their Cloaths, like so many *Cupid's*; and he called them by the names of the Winds. One he called *Boreas*, another *Notus*, another *Aquilo* or *Circius*, and so of the rest: and he made them run perpetually, and unmercifully. He told his Wife, when she

His Plea-
 sures.

G 3

com-

complained, it is said, to him, of the liberties which he took with other Women, *A Wife was a Name of Honour, but not of Pleasure; you will give me leave, Madam, to have my Pleasures therefore elsewhere.* His Son was *Antoninus Verus*; who was Adopted at the same time with *Marcus Antoninus*; which two, *Verus* and *Marcus*, Reigning in Conjunction afterwards with one another, are they who are called the *Duo Augusti*, in the Calendars of the Consuls: Some of which Calendars have taken the Consulships of the *Duo Augusti* for the *Ara*, from which they Commence their Accounts of the Consuls.

At the time of his Adoption, *Hadrian* spent an Infinite deal of Money upon the Soldiers and the People. But when he saw him so sickly, and so far gone in health, that he had not the force left to manage a Shield, *I have lost*, says he, *the four thousand Sestertium, which I spent upon the Soldiers and the People: I have lean'd my self against a falling Wall, and upon a Man, who is so far from being able to support the weight of the State, that he is no support to my self.* This it seems he spoke to an Officer of the Household, who repeated it again, till it came to the Ears of *Ælius Verus*: who growing every day worse and worse with the concern to be sensible, that he was so despair'd of, *Hadrian* turned that Officer, for discovering it, out of his place; and was willing to seem to mitigate, what he had said; but this was all one. For in fine, as we have already

already said, *Lucius Cæsonius Commodus Verus Ælius Cæsar*, for he was called by all these names, died; and was buried with all the Ceremonies observed at the Funerals of Princes; the only Royal honour, which he ever had, being those at his death. *Hadrian*, who regretted his death like a good Father, was a long time afterwards dubious upon what he should do: at last he Adopted *Antoninus* the *Pious*, as he was called; upon whom he imposed this condition, that *Antoninus* should likewise Adopt *Marcus* and *Verus*, and should Marry his Daughter, not to *Marcus*, but to *Verus*. And this was one of the last things he spoke to. He had been used to say; that a Prince ought to dye sound of mind. Then he grew worse, and the Complication of his Maladies carried him off.

Honour done him at his Funerals.

He had ordered large Statues to be set up in all parts to the honour of *Ælius Verus Cæsar*, in some Cities and Temples. Also he admitted his Son, whom he had obliged *Antoninus* to Adopt, into the Royal Family, as his own Grandson; often saying, Let the Empire have all that it can of *Ælius Verus*. *Verus* the Son brought no small Lustre to the Imperial Family, especially by his Clemency. This is what I have thought fit to observe concerning *Ælius Verus Cæsar*: whom I would not omit, because I have made it my resolution to write the History of all those, who since *Julius Cæsar*, the Emperour, have been either called Emperours, or *Cæsars*, or have been

Adopted into the Imperial Family, and Consecrated the Sons or Kinsmen of Emperours, by the name of *Cæsars*. In which, though there is no necessity that obliges me to it, as some think, I shall satisfy, at least, my own Inclinations, whatever I do as to others.

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
ANTONINUS the PIOUS.

Dedicated to the

EMPEROR
DIOCLESIAN.

By JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

THE *Titus Aurelius Fulvius Bononius Antoninus*, called the *Pious*, derived his Origin by his Father's side, from *Nismes* in *Languedoc*. His Grandfather by his Father's side was *Titus Aurelius Fulvius*, who through several

veral other Honours, came to be twice a Consul, and to be the Governour of the City of Rome. His Father was *Aurelius Fulvius*, who was also a Consul, and a Person of great Virtue and Integrity. His Mother was *Arria Fadilla*. His Grandmother by his Mother's side, *Bojonia Procilla*. His Grandfather by the same side, *Arrius Antoninus* who was twice Consul, and a holy virtuous Man; who instead of Congratulating, compassionated *Nerva*, to see him advanced to that difficult Station of a Prince. His Wife's Father was *Julius Lupus*, a Consul. His Sister, by the same Venter, was *Julia Fadilla*. His Wife was *Annia Faustina*: by whom he had two Sons and two Daughters. The eldest Daughter married *Zamia Syllanus*: the yonger to *Marcus Antoninus*. *Antoninus Pius* was born at a Seat near *Lavinia*, in the *Campagna di Roma*, upon the thirteenth of the Calends of October, in the Consulships of *Domitian* and *Cornelius Dolabella*; which was then the twelfth time of the Consulship of *Domitian*. He was brought up at another Seat, called *Laurium*, upon the *Aurelian* way: where he afterwards built a Palace, which hath some remains of it, standing at this day. He passed his Infancy betwixt his two Grandfathers, sometimes with the one, and sometimes the other; and being very dutiful and observant to all his Relations, several of them left their Estates to him, which made him very Rich.

His Personage
and Conditions.

He was handsome as to his Person, full of Wit, of a sweet and courteous Behaviour, a generous

generous Countenance, Easie, Eloquent, and of a polite Literature. He was Sober, a great lover of the Country and Agriculture; Mild, Bountiful; not coveting other Men's Goods; Discreet, and all this without Vanity. He was every thing, which is commendable; and may be very justly compared with *Numa Pompilius*, according to the Opinion of most good Men. The Senate conferred upon him the Title of the *Pious*, either because he was used to lead by the Hand, in their fight, his decrepit Father-in-Law to and from the Senate; (tho' it would be rather, an impious thing not to discharge such a Devoir, than it is an Argument of great Piety to do it;) or because it was he, who had preserved the lives of those whom *Hadrian* in his Frenzy had commanded to be murdered; or because he decreed such infinite and unexpected Honours, to *Hadrian* his Father, after his death; or because when *Hadrian* would have killed himself, he hindred him from it with all the care he could; or lastly, because he was in his Nature a most mild Person, and had done nothing that was disobliging or Cruel in all his life. He lent out his Money at the small Interest of four per Cent. to assist the Poor in their Occasions, with that Fortune which he had. He was a generous Questor; splendid and noble when he was a Prætor, and Consul in Conjunction with *Catilius Severus*. He lived for the most part in the Country, all the time he was a private man; but wherever he was, he was in great renown. So that when *Hadrian* com-

Why sur-
nam'd the
Pious.

mitted

mitted the Affairs of *Italy* unto the Administration of four Proconsuls, he made a choice of him to be one of them, to Govern in that part where he had the greatest Estate: in which he equally consulted the Honour and the Repose of this great Person.

Omens of
his Suc-
cession to
the Em-
pire.

He received an Omen of his future Succession to the Empire, in the time of this his Administration. For amongst the Acclamations which were made to him, as he sat upon the Bench in the Court, some cried, *Auguste, Dii te servent; The Gods save your Majesty*. Next he was made the Proconsul of *Asia*, where he behaved himself so well, that he alone out-did his Grandfather *Arrius Antoninus*, the Equity of whose Government no Person had ever surpassed before. In this Proconsulship he received another good Omen of his future Reign. The Priests, at the City of *Tralles* in *Lydia*, who according to Custom saluted the Proconsuls upon their arrival there with an *Ave Proconsul*, did not say *Ave Proconsul* to *Antoninus*, but *Ave Imperator, Hail, O Emperour*. At the City *Ciziqua* upon the *Propontis*, a Crown which before stood upon the Head of an Image of a God, was translated from thence, and found upon a Statue of *Antoninus*. His Statues throughout all the Country of *Hebruria* were covered with swarms of Bees. As he went to *Asia*, he lost his eldest Daughter. His Wife, they say, was one that contracted a great many Censures by the too great Liberties which she allowed herself in her Life and Conversation; which

Anto-

Antoninus dissembled as much as he could; but not without some trouble to support her Credit. After his Proconsulship, he lived ordinarily at *Rome*: where he was of the Council to *Hadrian*; and in all things upon which *Hadrian* consulted him, he made appear the sweetness of his Sentiments; and gave his Verdict always on the most mild and merciful side.

The occasion of his Adoption was thus, *His A-*
When *Ælius Verus Cæsar* died, whom *Hadrian* adoption.
had Adopted in order to succeed in the Empire, a day being appointed for the Senate to Assemble; *Antoninus* came amongst the rest, leading and supporting by the Hand his decrepit Father-in-Law; which was so agreeable a sight, that *Hadrian*, some say, Adopted him for that very reason. But yet this could not be all: because *Antoninus* was one, who challenged his consideration upon other accounts. For he had always executed his part in the Government very well, and in his Proconsulship had approved himself a Person of great Fidelity and Ability. Therefore when *Hadrian* had declared to the World that it was his intention to Adopt him, he took a time to deliberate with himself, whether he should consent to it, or no. This Condition was imposed upon him; that as *Hadrian* did Adopt him, so he should Adopt *Marcus Antoninus*, who was his Wife's Brother's Son; and *Lucius Verus*, who was afterwards called *Verus Antoninus*, the Son of *Ælius Verus Cæsar* who had been the first Adopted by *Hadrian*. So *Antoninus* was Adopted upon the fifth of the Calende

Calends of *March*; and having thanked *Hadrian* in the Senate for the great honour which he had done him; he received the Proconsular and the Tribunitian Powers upon him, as a Colleague in the Empire with his Father. Then he presented the Soldiers and the People with a Largeſs upon this occasion; he gave them besides, what his Father *Hadrian* promised them. He contributed a great deal towards the Works of *Hadrian*. The Tribute which upon the occasion of his Adoption was presented him by *Italy* and the Provinces, he remitted wholly to the first, and a Moiety of it to the latter: and he was most religiously Observant of *Hadrian* all the time that they afterwards lived together.

His Behaviour when Emperor.

When *Hadrian* died at *Baia*, *Antoninus* removed his Reliques with all due Respect and Ceremony to *Rome*: where he laid him in State in the Gardens of *Domitian*; and though contrary to the general Opinion, he caused him to be received as a God. The Senate gave to *Faustina*, who was the Consort of *Antoninus*, the Title of *Augusta*, which he permitted. To himself they gave the Title of *Pius*; he accepted it. He accepted very freely the Statues, which they likewise decreed to the honour of his deceased Father, Mother, Grandfathers, and Brothers. He accepted the Games of the *Cirque*, which were appointed to Celebrate his Birth-day. But other Honours which they offered him he refused. He hung up a most magnificent Shield to the honour of *Hadrian*, and appointed him his Priests. He removed

removed none of those, out of their Places, after he was Emperour, who had been promoted by *Hadrian*. He continued the same Persons Presidents and Governours, seven or nine years together, if they deserved it, he was so little given to change. He made many Wars by his Lieutenants. He overcame the *Britains* by *Lollius Urbicus*: who at the same time repulsed the Barbarians, and built another Wall, which was of Turf, in that Country, for a Partition betwixt the *Roman Britains* and them. He forced the *Moors* to sue to him for a Peace; he *Germans*, the *Daci*, and several other Nations. The *Jews* in their Rebellion were repressed by his Presidents, and his Commanders. He repressed the rebellious in *Achaia* and *Egypt*; and the *Alani* in their Attempts were constrained to contain themselves within due Bounds.

He ordered that his Receivers should proceed with all moderation in gathering the Tribute of the Provinces. If they exceeded their proper limits, he called them by his Authority to an account; because he was never pleased with a Gain, by which the Subject was oppressed. He was always willing to hearken to the Complaints, which were made against his Officers and his Receivers. He moved the Senate for a full Indemnity for those whom *Hadrian* had in his Frenzy condemned to die; because he said, *Hadrian himself, had he lived, would have done it*. He mixt the Grandeur and the Majesty of an Emperour with all the Civility of a Gentleman; which the more added

Honour
done to

ded to his Grandeur. His method as to Business, was, not to pass it through the Hands of others, but to speak to the Party himself: which disabled the Courtiers from amusing and cheating People out of their Money, at any time, with empty Pretences. He paid as great a respect to the Senate, when Emperor, as he could wish, when he was a Private Man, it should receive from any other Prince. The Title of *Pater Patriæ*, or Father of his Country; which the Senate gave him, but which he had declined to accept in the beginning, he afterwards received with a great deal of thanks. In the third Year of his Reign he lost his Consort *Faustina*. The Senate Consecrated her a Goddess. They appointed her a Temple and Priestesses; Games in her honour, and Statues of Gold and Silver. And *Antoninus* ordered that her Effigies should be carried in the Procession always to the Games of the *Cirque*. He accepted the honour of having his own Statue set up in Gold, which the Senate had decreed him. He created *Marcus Antoninus* from a Quæstor a Consul, at the Prayer of the Senate. He created *Annius Verus*, who was afterwards called *Verus Antoninus*, a Quæstor before the due time by the Law. He Enacted nothing, neither concerning the Provinces, nor any other Affairs without the advice of his Ministers, and then he formed his Constitutions according to their Judgments. He permitted himself to be seen by his Friends, undressed; and sometimes wore within his House, Cloaths like any private Man. So

So great was his Diligence, and so entire his Application to Business, that he took a Care of all Persons and all Things, as particularly as tho' they were his own. All the Provinces flourished under him: He put down the Trade of Informers. Never fewer Estates were confiscated: The only Person proscribed, was *Attilius Tatianus*, who was convicted of a Design upon the Empire. For *Antoninus* forbade the Senate to enquire into his Accomplices, and continued his Kindness even to his Son, always in all things. It is true, *Priscianus* died also, for having favoured him: But his Death was what he voluntarily committed upon himself; and he suffered no more search to be made into that Conspiracy. The Table of *Antoninus* was such, as to be Rich without Extravagance, and Frugal without any unhand-someness: His own Servants furnished it: His own Fowlers, Fishers, and Huntsmen. He exposed the use of his own Bath to the People, gratis; and alter'd in nothing from the Customs of his private Life. He subtracted Pensions from such as he saw did nothing for them to deserve them; because he said, *It was most absurd and cruel, to suffer that a State should be pill'd and gnawed by Persons who contribute nothing to it by their Service, but live in Idleness.* He diminished the Pension of *Mesomedes*, the Lyrick Poet of *Crete*. He informed himself in the Accounts of all the Provinces and their Tribute, perfectly well. He gave his Daughter his Paternal Estate, but yet so, as to hold

H it

it of the Crown. He sold such of the Furniture of the Palace, and all Superfluities, as had only served for the Luxury of former Emperors; and lived by times, according to the Season, at his own private Seats. He took no Journeys, but to go to his own Lands in *Campania*; because he said, *The Retinue of a Prince is always heavy upon the Country through which he passes, let him be as sparing as he can.* Nevertheless, his Authority was great amongst all Foreign Nations, whilst he kept himself in repose at *Rome*, the Heart and Centre, as it were, of the Empire; where by his Expresses, he easily received the News of all Parts: He continued to give Largeesses to the People, and the Soldiers. He made a charitable Establishment for the Maintenance of certain young Children, whom he called by the Name of *Faustina's* Children, in the memory of his Consort. His Works at this day extant at *Rome*, are these; a Temple to the Honour of *Hadrian*: The *Græcoſtadium*, after a Fire, he rebuilt: He repair'd the *Amphitheatre*, the Sepulchre of *Hadrian*, the Temple of *Agrippa*; and the Bridge elsewhere call'd *Pons Sublicius* over the *Tyber*: he repair'd the Light Tower at the Port of *Gajeta*, and the Harbour at *Terracina*; as also the Bagnio at *Ostia*, the Aqueduct at *Antium*, and the Temples of *Lavinia*. He furnished several Cities with Money, either to make themselves New Works, or to restore their Old: He gave to Magistrates and to the Senators Money, to enable them the better to discharge their

His public Works

their Functions with Honour. He refused the Inheritances which were left him, where there were Children to enjoy the same. He never turned a good Officer out of his Place, to put in another: *Orphitus* the Governour of the City desired leave to lay his down: *Gavins Maximus* was Twenty Years together, the Captain of the Guards under him; a severe Man: Succeeded afterwards by *Tatius Maximus*. After whose Death he made Two Captains of the Guards, who were *Fabius Repentinus*, and *Cornelius Victorius*: Some said, That a Mistress of *Antoninus* was the cause of the Preferment of the first. No Senatour was put to Death under this Prince. Nay, one who had confessed himself a Parricide, and by the Laws of Nature, deserved not to live, was banished into a Desert Island, rather than to execute him. He relieved in a Famine, the want of Corn, Wine and Oyl, amongst the People, at the Expence of his own Coſſers; by buying those Commodities up, and giving them to the People for nothing.

The Prodigies, and the Calamities which Calamities in his Reign. happen'd in his time were these; the Famine we now mentioned; then the *Cirque* fell into ruin; an Earthquake destroyed the Towns of the Island of *Rhodes*, and others in *Asia*, which he rebuilt to admiration; a Fire at *Rome* consumed Three Hundred and Forty great Houses, which he rebuilt; a Fire at the City *Narbon* in *Languedoc*; another at *Antioch*; another in the Forum at *Carthage*. There was also an Inundation

Prodigies.

dation of the Tyber, and a Blazing-Star appeared. A Boy was born with Two Heads, and a Woman was delivered of Five Boys at a Birth. A Snake of a great Magnitude was seen in *Arabia*, which had devoured one half of its own Body from the Tail. A Pestilence in *Arabia*. Four wild Lions in *Arabia* came tame to the hand, and suffered themselves to be taken.

Respect of
foreign
Princes
to him.

Pharasmanes the King of *Iberia* came to *Rome* to see *Antoninus*, and paid him a greater Respect than he had done to *Hadrian*. He constituted *Pacorus* King of the *Lazi*, a People near *Iberia*. He obliged the King of *Parthia* to withdraw his War against *Armenia*, by only his Letter. King *Abgarus* out of the East came to *Rome* to wait upon him, induced by only the Authority of his Name. He arbitrated Differences betwixt Kings and Kings. The King of *Parthia* desired him to restore the Chair of State which had been carried away from that Kingdom by *Trajan*: But this he refused. He restored *Rimethalces* unto the Government of the *Bosphorani* upon the *Maotis*, after a hearing of the Affair betwixt the Procurator there and him. He sent Succours by the *Euxine* Sea to the People of *Olbiopolis* upon the *Nieper*, to assist them against the *Tartars*; and he reduced the *Tartars* to give Hostages to the *Olbiopolites* for the performance of the Conditions of Peace. No Emperor had ever that Authority, as he, amongst Foreign Nations. He was always a Lover of Peace,

and

and often used that Sentence of *Scipio*, That he had rather save one Subject, than kill a Thousand of the Enemy.

The Senate had decreed, that the Months of *September* and *October* should thenceforth be called *Antoninus* and *Faustinus*, in Honour of him and his Consort: But this Honour he refused. He celebrated the Espousals of his Daughter *Faustina* with *Marcus Antoninus*, so Nobly, that he gave the Soldiers a great Bounty upon that occasion. He created *Vermus Antoninus*, after his Questorship, a Consul. He sent for *Apollonius* the Stoick, as far as from the City *Chalcis* in *Syria*, to educate *Marcus Antoninus*; and having invited him to the Court, in order to deliver his Scholar to him, and *Apollonius* making Answer, That the Master was not to come to the Scholar, but the Scholar to the Master; he smiled and said, As if it was easier for *Apollonius* to come from *Chalcis* to *Rome*, than to come from his Lodgings to the Court. The Avarice of which Philosopher, he remarked by his acceptance of the Recompences which were promised him. Amongst other Arguments of the Piety of *Antoninus*, this is one; that as *Marcus Antoninus* was weeping for the Death of one who had been his Educator, and the Courtiers would have diverted him from it, as an unsuitable Ostentation of the Kindness which he had for him, he said to them, Give him leave to be, as he is, a Man; for neither Philosophy nor an Empire takes our Natural Affections from us. The Officers of the Provinces in his time, received

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from

from him, not only great Presents, but such as had not been Consuls, he honoured with the Marks of those that had. But if he found them guilty of Extortion and Bribery, tho' he restored the Fortunes of Fathers unto the Children, yet he did it under this Condition; that the Children should restore to the Provinces all that their Fathers had unjustly stoln from thence. He had all the Inclinations imaginable to Acts of Grace and Pardon. In the publick Shews which he gave the People, he produced Elephants, Rhinocerots, Crocodiles, Sea-Horses, Tygers, and all sorts of Beasts from all Parts of the World. He hath exposed a Hundred Lions together at one Shew.

His Recre-
ations.

His behaviour towards his Friends in his Reign, was just the same as before, when he was a private Person; and neither they, nor his Servants, whom he manumitted, pretended to make any Gain to themselves of their Interest in him; particularly, he was very strict with the latter. He was much delighted with the Diversions of the Comedians, and in Fishing, Hunting, Walking, and Talking with his Ministers, to whose Entertainments he went, and sometimes to the Feasts of the Vintage. He gave Honours and Recompences in Money, in the Provinces, to the Rhetoricians and the Philosophers. The Speeches which are extant under his Name, are said by many to have been of the Composition of another; but *Marius Maximus* says they are truly his own.

own. He made Entertainments for his Friends in particular, and in publick. He never Sacrificed by a Proxy, unless he was Sick. When he desired any Honour for himself or his Sons, he did all things as a private Candidate in the same Case. He dined with his Ministers many times at their Houses. He went one time to see the House of *Omulus*; where admiring the Porphyry-Pillars which he had, and asking him from whence he procured them, *Omulus* said, *When you come, Sir, into a Strangers House, you are to be both Dumb and Deaf.* He took this patiently, as he did a great many other Jest of the same Person.

He made divers Laws, in which he served *His Laws.* himself of the best Lawyers of his time, who were *Vinidius Verus*, *Salvius Valens*, *Volusius Metianus*, *Ulpianus Marcellus*, and *Jabolenus*. He put an end to whatever Seditions in any Part arose; not by Force and Cruelty, but by the Modesty and the Gravity of his Judgments. He prohibited the burying of the Dead within the City. He limited the Expences of the Games of the Gladiators. He facilitated things for the convenience of Travelling with all the Care he could. He gave Reasons for every thing he did, either to the Senate or in his Edicts. He died in his Seventieth Year, but was as much lamented, then, as if it had been in the flower of his Age: And the manner of his Death, they say, was this; he had eaten with great Appetite at Supper, of the Cheese which is made upon the *Alps*, but he brought it up
H 4 again

His Death.

again in the Night, and the next Day was taken with a Fever; the third Day being worse, he recommended the Empire, and the Care of his Daughter unto *Marcus Antoninus*, in the presence of the Court. Then he ordered the Golden Image of *Fortune*, which always stands in the Emperor's Bed-Chamber, to be removed out of his Room into that of *Marcus Antoninus*. Then he gave the word to the Tribune, which was *Equanimity*; and turning himself as it were to sleep, he died at his own Seat at *Laurium*. He was light-headed in his Fever; at which times, all his Discourse was concerning the State, and the Kings who had given him an occasion of Displeasure. He left his Paternal Estate to his Daughter, and Legacies by his Will to all his Domesticks.

His Personage.

He was tall and graceful; but being apt to stoop a little in his old Age, he then wore a pair of Bodice on purpose to keep himself strait. In a morning, when he grew in years, before he was visited, he eat a little dry Bread for his Health. He spoke a little broad, but yet agreeably enough. The Senate made him a God, in which all People were forward to concur with them, because his Goodness, Clemency, Wit, and Sanctimony were universally esteemed. They decreed him all the Honours which had ever been bestowed upon the best Princes. They appointed him an Order of Priests of his own Name, a Temple, and the Honour of the Games of the *Cirque*. He was absolutely

absolutely the only one of all the Emperors who lived without having ever shed the Blood either of Citizen or Enemy; and as his Reign was attended with the same Felicity and Goodness, the same Security and Religiousness, with that of *Numa Pompilius*, he may very well be put in the Comparison with that Prince. He reigned Twenty Three Years.

T H E

A. Christi
CLXII.

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
Marcus Aurelius Antoninus,
The PHILOSOPHER.

BY
JULIUS CAPITOLINUS:
Addressed to the
EMPEROR
DIOCLESIAN.

Marcus Antoninus was a Lover of Wisdom, a Philosophical Man all his time, and the best, as to the Sanctity of his Life, of all the Emperors before him: His Father was *Annius Verus*, who died in his Prætorship: His Grandfather was another *Annius Verus*,

His Ex-
traction.

Verus, who was twice Consul, and the Governour of the City of *Rome*; having been admitted amongst the *Patricians* by *Vespasian* and *Titus*, when they were Censours. His Uncle by his Father's side was *Annius Libo*, a Consul; the Empress *Galeria Faustina* was his Aunt: his Mother was *Domitia Calvilla*, the Daughter of *Calvisius Tullus*, who was twice Consul: his Father's Grandfather was *Annius Verus*, originally of *Succubæ* in *Spain*, who was a Prætor and a Senator; his Mother's Grandfather was *Catilius Severus*, who was twice Consul, and Governour of *Rome*: his Grandmother by his Father's side was *Rupilia Faustina* the Daughter of *Rupilius Bonus*, who was a Consul also.

Marcus Antoninus was born at *Rome*, upon Mount *Cælius*, in the Gardens ^{at} *are*, the Sixth of the Calends of *May*, under the Consulships of his Grandfather and *Augur*; which was then the Second Consulship of his Grandfather. His Family, if we carry it up to the highest, is proved to partake of the Blood of *Numa Pompilius* by his Father's side, according to *Marius Maximus*; and by his Mother's, to come from *Malennius*, a King of the ancient *Salentini* in *Naples*, who was the Son of *Dafumnus*, who built *Lopis*. He was brought up where he was born, and partly in the House of his Grandfather *Verus*, hard by the *Lateran* Palace. He had a Sister who was younger than he, called *Annia Cornificia*. His Wife was *Annia Faustina*, who was his Cousin-German by his Mother's side. At first his Name was *Annius*.

Annius Verus, from his Father and his Grandfather. *Hadrian* called him *Annius Verissimus*, because of the Integrity of his Temper. But afterwards he re-assumed his first Name again of *Annius Verus*, because his Grandfather (his Father dying) adopted him, and educated him.

His Education.

He was from his first Infancy grave and serious; and after he was out of those Years in which Children are in the hands of the Women, he was delivered to the Tuition of great Masters, who prepared his way for Philosophy. His Masters to teach him his first Elements of Letters, were *Euphorion* the Grammarian, *Geminus* a Comedian, and *Andron*, who was both a Musician and a Geometrician. As these Three were they, who laid the Foundation for him to proceed to all other Learning, so he ever had upon him very great Respect. His Masters to teach him Grammar were, for the Greek, *Alexander*; for the Latin, *Trosius Aper*, *Pollio*, and *Eutybius Proculus* of *Sicca* in *Africa*. His Masters to teach him Rhetorick, were for the Greek, *Annius Marcus*, *Caninius Celer*, and *Herodes Atticus*; for the Latin, *Fronto Cornelius*; amongst all which, he had a particular Respect for *Fronto*, and desired the Senate to set up his Statue; and *Proculus* he advanced to be a Proconsul. He applied himself extremely to the Study of Philosophy, whilst he was but yet a Youth. In his Twelfth Year he entred himself amongst the Philosophers, wore their Habit, practised their Severities, studied as they did, lay upon the Ground, and was with great

And Proficiency.

Difficulty

Difficulty persuaded by his Mother to make use of an ordinary Couch. *Commodus*, whose Daughter it was designed that he should marry, was another of his Masters; and also *Apollonius* a Stoick Philosopher of *Chalcis* in *Syria*.

Such was his great Love to the Study of Philosophy, that after his adoption into the Imperial Family, he went himself to the House of *Apollonius* to learn there of him. He likewise went to hear the Dictates of *Sextus* a Philosopher of *Chæroneæ* in *Beotia*, and the Kinsman of *Plutarch*, as also *Junius Rusticus*, *Claudius Maximus*, and *Cinsia Catullus*, all Stoicks. For the Peripatetick Philosophy he heard *Claudius Severus*. Amongst these, he had particularly a Respect for *Junius Rusticus*, and followed him; being one who was not only excellent at the Stoick Philosophy, but a very understanding Person besides, whether in Peace or War. With him he communicated all his publick and private Counsels: He saluted him always before he did the Captain of the Guards: He made him twice Consul, and after his Death, desired the Senate to set up his Statue. He had that great Honour for his other Masters, that he set up their Images in Gold in his Closet, and visited their Sepulchres, which he adorned with Crowns, and Victims, and Flowers. To all this, he studied the Law, in which he heard the Dictates of *Lucius Volusius Metianus*. In fine, the Labour and the Travel which he bestowed in Study, really affected his Health; his excess in it, was the only Fault of his Youth.

His Respect for his Preceptors.

Youth. He went often to the Declamations at the Publick Schools. His fellow Students, whom he more particularly loved, were *Sejus Tuscianus*, and *Aufidius Victorinus*, of the Senatorian Families: and *Bæbius Longus*, and *Calenus*, of the Gentlemen: to whom he was very generous, and such as he could not for the condition of their lives prefer to Employments, he enriched by other means.

He was Educated in some sort in the bosom of *Hadrian*, who called him, as I have said, *Annius Verissimus*, and at six years of Age conferred a mark of Honour upon him, and at eight years of Age, put him into the College of the Priests of *Mars*: in which he passed through the several Functions and Offices of that Order, not without receiving an Omen there of his succession to the Empire. He put on the *Roman*, that is, the Man's Gown in his fifteenth year; and presently the Daughter of *Lucius Cejonius Commodus* was Contracted to him, according to the last Will of *Hadrian*. He was left the Governour of *Rome*, in the interim whilst the Consuls went to the Sacrifices of the *Latina Ferie* upon Mount *Alban*. In which honour he acquitted himself to the general Approbation. He released all his Paternal Estate to his Sister. His Mother would have advised him to divide it only; but he said, he was contented with the Estate of his Grandfather; and if she pleased, she also might give his Sister her Estate to make her the better match for her Husband: He had so much complaisance for others, that

He is
Contracted.

that he suffered himself to be persuaded, sometimes against his will, to go either to the Chaises of the Amphitheatre, or the Plays of the Stage, or other Shews. He learnt Painting, in which his Master was *Diogenes*. He loved the Games of Fencing, Wrestling, Running, Fowling and Hunting, for Exercise. He played at the Ball. But above all these things the study of Philosophy gained his Heart; and rendered him perfectly grave and serious. Not but that yet he was in all respects obliging and courteous to every one; especially his Friends, and such as were but in the least known to him. So that he was Reserved without Opiniatetry, Modest without Flatness, and Grave without Austereness.

This being his Character, when *Hadrian*, after the death of *Ælius Verus Caesar* was to chuse some other Person to be his Successour in the Empire, which this Youth was not Proper for as yet, upon the account of his Age, being then only eighteen years old; he Adopted *Antoninus* the Pious, who was Uncle to him, under a condition that *Pius* should Adopt *Marcus*, and that *Marcus* should Adopt *Lucius Commodus Verus*. *Marcus* received the News of his Adoption, more with a Consternation, than Joy; and when he was ordered to be removed into a House of *Hadrian's*, it was with an unwilling mind, that he took his leave of that of his Mother. Insomuch that his Servants asking him, why he came so sad into the Royal Family, he reasoned with them upon the Evils which are contained in the

His Exercises and Character.

His Adoption.

the life of a Prince. Then he began first to be called, instead of *Annius*, *Marcus Aurelius*; because by the Right of his Adoption he was Translated into the *Aurelian* Family, that is, into that of *Antoninus Pius*. This was in the eighteenth year of his Age, under the Second Consulship of *Antoninus* his (now) Father: and the Senate dispensing with him, as to that Age, at the request of *Hadrian* he was made a Quæstor. He paid to all his Relations, after he was Adopted, the same Respects altogether, as before. He observed his Studies as much, and was as good a Husband of his Expences: and he resigned himself wholly both to act, speak, and think, according to the instructions of his Father.

When *Hadrian* dyed at *Baia*, and *Pius* was also gone thither to remove his Body to *Rome*; *Marcus Antoninus* was left at *Rome* to order the Funeral Obsequies of his Grandfather; and being then Quæstor, he exhibited to the People the Games of the Gladiatours. Now *Hadrian* had ordered, when he Adopted *Antoninus Pius*, that *Pius* should Marry his Daughter to *Verus* the Son of *Ælius Verus Cæsar*, and that the Daughter of *Lucius Cejonius Commodus* should Marry *Marcus Antoninus*. But *Verus* was not as yet of an Age for that Daughter. Therefore when *Hadrian* was dead, it was thought fit by *Pius* and his Empress, to break off the Match of *Marcus Antoninus* with the Daughter of *Commodus*, and to Marry their own Daughter *Faustina* to him; to which *Marcus* consented. Hereupon *Pius* advanced him, from a Quæ-

a Quæ-

a Quæstor, to be Consul in Conjunction with himself, and gave him the Title of *Cæsar*. He made him one of the six *Seviri*; and honoured him with his presence at his Publick Games. He appointed his Apartments in the Court, and ordered him to be there attended (contrary to his own Inclination) with all Pomp and Ceremony. He passed him thro' the Colleges of the Priests, according to the desire of the Senate. He made him a second time Consul with himself; when himself entred upon his fourth Consulship. But at the same time that *Marcus* was possessed of these high Honours, and assisted at all things which his Father did in order to be formed to the Government of the Empire, he went passionately nevertheless to his Studies. He married *Faustina*, by whom he had a Daughter. Then the Tribunician, and the Proconsular Powers were given him, and the right of a fifth Reference: so that his Interest became so great, that his Father never easily Promoted any one without him. He was always the most dutiful to his Father, that it was possible for any one to be; howsoever some were willing to whisper *Pius* in the Ear with things against him; particularly *Valerius Othulus*; who one day taking notice of *Calpurnia* the Mother of *Marcus*, as she was at her Devotions in a Garden before an Image of *Apollo*, says he to *Pius*, That Lady there is now Praying for your death, and for the Reign of her Son. But this was altogether of no weight with him: because he saw the great Probity of *Marcus*, and with

His wife
and Relations.

what

what Modesty he carried himself under the Honour of his Ascension to the degree of a Prince.

He was so careful to weigh all things well, to preserve his Reputation, that in his youthful years he always ordered his Servants to do nothing that was hard upon any body; and sometimes when Estates were left to him, he refused them, if he could, to give them to the next of the Family. He lived three and twenty years together in the Court with his Father, and yet he was every day beloved more and more; and in all that time he was not absent from him above two nights. When fore when *Antoninus Pius* came to dye, he called his Ministers and his Friends about him, and recommended to them all, *Marcus*, as his Successour in the Empire. He gave the Tribune the Word, which was *Aequanimity*, and immediately he ordered the Golden Image of *Fortune*, which stood in his Bedchamber, to be translated into the Bed-chamber of *Marcus*.

He is created Emperor, and Verus his Partner.

After the death of *Pius*, the Senate constraining *Marcus* to take the Publick Government upon him, he nominated *Verus* to be his Partner in the same; declaring him *Cæsar* and Emperor; from which time they equally began to Reign together, and were the first two Emperours, who sat at once upon the Throne of Rome. He called himself by the name of *Marcus Antoninus*; and he called his Brother Emperour by the name of *Verus Antoninus*; to whom he Contracted his Daughter *Lucilla*. For an Act of goodness upon the occasion of

this Conjunction, they enlarged the Charity of their Predecessors, for the Maintenance of the Children of poor Families, and added other Pensions to them. From the Senate, after having finished their Affairs there, they both went together to the Camp of the Guards: where they promised the Soldiers a Bounty of twenty thousand Sesterces, and to the Officers proportionably, as usual, upon the occasion of their joynt Reigns. They made a magnificent Funeral for their Father, whom they interred in the Sepulchre of *Hadrian*. They proceeded to Consecrate him a God. Each made an Oration in Publick in his Praise; and having appointed him his Order of Priests out of the number of his Friends, they distinguished them, by calling them after the name of his Family.

Possessed thus of the Empire, they both comported themselves so well, that none could complain of the loss of the gentle Reign of *Pius*. *Marullus*, the Satyrical Poet of that time, had some flings at them, but he passed unpunished. They concluded the Funeral Obsequies of their Father, with the Games of the Gladiatours. In the mean time *Marcus* gave himself still to Philosophy, and courted the love of the People. But the felicity and the quiet of their Reigns was interrupted, first by an Inundation of the *Tyber*, which was very terrible. It not only carried away several Buildings of the City, and destroyed a great many Cattle, but it produced a most grievous Famine: which Calamities were moderated

Their good Government.

Several
Wars be-
gun.

as much as possible by the Care and the Presence of *Marcus* and *Verus*. Then the *Parthian* War arose; which *Vologesus*, the King of that Country, had been hatching under *Pine*, but he did not Proclaim it till the Reign of *Marcus* and *Verus*; at what time he attack'd *Atidius Cornelianus*, the Lieutenant of *Syria*, and put him to flight. Also a War with the *Britains* was upon the point of kindling, and the *Catti* had already made Incursions into *Germany* and *Rhetia*. So against the *Britains* *Calpurnius Agricola* was sent. Against the *Catti*, *Ausidius Victorinus*. But to the *Parthian* War the Emperour *Verus* was appointed to go, with the advice of the Senate; whilst *Marcus*, tarried at *Rome*, where the Civil Affairs required the presence at least of one Emperour. He accompanied *Verus* as far as to *Capua*, and honoured him with a Retinue of Great Men out of the Senate, and Officers for his Court of all sorts, to be both his Ministers and his Companions with him in the Expedition. But no sooner was *Marcus* returned to *Rome*, but he received advice, that *Verus* was sick at *Canosa* in *Naples*. He offered his Vows in the Senate for his Recovery, and then went in all haste to see him there: and being return'd to *Rome* the second time, he next received an account, that *Verus* was safely arrived in *Syria*; where he passed his time in Sports and Hunting, and lived at *Antioch* and the Village of *Daphne* in the greatest pleasure, whilst his Generals carried on the *Parthian* War; in which they had the Victory of the Enemy. In the

the mean time *Marcus* was continually attent upon the Affairs of the State; and seemed to take the Pleasures of his Brother, as if he was indifferent to them, or knew nothing of them. He ordered and managed all things necessary for the War, and yet lived the distance of *Rome* from it.

The Affairs of *Armenia* were prosperous, Their Success. and the City *Teflis* upon the *Araxis* was taken by *Statius Priscus*. Hereupon both the Emperours were presented with the Title of Conquerours of the *Armenians*, which *Marcus* in modesty first at refused, but afterwards accepted. They were both in like manner, after the War was over, presented with the Title of Conquerours of the *Parthians*; and this also *Marcus* at first refused, but afterwards accepted. The Title of *Pater Patriæ*, or Father of his Country, which had been offered to *Marcus* in the absence of *Verus*, he deferred to meddle with, till the return of *Verus*: because he would not assume it, but in Conjunction with him. In the mean time having Contracted his Daughter *Lucilla* in Marriage to him, he presented her richly, and sent her into *Syria*, in the midst of the War, attended by his Sister, and *Civica*, the Uncle of *Verus*. He went with her himself, as far as to *Brundisi* in *Naples*, and had intended to see her over the Water, if the Discourses of some, as if he had desired to Challenge to himself the glory of finishing the War, and upon that account was for going into *Syria*, had not called him back to *Rome*. He writ to the Pro-

I 3 consul

consul to take care, that she was not interrupted by any in her Journey.

Publick
Constitu-
tions.

Whilst these things passed, *Marcus Antoninus* made a Law, which is an extraordinary security to People, in cases concerning their Freedom; he was the first that contrived it, and it is thus; he ordered every *Roman Citizen*, who had a Child born, to enter the name of the Child before the Treasurers of the *Exchequer*, within thirty days. In the Provinces he erected Publick Notaries, before whom the same thing should be done upon the Births there, as before the Treasurers of the *Exchequer* at *Rome*: so that when any Person born in any Province hath a Cause in Hand concerning his Freedom, he hath no more to do, than to bring from that Province a Testificate of his Birth; this corroborated the whole Law concerning Freedoms. He made other Laws concerning Bankers and Auctions.

Great De-
ference
to the
Senate.

In divers Causes, in which himself especially was concerned, he made the Senate the Judge. He ordered, that Actions, having reference to the Freedom or Servitude of Persons Defunct, should be brought within five years from their deaths, or be excluded for ever. No Prince ever deferred more to the Senate than he. He delegated to several of them, of the degree of Prators and Consuls, the decision of many Affairs; only that their command so far in the Law should be a means to possess them with the greater Honour. He admitted several of his Relations into the Senate, whom he had made

Ædiles

Ædiles or *Prators*: He granted to several Senatours, that were poor, provided that it was without reproach, the Offices of Tribunes and *Ædiles*. He made no one a Senatour, unless he had a very good knowledge of him. In this also he shew'd his respect to them, that whenever a Senatour underwent a Tryal for his life, he heard him first in private, before he tryed him in publick; and he suffered none of the Order of the Knights and Gentlemen to assist in such a Case. He went constantly, as much as possible, to the Senate, though he had nothing to propose to them, if he was at *Rome*: but when he had any thing to propose to them, he came in Person to do it, if it were out of *Campagna*. He often assisted in the Courts of Judicature, till it was night; and never withdrew out of the Senate till the Consul himself dismiss'd it. He made the Senate the Judge in cases of Appeals from the Consuls. He shew'd himself very diligent upon all Judiciary matters. He marked out the Law-days in the Kalendar, when Business was to be done, and Causes tryed. In the whole year, they were to the number of two hundred and thirty. He first gave the Prators a power to appoint Guardians to Minors, who before were appointed by the Authority of the Consuls; which he did, to expedite the Actions in that case.

He regulated the excess of the Publick Expences in Feasts and Games. He interposed against the Trade of Informers; and when he found them false, he branded them. He con-

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temned

temned the Accusations, which were suggested to him to enrich his *Exchequer*. He contrived many things very Prudently relating to the Publick Stores. He made Senatours the Curatours to several Cities; to extend so much the more, the glory of their Order. He relieved the Cities of *Italy* in a time of great Famine, with Corn sent from *Rome*. He looked after every thing, that concerned the Magazines of Corn. He moderated the Games of the Gladiatours, all manner of ways. He diminish'd the Gratuities, given to, or exacted by the Comedians. He took a great care of the Streets of the City, and the Highways. He appointed Officers over the Provinces of *Italy*, for the Administration of Justice, in the Nature of the Proconsuls, which had been before appointed by *Hadrian*. He repopled *Spain*, which was exhausted by continual Levies, with Colonies from *Italy*. In which contravening the Ordinances of *Trajan*, he expressed himself with great modesty and respect to the memory of that Prince. He added other Laws concerning the Tax called *Vicissima*, the Tutelage of Servants, Maternal Estates, and the succession of the Children unto them. He ordered, that such Senatours, who were Foreigners, should however buy themselves a fourth of their Estates in *Italy*. He gave power to the Curatours of the Towns and the Highways either to punish, or to remit to the Governour of *Rome* to be punished, such as exacted more from any Persons, than what they were justly taxed to. As to the

rest,

rest, he rather restored the old Laws, than created new ones. He had Lawyers always with him, by whose Opinion; and according to whose Forms he gave Sentence in Law, and published his Ordinances. Particularly *Scævola*, was one excellent Lawyer that he much used.

The People lived under him, altogether as in a Free-City. He was extremely well disposed in all things, to deter Persons from evil, and to invite them to good. He rewarded plentifully, and pardoned graciously; he made them of ill, good Men; and of good Men, he made them extraordinary good. He took a Raillery upon these occasions very patiently. One *Veterasinus*, who was of an ill Fame, begging an honourable Employment of him, he advised him to clear himself first from the Censures of the People. *Veterasinus* answering, he saw some that were made Prætors, that he had fought Prizes with upon the Publick Stage; the Emperor took it, and said nothing. He was not forward to punish. If any Prætor had behaved himself in some things ill, yet he did not turn him out of his Prætorship, but ordered him to remit his Business intirely into the Hands of his Colleague. He never in his Judgments favoured the *Exchequer* in a Matter of Gain, when it hath been upon himself to give Sentence. He was firm to himself, and his purpose; and yet his Resolution was set off with Modesty, especially where he was even obliged to give respite. After his Brother was returned a Conquerour

Moderation of Antoninus.

querour from Syria, the Title of *Pater Patria* was given to them both. For *Marcus* had in his absence comported himself to all the Senators, and all People, well. An Oaken, or which is otherwise called a Civick Crown, was equally presented to them both; and *Verus* desired that *Marcus* should Triumph with him. He desired that the Sons of *Marcus* should be also called *Cæsars*. But such was the great moderation of *Marcus*, that though he joyined in the Triumph, in Company with him, he relinquished to him intirely (when *Verus* was dead) the Title of the Conquerour of the *Parthians*; and stiled himself only the Conquerour of the *Germans*; which was a Title he had from a War of his own. So they carried the Children of *Marcus* of either Sex, in the Triumph with them; even his Virgin-Daughters; and they beheld the Games which were Celebrated upon the occasion, with their triumphal Habits upon them. Amongst other remarkable things of the Pity of *Marcus*, it is not fit to forget this; that he ordered Feather-beds to be spread under the Rope-dancers, after an accidental fall of a Boy from the Rope: which is the reason that we have a Custom of hanging a Net under them at this day.

War with
the Mar-
comanni.

Whilst the *Parthian* War was yet on Foot, another War kindled with the *Marcomanni* in *Germany*: which was suspended a good while by the Art of the Officers upon the Frontiers, that it should not trouble us till the *Oriental* War was over. It was five years from the beginning

ning of that War, to the return of *Verus*. At whose return, *Marcus* declared to the Senate, that as he had sometime before given them Intimations of a War in *Germany*, so it was necessary that now both the Emperours in Person should repair to it. Now the terrour of this *Marcomannick* War was so great, that *Marcus* was obliged to send for Priests from all parts, to dispatch the vast number of Sacrifices, which were vowed and offered upon this occasion. He Celebrated all the Sacred Foreign Rites that were ever seen at *Rome*; and purged the City of *Rome* all manner of ways; and Celebrated the Feasts of *Ieſtiferia* seven days together. A Pestilence at the same time prevailed, which was so great, that the dead were carried off in Carts and Wagons. This obliged the two Princes to make strict Laws concerning Burials and Sepulchres: in which they provided, that it should not be at the Liberty of Persons to build their Sepulchres in what place they pleased; which is still in force at this day. Many thousands dyed of this Pestilence; several of the Nobility: whereof the most considerable had their Statues set up by *Marcus Antoninus*. Who in his great Clemency took that care of the Common People, that he ordered them to be buried upon his own Expence. The *Marcomanni* and their Confederates being now actually in Arms, and putting all things into Confusion, the two Emperours, arrayed in their Military Apparel, set forward together upon the Expedition. Their March had no small effect with it, as soon

A great
Plague.

soon as they came, but as far as to *Aquilia*. For the Kings of the Enemy for the most part not only retreated with their Men, but put to death the Authors of their Insurrection. The *Quadi*, whose King was dead, said that they would not confirm the Person his Successour, who had been Created in his place, till our Emperours approved him: others sent Ambassadors to them to ask their Pardon for their disobedience: so that *Verus* his Opinion, who had set out much against his will in the beginning, was for returning back to *Rome*: especially having lost the Captain of the Guards, *Furius Victorinus*, and a part of the Army. But *Marcus* believing that the Barbarians dissembled, and that both their Retreat, and the other things which they did, were only out of a fear of being oppressed with the weight of so great a Force, he declared himself to be for pursuing the War. Therefore they marched on, and crossed the *Alpes*, having settled all things in order, for the safety of *Italy* and *Illyricum*. However *Verus* was urgent for going back to *Rome*: to which *Marcus* at last consented, and that the Senate should have notice given them of it by Letter. But as they were afterwards upon the Road in the Coach together, *Verus* was suddenly taken with an Apoplexy and died.

Death of
Verus.

Marcus was so little affected for his part with those Pleasures, which were the real Reason of *Verus* his desire to return to *Rome*, that he both Read, and hearkned to any one's Business, and signed Orders whilst he hath been

been at the shews of the *Cirque*; which made the People, they say, sometimes pass their Raileries upon him. *Geminus* and *Agaclytus*, two manumitted Servants of *Verus*, had a great Influence over their Master. But yet *Marcus* dissembled, and even excused the Faults of *Verus*, tho' they displeased him never so much. He deified him after his Death. He provided honourably for his Aunts and his Sisters. He appointed a great many Sacrifices to his Honour. He appointed his Priests, and gave him all the other Respects which are paid to the Gods. But as there is no Prince but is subject to the most outrageous Censure; *Marcus* was for all this represented, as if he had either poisoned *Verus* by a Knife invenom'd on one side, with which he cut a piece of a Sacrifice, and gave *Verus* the invenomed part to eat, whilst he reserved the sound to himself, or at least, that he killed him by his Physician *Posidippus*, by letting him Blood unseasonably.

After the Death of *Verus*, *Avidius Cassius* revolted from *Marcus*. Tho' *Marcus* was so indulging to *Verus* his Relations, and all that belonged to him, that he did them all the Honours that it was possible. *Commodus* his Son, as wicked and profligate as he was, received from him the Title of *Cæsar*, the Dignity of the Priesthood, the Title of Emperor, a share in the Triumph with him, and the Consulship. At the same time the Father attended the Triumphal Chariot of the Son on Foot, in the *Cirque*. Now when *Marcus* reigned alone after the Death of *Verus*, he was much more easie,

Commodus
declared
Cæsar.

easier, and more abundant in good Actions than he could be before, because he was hindered with the Errours of his Brother. He was one for his own Part, of that Tranquillity of Mind, that he never changed his Countenance either with Sorrow or Joy; following exactly the Precepts of the *Stoick* Philosophy, which he had learnt from all the best Masters, and which he had diligently collected from all Parts. *Hadrian* would have made him his immediate Successour, had not his Minority hindered it. Nevertheless, he chose him for one, whom he obliged *Pius* to adopt; that he was deserving of the *Roman* Empire, should sooner or later certainly come to him.

End of
the Mar-
comannic
War.

So he treated the Provinces with a great deal of Moderation and Goodness, and managed his Affairs happily against the *Germans*. He went through with the *Marcomannick* War, than which a greater hath not been known in any Age, with a Bravery equally extraordinary as the Success; and this at a time when a grievous Pestilence swept away many Thousands of the People and the Army. The *Marcomanni*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Vandals*, the *Quadi*, being extinguished by him, he delivered the Country of *Pannonia* out of its Servitude; for which he triumphed at Rome, and his Son *Commodus* with him, whom he had created *Cæsar*. He had exhausted all his Coffers upon this War; and because he could not persuade himself to command any thing from the Provinces to over-charge them, he made

made an Auction in the *Forum* of *Trajan* of the Goods of his Household. He sold the Vessels of Gold, Crystal and Myrrh, the Royal Services, Rich Garments of his Wife's which were embroidered with Gold, and several Jewels which were laid up in the Cabinet of *Hadrian*. The Sale continued Two Months, and such a considerable Sum was produced by it, that having prosecuted the Reliques of the *Marcomannick* War with it, according to his desire, he gave the Buyers the Liberty to return if they pleased their Purchases, and take their Money again. But whether they did or no, he was satisfied, and allowed Gentlemen to have their Tables as splendid as himself. In the publick Shews which he gave the People at his Triumph, he was so Magnificent, that he exposed a Hundred Lions together, to be shot to death with Arrows.

Having therefore Reigned to the general Love of all the People, who called him by the endearing Terms of, sometimes their Brother, sometimes Father, sometimes Son, as every one's Age was, he died in the Eighteenth Year of his Empire, and the Sixty First of his Age. The Love of him amongst all the People appeared on the Day of his Interment. Because none thought him then an Object to be lamented, but assured themselves, that as he had been formed and lent them by the Gods, so he was returned to the Gods. Before his Funeral was well finished, a thing which never was known to be done before, nor since, the Senate and the People in one Body upon the place,

Death of
Antoninus

place, pronounced him a Propitious Deity. This great Man, who was so Excellent himself, and so ally'd to the Gods, both in his Life and Death, left a Son, *Commodus*, who was so ill on the other hand, that it had been happy he had never had him. Nay, it was a small thing, that Persons of all Ages, Sexes, Conditions and Dignities, honoured *Marcus* as a God; for he was judged Sacrilegious, who ever had not his Image in his House, if his fortune permitted him. To this day in many Families, the Statues of *Marcus Antoninus* stand amongst the Household Deities; and some Persons have firmly and publickly averred, that he hath predicted many future and true things to them in Dreams. A Temple was erected to him, and an Order of Priests of his own Name appointed him, with all other things which to consecrated Persons have ever been ascribed by Antiquity.

Some say, and it is not unlikely, that *Commodus Antoninus* his Successor and his Son, was a sort of an Adulterous Birth, the Story whereof is represented commonly thus. *Faustina* the Wife of *Marcus*, and formerly the Daughter of *Antoninus Pius*, seeing one Day the Gladiators enter the Amphitheatre, fell in love with one of them to that degree, that she laboured under a long Sickness upon it, till at last she confessed the Cause to her Husband. *Marcus* advised with the Magicians, whose Counsel it was, to put to Death that Gladiator, and that *Faustina* should wash her Secrets with his Blood, and then lie with her Husband:

Story of
the Birth
of *Commodus*.

band: This was done, and her Love cured. But *Commodus* was born after it, more a Gladiator than a Prince; because when he was Emperor, he fought almost a Thousand Combats with the Gladiators, in the publick view of the People, as we shall have occasion to say in his Life. And that which makes this Story the more credible, is, this Son of so Holy a Father, was a Man of those profligate Manners, that no common Sword-player, Actor, Baiter of Beasts, nor in fine, no one, tho' of the sink of all Shame and Wickedness, was like him. Others say, that he was absolutely a Bastard; and that *Faustina*, when she was at the Port of *Gajetta*, chose herself there by the Eye, the Seamen generally working naked, what Men she saw were the best provided, both out of the Seamen and the Gladiators; wherefore *Marcus Antoninus* was advised by one, if he would not punish her by Death, to divorce her. To which he answered, *If I divorce my Wife, I must return her her Dowry.* But her Dowry was the Empire which he had received from her Father, who had adopted him at the desire of *Hadrian*. Certainly the Virtue, the Integrity, the Tranquillity, the Piety of a good Prince, is a thing of that prevalence, that the ill Character, not so much as of the nearest Relation, can defame him. And so it was with *Marcus Antoninus*, who persevering still in his own virtuous way, and not changing in any thing upon the whispers or calumnies of the People, neither his Gladiator-Son was a prejudice to him, nor his impure Consort.

K

He

He is (as he hath ever been) esteemed a God to this Day; and particularly by you, O most Sacred Emperor *Dioclesian*, who have a Veneration for him, even above the rest of your Gods, and are pleased often to say, *That you chiefly wish yourself like him in his Life, and the Clemency which he always exercised; tho' should Plato return into the World again, he could not parallel him with all his Philosophy.* The things that passed under *Marcus Antoninus*, after the Death of *Vernus*, were these: First, the Body of *Vernus* was brought to Rome, and interred in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors, and *Vernus* made a God. Then *Marcus* thanked the Senate for having Consecrated his Brother, but intimated at the same time, *As if the Council by which the Parthians were overcome, had been much owing to himself; and that now, he would govern as it were upon a new and better Foundation.* The Senate took it in the Sense which *Marcus* meant, and seemed to congratulate that *Vernus* was departed this Life. However, *Marcus* provided very honourably for *Vernus's* Sisters, Relations and Servants. Indeed he was very Curious of his Reputation, and enquired always what every one said of him, and corrected himself accordingly in such things as they seemed to blame him for, with reason. Going to the War in Germany, he re-married his Daughter to *Claudius Pompeianus*, the Eldest Son of a Roman Knight, of a Family of the City of *Antioch*, but not of the highest Nobility. He afterwards made him Twice Consul, in consideration that his Daughter was

so much his Superior; which Match however, did neither please her nor her Mother.

The *Moors* laying waste almost all *Spain*, he employed his Lieutenants against them, who reduced them: In *Egypt*, the Robbers about the Parts called *Bucolia*, committing divers great Disorders, they were also reduced by *Avidius Cassius*, who afterwards set himself up for the Empire. About this time *Marcus Antoninus*, whilst he was at his Retreat at *Palestrina*, lost his Son called *Vernus Caesar*, of the Age of Seven Years, by lancing a Tumour which he had under his Ear. The Mourning for whom was kept but Five Days, and then he applied himself again to the publick Business. It was the time of the Celebration of the Games of *Jupiter*, which he would not suffer to be interrupted by a more solemn Mourning; so he only ordered Statues to be set up to the Memory of the deceased, and his Image in Gold to be carried in Pomp in the *Cirque*, and his Name to be inserted into the Hymn of the Priests of *Mars*. In the time of the Pestilence beforementioned, *Marcus* was especially diligent to restore the Worship of the Gods. Against the *Marcomannick* War, he made Soldiers of Slaves and Gladiators: Others he had who were called *Voluntiers*. He lifted the Robbers of *Dalmatia* and *Dacia*. He served himself of some Troops out of *Phrygia*, and fought Auxiliaries of the *Germans* against the *Germans*. He used all manner of Diligence to compleat his Legions for this War; and because he would not exact

Tumults, &c. quelled.

Money upon the Provinces, he made an Auction, as I said, of the precious Moveables of his Household in the *Forum of Trajan*; in which, besides Cloaths and Plate, he sold the Images and the Pictures which were of the Hands of the Great Masters. At length, he defeated the *Marcomanni* at the Passage of the *Danube*, and restored their Spoils to the Provinces.

The Con-
federate
Nations.

All the Nations from the Borders of *Illyri- cum* as far as to *Gallia*, had confederated against us. The *Marcomanni*, the *Narisci*, the *Hermunduri*, the *Quadi*, the *Suevi*, the *Sarmatae*, the *Latringes*, and the *Bursi*. To these were joyned, the *Victorali*, the *Sosives*, the *Sicobolæ*, the *Roxolani*, the *Bastarnæ*, the *Alani*, the *Picini*, the *Costoborei*, and others. His other Wars were the *Parthian War*, and the *Britannick War*. Now it was with great Pains and Labour, that he overcame as he did, Nations so stubborn as all these. The Soldiers followed his Example; the Lieutenant-Generals, and the Captains of the Guards marched in Person at the Head of thier Men; so he obliged the *Marcomanni* to surrender themselves, and a great many of them were transplanted into *Italy*. But before he went upon any thing of Importance, not only in War, but in the Civil Affairs, he advised always with his great Officers. It was always his saying, *It is more fitting that he should follow the Counsel of so many faithful Friends, as they were, than that they all should follow him who was but one.* A great many of the Nobility were kill'd in that German or *Marcomannick*, or rather, that War of a mul-

titude

titude of Nations, whose Statues he set up in the *Forum of Trajan*. Therefore his Friends intreated him often to retire from the Danger and come to *Rome*: But he persisted in his own Resolutions, and did not withdraw till all was finished. He changed the Proconsular Provinces into Consular, and the Consular into Proconsular, or Pratorian, according as the occasions of the War required. He composed by his Severity, and the rigour of his Discipline, the Troubles that were arisen in *Burgundy* and in *Portugal*. He sent for his Son *Commodus* to the Frontiers of *Germany*, where he put upon him the Man's Gown; upon which occasion he gave a Lar-gels to the People, and next he made him a Consul, although it was before his proper time.

Commo-
dus puts
on the
Gown.

When any Person was at any time proscribed by the Governour of *Rome*, he did not at all take the News well. He was always very reserved how he gave away publick Money; which is rather to his Praise than to his Reproach. And yet he was always disposed to give Money to good Men, towards the Relief of Towns which were fallen into decay; and where he saw a Necessity for it, he remitted the Tribute and the Taxes. In his absence he ordered that the publick Divertisements of *Rome* should be taken care of by such as were the richest to publish them. This obviated a Discourse which was amongst the People, when he had carried away the Gladiators to the War, as if he designed to put down those

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Sports,

Some of
his Con-
stitutions.

Sports, and to force all the World to Philosophy. He commanded that the Stage-Players, Tumblers, and those sort of Men should not begin their Shews upon the Market-days, till later than ordinary, because they should not hinder the Market. Some talk'd of some of those sort of Men, being beloved by his Wife; but he purged himself of all that by his Letters. He forbad the going in the Town on Horseback, or in Coaches. He took away the promiscuous Bagnios, wherein Men and Women washed together. He moderated the Luxury of the Women, and of the young Nobility. He rescued the Sacrifices of the God *Serapis* from that Rabble, and those Disturbances which annoy them at the City of *Belous* in *Egypt*. It was said, that some, under the pretence of being Philosophers, had that Interest in him, that they were a prejudice to the publick, no less than private Persons. But of this he purged himself, and shew'd that it was in no wise true.

He generally inflicted upon all Crimes a lesser Punishment, than what it was the Custom to do by the Laws; and yet sometimes against notorious and high Offenders he continued inexorable. He took the Cognizance himself of the Capital Causes of Persons of the better Quality, and managed them with all imaginable Equity. He would reprimand a Prætor that gave Judgment upon too short a hearing, and order him to try the Cause over again; saying, *It is for the Honour of him who judges for the People, to hearken to the Re-*

sons of the accused to the last. He observed to do Justice impartially as to Prisoners taken in War, and he settled infinite Numbers of the Barbarians in the *Roman Territories*. When the Enemy had by a Stratagem so shut up his Army that they could come to no Water, he extorted from Heaven by his Prayers a Storm of Rain which relieved them, when they were ready to perish with Thirst. He had designed to erect *Marcomannia* into a Province, and likewise *Sarmatia*; and he had done it, if *Avidius Cassius* had not rebelled against him in the *East*, who set himself up as Emperor, by an Intrigue, some say of *Fausina*, when she began to despair of the long Life of her Husband. Others say, it was pretended that *Marcus* was dead, and that *Cassius* did not set up himself till after *Marcus* was declared a God. But however it was, *Marcus* was not very much moved at the Defection; neither did he Revenge himself upon the Wife, or Family, or Friends of *Cassius*: But *Cassius* was adjudged an Enemy by the Senate, and his Estate was confiscated into the publick Treasury.

*Avidius
Cassius
rebels.*

Then leaving the War against the *Sarmatæ* and the *Marcomanni*, he marched against *Cassius*. In the mean time, some at *Rome* were in a fear, that *Cassius* in his absence would have come thither. But *Cassius* was presently kill'd, and his Head brought to the Emperor, who without rejoycing at his Death ordered the Head to be buried. A Son of *Cassius*, called *Mæcianus*, to whom he had committed *Alex-*
andria,

*Who is
kill'd.*

andria, met with the same Fate; and the Captain of the Guards that *Cassius* had made, was also killed by the Army. He forbade the Senate to take Vengeance upon the Accomplices of the Defection; desiring, if possible, at the same time, that no Senator might be put to Death in his Reign, because it should not be polluted with Blood. He ordered such Persons as were banished, to be recall'd. Some few Centurions lost their Heads. He pardon'd the Cities which had complied with *Cassius*. He pardon'd the *Antiochians*, who had said several things against himself, and in Favour of *Cassius*; from whom, however, he took away their Shews, their publick Conventions, and all sorts of Assemblies, by a strict Edit; because they were a seditious People, as he intimates in his Speech in *Marius Maximus*, which he made to his Ministers upon the Subject of this Defection. He designed not to see *Antioch*, when he went into *Syria*, nor the City *Cyr*, or *Carin*, of which *Cassius* was.

But however, afterwards he went to *Antioch*. He was at *Alexandria*, and was very obliging to that City. He transacted many things with the Kings of those Parts, who met him, together with the Ambassadors of the *Persians*, and he established a Peace with them. He made himself dear to all the Oriental Provinces, and left the Prints of his Philosophy amongst them, by his weighty Discourse. He acted the Citizen and the Philosopher in *Egypt*, in all the Academies, Temples, and publick Places where he came. Though the *Alexandrians*

drians had said several things to the Advantage of *Cassius*, he pardoned them, and left a Daughter of *Cassius* with them. After this he lost his Consort *Faustina*, at a Village called *Halala*, at the Foot of the Mountain *Taurus*, where she died suddenly. He desired the Senate to make her a Goddess, and give her a Temple; praising her, though she had laboured under such a Censure of Unchastity, which either he knew nothing of, or at least he dissembled it. Some Alms-Children for whom he made a Provision, he called by her Name, in her Honour. She had accompanied him into the Field in the Summer, and therefore had the Title of the Mother of the Camp. He made the Village a Colony where she died, and erected her a Temple there; which was afterwards re-dedicated to *Heliogabalus*. At the same time that he marched against *Cassius*, he gave no Commands for the killing him, out of his Clemency. *Heliodorus* his Son was banished. Others, who banished themselves, were allowed a part of their Estates. And for the rest of the Children of *Cassius*, they enjoyed above a half of their Father's Fortune. His Daughter *Alexandra*, and *Druncianus* her Husband, had their free Liberty of going any whither. And certainly *Marcus Antoninus* was sorry for the Death of *Cassius*; because, he said, *He desired to have passed his Reign, without shedding the least drop of the Blood of the Senators.*

Death of
Faustina.

After

After he had settled the Affairs of the *East*, he came to *Athens*; where amongst other things, he visited the Temple of the Goddess *Ceres*, to shew his Innocency, because this was solemnly forbidden to wicked Persons; and he was admitted into the *Sacres* all alone. In his return by Sea into *Italy*, he was overtaken with a great Storm. At his Landing at *Brindisi* in *Naples*, he both put on the *Roman Gown* himself, and commanded the Soldiers to habit themselves accordingly, who never went in their Soldiers Coats in *Italy* in his Reign. Being come to *Rome*, he triumphed there, and from thence he went to *Lavinia*. He made his Son *Commodus* his Colleague in the *Tribunitian Power*. He entertain'd, the People with a Largeſs, and extraordinary fine Shews. He reformed many things in the Civil Policy, and set proper Bounds to the Expences of the Games of the Gladiators; having this Sentence of *Plato* much in his Mouth, *Happy the States where either the Philosophers are the Emperors, or the Emperors are Philosophers*. He match'd a Daughter of *Bruttius Præſens*, who was of the Consular Dignity, to his Son *Commodus*: But the *Espouſals* were celebrated with no more than ordinary Magnificence; on which occasion he gave a Largeſs to the People. Then he re-assum'd the Old War with the *Marcomanni* again. For he had made War with those, and with the *Hermunduri*, the *Sarmatæ*, and the *Quadi*, three Years before together; and now if he had lived but one Year longer, he had reduced them into Provinces. But he died as he was making his prepara-

Espouſals
of *Com-*
modus.

preparations for that Conquest. Two days before he died, his Officers being admitted into his Chamber, he gave them to understand that he had as ill an Opinion of his Son *Commodus*, as *Philip* of *Macedon* had a good Opinion of his Son *Alexander*; saying, as *Philip* did, he was not sorry to dye, since he left behind him such a Son; but meaning that the *Roman Empire* would scarce be large enough to hold the Vices of him; who made it appear already, departing from the Rules of Life, which his Father had prescribed him, that he was Cruel, and Infamous. His death was thus: when he began to be sick, he called his Son to him, and advised him first of all not to slight the Reliques of the War, for fear that he should seem to betray the Empire. To which *Commodus* answering, that he should be obliged for his own safety to be gone from the Army, because of the Pestilence which raged: he told him again, *He might do as he would; but he desired him rather to tarry, at least a few days, because he would do well to appear to hold it a little against the Barbarians*: After this, he would neither eat nor drink, because he desired to dye, and this increased his Distemper. The sixth day he called in his Friends, and discoursing to them about the Vanity of Humane things, and the Contempt of death, he said, *Why are you sorry for me, when you ought rather to think of the Pestilence which rages, and of the common death of every one? As they retired from him, he sighed and said, If you see me no more, I bid you farewell; I go before you*. They asked him

The
Death of
Antoni-
nus.

him to whom he recommended his Son. He said; *To all you, if he deserves it, and to the Gods Immortal.* The Army upon the notice of his sickness was very much troubled; for they loved him dearly. The seventh Day he was worse, and saw none but his Son: whom he presently dismissed again, for fear he should be infected. His Son being gone, he threw the Cloaths over his Head, as if he went to sleep; and died that night. Some say, that when he saw that *Commodus* would prove such a Man, as afterwards he did, he rather wished him dead, than that he should make another *Nero, Caligula, or Domitian*, by his Reign.

One thing *Marcus Antoninus* is blamed for, which is, That he promoted to several Honors *Tertullus, Utilius, Orphitus, and Moderatus*, who were his Wife's great Lovers. He had surprized *Tertullus* one day actually at Dinner with her. The Buffoon upon the Stage gave him a Rub as to this Man, in his own Presence. "What, says he to him that was with him, is the name of that Man, that you say Gallants my Wife; the other answered, *Tullus, Tullus, Tullus*. He asked him the same Question again: says the other, I have told you. By which the Audience plainly saw, that he meant, that his crying three times *Tullus*, signified *Tertullus*. So every body talk'd very much of this Spark, and blamed the Patience of *Antoninus*. Sometime before his death, and before he went the second time to the *Marcomannick War*, he took his Oath

Licentiousness of
Faustina.

Oath in the Capitol, that not one single Senator by his knowledge, had been put to death. And he said, *He should have saved the lives even of the Rebels with Cassius, if it had been left to him.* He was so far from seeking to enrich himself with the Estate of Proscribed Persons, that he abhorred and shun'd nothing more than the scandal of Covetousness: against which he purges himself in several Letters. Some pretend to say that he was a Dissembler and not really of that Sincerity as he seemed to be, or as either *Pius* or *Verus* was of. And again they say, that he too much raised the Pride of the Court, by estranging his Friends from his Company and his Banquets. He ordered a Deification for his Parents, and honoured the Friends of his Relations with Statues, though they were Persons that were dead. He did not easily believe things upon Trust; but gave himself always time enough to find out the truth. After the death of *Faustina, Fabia* the Sister of *Verus* was Ambitious to Marry him. But he rather chose to content himself with a Concubine, of a Daughter of a Servant to his late Wife, than over so many Children, which he had; to superinduce a Step-mother.

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
VERUS ANTONINUS.

By JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

Addressed to the

EMPEROR
DIOCLESIAN.

I Know very well, that several Persons who have written the History of the Actions of *Marcus* and *Verus*, have done it in such a method, as to give the Reader an account of *Verus* in the first place; following the order not of their Reigns, but their Deaths.

But

But I have thought it my Duty to give the precedence, as to this, to *Marcus*, and to treat of *Verus* afterwards; because *Marcus* was the first of the two upon the Throne; and because his survival after the death of *Verus* made but a continuation still of the same Reign.

Lucius Cæsonius Ælius Commodus Verus Antoninus, who by his Adoption into the *Ælian* Family by the Will of *Hadrian*, was called *Ælius*, and by his Alliance with *Marcus Antoninus*, received the name of *Verus Antoninus*, was a Prince, whom we do not reckon in the number of the Best, nor yet on the contrary in the number of the Worst Princes. For as his Virtues were not abundant, so neither were his Vices formidable. One thing is, he did not Reign an Independent Monarch of himself; for he was under *Marcus*; but yet of an equal Majesty with him in the Empire; and at the same time he very much differed from him in this, that he was Licentious in his Manners; and was of an humour that was frank and open, and could dissemble nothing. His Father was *Lucius Ælius Verus*, who formerly had been Adopted by *Hadrian*, being the first of the Title of a *Cæsar*, as it is used to denote the Person appointed to be the Successour to the Empire; and who died in that Quality. His Grandfathers, and Great Grandfathers, together with many of his other Ancestours, had been Consuls. He was born at *Rome* in the Prætorship of his Father, upon the eighteenth of the Calends of *January*, on which was heretofore also the Birth-day of the Emperor

Verus his Birth and Extraordinary

Emperor Nero. His Family by his Father's side was for the most part out of the Country of *Hetruria*, and by his Mother's, out of the City *Faenza*.

This being his Extraction, he, upon the Adoption of his Father by *Hadrian*, came into the Family of that Emperour; continuing wherein after his Father's death, when *Hadrian* was pleased, out of his care for the good of Posterity, to take *Antoninus Pius* to be his Son, and *Marcus Antoninus* to be his Grandson; he not only obliged at the same time the former to Adopt this *Verus*, but to give him also his Daughter to Wife: which Daughter was married however to *Marcus Antoninus*, and not to *Verus*, because *Verus* in respect of his Age was not then judged proper for her, (as we have said above,) and *Verus* married *Lucilla*, the Daughter of *Marcus*. He was brought up in the Court. His Master in Grammar, for the Latin, was *Scaurinus*, the Son of that *Scaurus*, who was the Grammarian to *Hadrian*: For the Greek, he had *Telephas*, *Hephestion*, and *Harpocraton*. His Masters in the Greek Eloquence were *Apollonius*, *Celer Caninius*, and *Herodes Atticus*; for the Latin, *Cornelius Fronto*. His Masters in Philosophy were *Apollonius* and *Sextus*: all whom he loved very well, and they loved him; but he was one, that had little of a natural Genius to Learning. He pleased himself the most at first in making Verses; and afterwards in making Orations. It is said, he was a better Oratour than a Poet; or rather, to speak more properly, that

His Preceptors.

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he was a worse Poet than he was an Orator. Others say, he had the Wits of his Friends to assist him; and that in those very things of his which are Extant, whatsoever they are, he served himself of the same. For, they say, he had several Men of Learning and Eloquence always with him. The Governour of his Youth was *Nicomedes*. He was Voluptuous; and shew'd great gaiety in all sorts of Pleasures, Sports and Divertisements, which became him but too well. He was Adopted at the Age of seven years, and was formed upon the Manners and Authority of *Marcus Antoninus*. He loved Hunting, Wrestling, and all the Exercises of Youth; and was as a private Person in the Court no less than three and twenty years together.

The day that he put on the Roman, that is, the Man's Gown, *Antoninus Pius* dedicated a Temple to his Father *Ælius Verus*, and gave a Bounty to the People. When he was made Quæstor, and entertained, at his admittance into that Office, the People, with the Public Games, he took his place in the midst betwixt *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus*. After his Quæstorship he was presently made Consul, *He is* in Conjunction with *Sextilius Lateranus*. Some made Consul. years after that he was made a second time Consul, in Conjunction with *Marcus Antoninus*: after which, he continued a long time in the Estate of a private Man, and was not adorned with the same Honours as *Marcus* was. He did not sit in the Senate, before his Quæstorship: neither did he accompany so much

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with the Emperor, as with the Captain of the Guards ; and he had no other name of Honor added to his own more than this, that he was called the Emperor's Son. He much delighted in the Races of the Cirque, and in the Games of the Gladiatours ; but as his Pleasures and his Luxury were continually the occasions of his falling into many errors ; it seems, as if he was not retained in the Royal Family by *Antoninus Pius*, but upon this account ; because *Hadrian* had commanded him to Adopt him expressly, that he call'd him his own Grandson : and so he retained him, it is supposed, more to discharge his Trust, than as a mark of his Love. That which he approved in him was the Simplicity and the Debonairness of his Temper : he advised him, as much as he could to form himself upon the Model of his Brother. In fine, when his Father was dead, his Brother conferred all things upon him, even to the participation of the Sovereignty ; and made him his Colleague, although the Senate had deferred the Empire to himself alone.

He is
made Col-
league in
the Em-
pire.

Elevated thus to the Empire, and the Tribunitian Power being given him, and the honour of a Proconsulship, his Brother *Marcus Antoninus* ordered him to be called by the name of *Verus Antoninus*. As a testimony of his Sense of so high Favours, he received *Marcus*, upon all occasions, with the respect of a Lieutenant to a Proconsul, or of a President of a Province to the Emperour. He con-

care

care to the intentions and will of *Marcus* ; who at the same time harangued the Soldiers in the name of them both upon this occasion. But when *Verus* was gotten into *Syria*, the great liberty which he gave himself in living at his ease ; with his lewd Amours, and the Debaucheries of all sorts, to which he was abandoned, so changed him to another Man, that he defamed his Reputation. In like manner, after his return out of *Syria* he made a perpetual Tavern of the Court ; where after having dined with *Marcus*, he retired to his own Company, and diverted himself with all sorts of filthy Persons. He passed whole nights at Game, according to a Custom that he had learnt in *Syria* : and to such a degree did he Rival the Vices of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Vitellius*, that he roved up and down in the night amongst the Taverns and the Stews in disguise ; and pleased himself to make Debauches with the Mob, and to joyn in their Quarrels ; out of which he often however came off with a black Face : But notwithstanding his Disguises, he was known in the publick Houses where he came ; where, at other times, he was for Breaking the Glasses and other Vessels, and then he paid very well for them. He favoured very much the Green-Coat-Party in the Races run in the Cirque. He had Gladiators frequently to fight at the Entertainments which he made, and which he prolonged till midnight ; till he fell a sleep upon his Coach, and was taken up in his Cloaths, and carried to Bed. He slept but little, and had an easie

His Lu-
xury.

digestion. In the mean time *Marcus* dissembled all these things, as if he knew nothing of them, out of Modesty, not to put to shame his Brother.

One Banquet, that he made, is remarkable: he had in the first place twelve Guests; where, as the known Proverb, as to the number at such a time, is, *Septem convivium, novem convivium*; that is, *Seven's a Company, Nine is but Noise*. Every one of these had a handsome Boy at his Back to serve him. Every one his Sewer, and his Dishes to himself, which were of their own chusing. Every one his fresh Cup of Myrrh, or of the Crystal of *Alexandria* as oft as he drank. There were also Cups of Gold and Silver, and others set with Jewels. Then they had Crowns upon their Heads, adorned with golden Labels, and Flowers, such as for the Season were Rarities. They had their golden Boxes filled with pretious Ointments; and at parting they all had their Carleshes drawn with Mules in Harness of Silver, presented to them, to carry them home. The whole Treat was estimated at sixty hundred thousand Sesterces: which when *Marcus* heard of, he sighed, and lamented the misfortune of the Publick in the Person of his Brother. After Supper they played at Dice all that night, till it was morning. And this he did after his return from the *Parthian War*, to which *Marcus* had sent him purposely, that he should not commit those sort of Actions in the sight of all the World at *Rome*; thinking besides that Travelling might teach him frugali-

frugality, and the dangers of War make him better, and more sober, or at least teach him to know himself to be an Emperour: but how much the better he was for it, this Supper alone shews, as well as the rest of his Life.

His love of the Races of the Cirque was such, that he sent and received many Letters about them, into, and out of the Provinces. When present at them, and in Company with *Marcus*, he has suffered several Affronts from the contrary Party, for his over great Zeal to that to which he sided. He had a Horse called Swift, whose Image he cut out in Gold, and fed him with Raisins and Almonds, in the Manger, instead of Corn; covered him with a Cloath of Purple, and ordered him to be kept in a Room in the Court. When this Horse died, he Erected a Monument to him upon the *Vatican*. And it was first in the favour of this Horse, that they began the Custom of gathering Money for the Winning Horses, in the way, as it were, of a Præmium. For this Horse was so much beloved; that a Bushel of pieces of Gold hath often been thrown to him by those of his Side in the Cirque.

When *Verus* set forward upon his Expedition to the *Parthian War*, *Marcus* accompanied him as far as to *Capua*. But going on his way from *Capua*, he Revelled it so, at all the great Houses where he came, that he contracted an Illness, and fell Sick at *Canosa* in *Naples*, whither *Marcus* took a second Journey to visit him there. Certainly many ill

His negligent Conduct.

and unhandſome things appear in the Conduct of *Verus*, which he did during the time of the War. For when both the Lieutenant of *Syria* was killed, and the Legions there were cut off; the *Syrians* Meditating a Revolt, and the Eaſt laid Waſte by the Enemy, then was he paſſing his time in Hunting in *Apuleia*. At *Corinth* and *Athens*, he had his Muſical Conſorts, and Entertainments of Voices and Inſtruments. At every Port of note in *Aſia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Cilicia*, where he came, he made a ſtay to take his Pleaſures.

After he was come to *Antioch*, he followed his Luxuries to exceſs for his own part, whiſt his Generals carried on the *Parthian* War, who were *Statius Priſcus*, *Avidius Caſſius*, and *Martius Verus*. In four years they went through *Babylon*, the Kingdom of *Media*, and recovered *Armenia*: which procured to him the honourable Title of Conquerour of the *Armenians*, *Parthians*, and *Medes*, which was alſo Communicated to *Marcus* at *Rome*. He paſſed the Winters in thoſe four years, at the City of *Laodicea*; the Summers at the Village of *Daphne*, and the reſt of the time at *Antioch*. All the *Syrians* made a jeſt of him; and ſeveral Railleries, which they paſſed upon him upon the Stage in their Plays, are extant. He admitted his Slaves to be as free with him at all times, as the Cuſtom is to be upon the Feaſts of *Saturn*. He went, at the ſolicitation of his Courtiers, as far as to the Banks of the *Euphrates* twice; and he came up to *Ephesus* to meet his Wife *Lucilla*, who was ſent

ſent to him from *Marcus* her Father. But his deſign in this laſt Journey principally was to prevent *Marcus*, that he ſhould not come down with her into *Syria*, and ſo detect his ill deportments: becauſe *Marcus* had told the Senate, that he would bear his Daughter Company into *Syria*. At laſt, when the War was ended, he appointed Kings over the reſpective Kingdoms, and gave the Governments of the Provinces amongſt his Officers: and then returned himſelf to *Rome*, but much againſt his inclination, though it was to take the honour of a Triumph; becauſe to leave *Syria*, was to leave, as it were, his own Proper Kingdom. So he came and triumphed in Company with his Brother, and the Senate confirmed the Titles to him, which he had before received from the Army.

He ſhaved his Beard (which he had not done before) in *Syria*, only to pleaſure an ordinary Miſtreſs, that he had gained there; which gave the *Syrians* an occaſion to ſay ſeveral things upon him. The time of his return to *Rome* was unfortunate: for it ſeemed, as if he brought the Plague with him thither, and into the Provinces through which he paſſed. This Plague aroſe firſt in the Country of *Babylon*; where out of a ſmall golden Coffer, which a Soldier had plundered in the Temple of *Apollo*, proceeded, it is ſaid, ſuch a Peſtilentious ſtench, as ſpread itſelf from thence into *Parthia*, and ſo over the World. Not that this was yet a fault of *Verus*, but of *Caſſius*; who, contrary to his Faith given, raiſed the

His re-
turn to
Rome.

the City of *Seleucia*, after it had received our Forces, as Friends. At the same time, amongst others, *Quadratus*, a Writer of the *Parthian War*, Vindicates *Cassius* too against this accusation; and lays the blame upon the *Seleucians* themselves, for breaking their Faith with *Cassius* the first. But however that is, *Verus* had so much reverence for *Marcus*, that he desired to Communicate to him, upon the day that they triumphed together, the same Titles and Names of Honour which had been deferred to himself. But yet, after his return from the *Parthian War*, he was not altogether so very observant of *Marcus* as formerly, suffering his Servants to have too great an influence over him, and acting in many things by them, without the advice of his Brother. To which it is to be added, that he brought a Company of Mimicks with him out of *Syria*, as if they had been so many Kings to adorn his Triumph. The principal of whom called by the name of *Paris*. Then he built himself a famous Seat upon the *Via Clodia*; where he Revelled with great Luxury for several days together in Company with his Servants, and such of his chosen Friends, whose presence brought no constraint upon him. He invited *Marcus* thither one day to see him; who came, but it was to shew to him the sanctity of his life, which was great and worthy to have been the subject of his imitation. *Marcus* tarried with him five days; but employed his time all the while in continual Business, whilst

His other
Vanties.

whilst *Verus* was either Feasting, or providing for his Feasts. Another Mimick that he brought with him out of *Syria*, as a Trophy of the *Parthian War*, was one, that he called by the Name of *Apolaustus*; but his former Name was *Agrippus Memphis*. He brought with him besides, for his diversion, Fiddlers, Pipers, Players, Buffoons, Juglers, and of all those sorts of Slaves which *Syria* and *Alexandria* are so delighted with; that really one would think by his Captives, that he had been making War, not against *Parthia*, but against the Stage.

It was not openly visible to the World, but yet it was privately whispered, that this diversity of his Life to that of *Marcus*, with many other things, occasioned an ill Understanding betwixt them. Especially, this was said upon the Death of *Libo*, who was a Cousin German to *Marcus*, and who had been sent by him, as his Lieutenant into *Syria*; where behaving himself more haughtily than a Senatour in that Quality ought to have done, and saying, *That he would write to Marcus to be satisfied, if perhaps he doubted in any thing*; *Verus* could not take it, that he paid no more Respect to him, who was an Emperor upon the Place; and after this *Libo* died suddenly, with almost the Marks of Poyson upon him. From which some thought, that he was poysoned by the hand of *Verus*. And though *Marcus* was not of this Opinion, yet the thing served to encrease the rumor of their disagreement. *Geminus* and *Agaclytus*, two Servants of *Verus*, had a great

The German Expedition.

a great Influence over him, as I have already said in the Life of *Marcus*. He married the latter to *Libo's* Widow, although contrary to the desire of *Marcus*, who therefore denied his Presence to the Espousals. *Codes*, and *Ælim Lætus* or *Electus*, were two others of his manumitted Servants: He had more besides, who were all ill Men enough, and whom *Marcus* dismissed, after the Death of their Master; only *Ælius Lætus* he retained, who afterwards was the Author of the Death of his Son *Commodus*. In fine, when the German War came on, because *Marcus* neither thought fit to send *Verus* to it alone, nor yet to leave him in the Town alone, upon the Account of his great Luxury, they went both together to it, and came to the City of *Aquileia*; where *Verus* did nothing but divert and enjoy himself, whilst *Marcus* took upon him the Care of all things. They crossed the *Alps*, although this was much against the Inclination of *Verus*; and as for what passed afterwards betwixt the Ambassadors of the *Barbarians* on the one hand, begging Peace, and our Emperors on the other, it hath been already represented sufficiently in the Life of *Marcus*. So the heat of the War being over, and *Verus* urging to return to *Aquileia* again, because he longed for the Pleasures of *Rome*, it was resolved by both to go back to *Rome*. But as *Verus* was in the Coach, not far from the City of *Altino*, he was taken suddenly with an Apoplexy; for which, lifting him immediately out of the Coach, and letting him Blood, they brought him

Death of Verus.

him alive unto *Altino*, where he continued three Days speechless, and then died.

There was a Discourse, as if he had been Incestuous with his Wife's Mother, *Faustina*; and that *Faustina* had contrived his Death, by putting Poyson in his Oysters, because the Conversation which he had with the Mother, he discovered to the Daughter. There was another Story made of his Death, which I have set down in the Life of *Marcus*, but which is utterly inconsistent with the Virtue of that great Man. Others attributed his Death to his own Wife, because he was a little too indulgent to the Love which he had for *Fabia* his Sister, whose Power she could not brook. And certainly there was that great Kindness betwixt *Verus* and *Fabia*, that it was also reported, that they two had consulted together to kill *Marcus*; but when this was discovered to *Marcus* by *Agaclytus* the Servant of *Verus*, *Faustina* prevented the Murder of *Marcus*, and she herself killed *Verus*.

As to his Person, he was well shaped, with a good Visage, and a Beard, before he shaved, extraordinary long, like a Barbarian; tall, and a frown upon his Brow that was awful. He had yellow Hair, which he took a great Care of, and used an Art with Gold Dust, to make it glitter, and look yellower still. He was a little slow in Speech, a great Lover of Game, always Luxurious, and in many things a Nero, excepting Cruelty and Buffoonry. Amongst the rest of his Curious Furniture for his Luxury, he had a Crystal Cup, that he called *Swift*, after

after the Name of his beloved Horse; and it was of so large a size, it held a Draught indeed more fit for a Horse, than any thing else. He lived Two and Forty Years, and reigned Eleven, in Conjunction with his Brother.

His Body was interred in the Sepulchre of *Hadrian*, where his Father the *Cæsar* also lies. The Story which I now said, is inconsistent with the Virtue of *Marcus Antoninus* is well known, and it is this; That *Marcus* with a Knife empoysoned on the one side of it, divided a Piece of a Sacrifice to *Verus*, and gave that Part thereof to *Verus* to eat, which was touched with the Poyson; which is a Crime impossible to be conceived of *Marcus*, whatever the Life and Actions of *Verus* might perhaps deserve. Neither do we leave it in doubt, but wholly reject it as a false and supposititious thing; being assured, that excepting your Majesty, O *Dioclesian*, as yet, since *Marcus*, Flattery it self hath not been able to form a better and a more accomplished Prince than he.

THE
L I F E
O F
AVIDIUS CASSIUS,

BY
VULCATIUS GALLICANUS:

Addressed to the
E M P E R O R
DIOLESIAN.

THE

A *Vidius Cassius*, was, as some think, descended from the Antient Family of *the Cassii*; but yet this was only by the side of his Mother: for his Father was *Avidius Severus*, who from a private Extraction, and the Degree of a Centurion, raised himself unto the highest Honours; of whom
Quadratus

Quadratus makes mention in his History; and indeed so much to his Advantage, that he calls him a great and necessary Man in the State, and who had a great Interest with the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, in whose Reign he died. This *Cassius*, of the Family, I say, of those *Cassii*, who had conspired against *Julius Cæsar*, was one that secretly hated a Monarchy, and could scarce endure the very Name of an Emperor: He said, *That no State was so intolerable, as an Empire, which cannot be put down without another Emperor.* In his younger Years, he had attempted to depose *Antoninus Pius*. It is true, his Father being a great and worthy Person, covered him against the Charge of that Ambition, but yet he was always looked upon as a suspicious Person.

A LETTER of *Verus Antoninus* concerning him; written to the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, says thus.

Avidius Cassius hath a greedy Eye upon the Empire, at least as I think, and as some time ago it was known he had, under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius* our Father. I desire you to take good Notice of him: Every thing we do displeases him. He grows extraordinary Rich, laughs at us both; calls you a Doating Philosopher, and

me a Luxurious Fool. Consider, what is to be done: I hate not the Man, but do you see whether it is not ill for you and your Children to keep such a one in your Army; and one besides that the Soldiers love, and hearken to with pleasure.

THE ANSWER of *Marcus Antoninus*, concerning *Avidius Cassius*, was this.

I Have read your Letter, in which you are too apprehensive, than I would have an Emperor to be, or than suits well with our Reigns: For if the Empire is allotted to *Avidius Cassius* by Heaven, we should not be able to cut him off, if we would: You know the saying of your Grandfather *Hadrian*, That no Man kills his Successor. But if it is not so allotted him, he will fall of himself into the fatal Snare, without our Cruelty. Neither can we make a Man a Criminal, who is accused by none, and who as you say is beloved by the Army. In Actions of Treason also, so it is, that even tho' they are proved upon Men, the World is apt to think the Sufferer injured; which made your Grandfather *Hadrian* say, O the hard Fate of Emperors, who cannot be believed, that they are Usurpt upon, until they are killed! I chose to name *Hadrian* for it, rather than *Domitian*, who was the first indeed

indeed that said so; because when a thing is well said, yet if it is the saying of a Tyrant, it hath not the Authority with it, as it deserves. Therefore let Avidius Cassius have his own way, being a good Officer, Strict and Stout, and of great Use in the State. For as to what you urge about the taking Care of my Children, if Avidius Cassius shall deserve to be better beloved than they, and it is expedient for the Publick, rather that he live, than the Children of Marcus Antoninus, let them perish.

This is what Verus and what Marcus Antoninus, severally wrote concerning Cassius. Now we shall explain in short the Temper and the Manners of this Person; which is all that can well be known of such, whose Lives, no one presumes to write to their Advantage, out of Respect to those by whom they were destroyed; only we shall add something of his assumption of the Empire, and of his Death. Having in this Design that we are upon, proposed to ourselves to take in the Histories of all that in any wise have born the Title of Emperors, whether justly or unjustly, to the end that your Majesty, O Dioclesian, should have a perfect Account before you, to your own Person, of the Events of the Empire of Rome. He was a Man of that Variety in his Manners, that now he was cruel and ill humored, then mild and obliging; now he was very Religious, then Profane; sometimes he drank hard, then he was as abstemious; sometimes he sat very much, another time he fasted as much;

much; sometimes he was all for Women, then he was all for Chastity; so that People were not wanting to call him a *Catiline*; and he said, they might call him what they pleased, so he but gained his Point of the *Dialogist*; by which Name he meant *Marcus Antoninus*, who was so eminently skill'd in Philosophy, that going to the War against the *Marcomanni*; and every body being in fear for him, lest any thing ill should happen to him, they desired him before he went, that he would discover to them his Precepts of Philosophy; which at their Entreaty he did, in Discourses to them, which he continued three Days together. Besides this, *Avidius Cassius* was a strict Man for Military Discipline; insomuch, that he was willing to have himself be called a *Marius*.

Now having begun to make mention of his *His strict* Strictness, there are many Instances not to be *Discipline* omitted, in which he shew'd himself not so properly to say strict, as he was cruel. For first, if the Soldiers had taken but the least thing by violence from the People of the Provinces, he crucified them immediately upon the place, where they committed the Fact. He had another way of executing them, which was purely of his own Invention, which was this. A great Stake of Timber was set up, which was Eighty, or a Hundred Foot high; the condemned were tied to this Stake in Ranks, from the top to the bottom; at the bottom was a Fire, which burnt some to Death, whilst others were suffocated with the Smoak, and
M others

others were sometimes frightened to Death. He hath ordered Ten in a Body to be chain'd, and thrown into a River, or into the Sea together. To Deserters, he many times cut off their Hands, or their Legs and Thighs; saying, *The Example of a Criminal living in that manner in misery, is of a greater Force, than if he was kill'd at a blow.* A Party of the Auxiliaries, once in the Army under his Command, had without his knowledge surpris'd the *Sarmatae*, as they were lying carelessly upon the Banks of the *Danube*, of whom they killed Three Thousand, and returned to their Corps again, with a great Booty. And as it was their Centurions that had put them upon this Action, the Centurions expected to be rewarded for it; because with a handful of Men they had killed such a Number of the Enemy, whilst the Tribunes and the other Officers had neglected the Opportunity that was offered. But for their Reward, he ordered them to be all taken, and, which is a thing without Example, crucified like Slaves. He said, *It might have happened, that the Enemy had had a Trick in it, and an Ambuscade, which would have much reflected upon the Honour of the Roman Name.* So a great Mutiny upon this arising in the Army, he came immediately to them, and said, *Kill me, if you think fit, and add that Fact more to this Corruption of Discipline.* At which they were all appeas'd. He shew'd he did not fear them; and this made him to be feared by them: Which added such Strength to the Discipline of the Romans, and struck

struck such a Regard on the other side into the Enemy, that they came and begged of the Emperor *Antoninus* an Hundred Years Peace, having had the Satisfaction to see those very Persons who had gotten a Victory over them, condemned to Death, by the Judgment of the Roman General himself; because without his permission, they had without Orders gained that Victory.

Many more of his Severities upon the Soldiers are to be seen in *Amilius Parthenianus*; he caused them to be beaten with Rods in the Markets, and in the midst of the Camp; he cut off their Heads, or many times their Hands. He forbade them to carry any thing with them in an Expedition, beside Bacon, Bisket, and Vinegar; which if he found they transgressed, he not a little punished their Luxury.

A LETTER from the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* to the Lieutenant of *Syria*, says thus of him.

I Have given the Legions of *Syria*, which *Cassius* *Vectilianus* says, that he found all in Hot Baths, dissolved in Luxury, and living in all sorts of Pleasures, to the Command of *Avidius Cassius*, and I think, I have not done amiss. You know him a Man of the Severity and Discipline of the ancient *Cassii*; and to speak truly

M^a without

without the Antient Discipline, the Soldiers can not be well governed. You remember that good Verse of the Poet,

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virilis.

That is, the Customs of our Fore-fathers, and such Persons as were in those days, are the best Supports of the Empire of Rome. Do you take care that there be sufficient Provisions laid up for the said Legions, and if I am not mistaken in Avidius Cassius, he is one that will not let them be lost.

The ANSWER of the Lieutenant to Marcus Antoninus was this.

I*T is well done, Sir, that your Majesty hath preferred Cassius to the Command of the Legions of Syria. For there is nothing so convenient, as a severe sort of a Man for those Grecianised Soldiers. He will strip them of all their hot Baits, and shake all their fine Flowers off of their Heads, their Necks, and their Bosoms. All the necessary Provisions for the Legions are ready, and nothing will be wanting, so long as they have so good a Commander over them.*

Not

Nor were they mistaken in their Judgments which they had of *Avidius Cassius*. He immediately commanded the Soldiers to their respective Colours, and published an Order, that if any one of them was but seen at *Daphne*, he should be cashiered. Every Seventh Day he examined their Arms, and Cloaths, and Equipages. He banished all sorts of Pleasures from the Camp, and unless they corrected their Manners, he assured them, *they should pass the Winter there in their Tents*; which certainly had been done, if they had not lived more soberly. He exercised the whole Body of them every Seventh Day at their Arrows and their Arms. *It was a miserable thing*, he said, *that Wrestlers, Huntsmen, and Gladiators should be continually exercised, and not Soldiers; to whom their Labours are always the less, after they are once accustomed to them.* Thus correcting the Discipline of the Army, and ordering all things well in *Armenia, Arabia, and Egypt*, he made himself to be beloved by all the Eastern People, especially by those of *Antioch*; insomuch, that that City consented to his Assumption of the Empire, as *Marinus Maximus* says in the Life of *Marcus Antoninus*, who in his Second Book of the same Life says also, that when the Robbers of the Parts called *Bucolia* in *Egypt*, had committed many Disorders there, which were heavy upon that Kingdom, they were reduced again under subjection by *Cassius*.

Now this *Cassius* set himself up in the East *Cassius usurps the Empire.* to be Emperor, some say by an Intrigue of *Faustina*,
M 3

Faustina, who despairing of the long Life of her Husband *Marcus Antoninus*, was in a fear, that she alone should not be able to protect her Infant-Children, and that somebody should come upon the Throne, who would destroy them. But however this is, to take the Soldiers and the People off of their Love to *Marcus Antoninus*, in order to bring them to consent to himself, *Cassius* served himself of an Artifice, which was, to give out, that *Marcus* was dead, and to qualify the Regret of his Loss, he mentioned him with the Respect of one made a God. Then as Emperor, he chose himself a Captain of the Guards, and made one of his Sons Governour of the City of *Alexandria*, which Two were afterwards both kill'd by the Army, but it was done against the Will, and without the Knowledge of *Marcus Antoninus*; who neither fell into any Passion to hear of the News of the Rebellion, nor sought his Revenge upon the Children or Friends of *Cassius*. The Senate declared him an Enemy, and confiscated his Estate, which *Marcus Antoninus* forbidding to be returned into his proper Coffers, it was paid by the Order of the Senate into the publick Treasury. Some pretended, which struck a Terror into the City, that in the absence of *Antoninus*, *Avidius Cassius*, as he was entirely beloved by all, excepting the looser sort of People, would come to *Rome*, and expose it to Free-Plunder; upon the Account of the Senators especially, who had declared him an Enemy, and confiscated his Estate. On the

the other hand, the Love of *Antoninus* himself to *Cassius*, appeared very much in this, that when he was killed, and every body, unless the Citizens of *Antioch* were contented at it, he was not killed by the Command of him; for there is no doubt, but he would have spared him, if it had been in his Power so to do.

And when his Head was brought to him, *Clemency* he did not rejoyce, nor was he elevated at it of *Antoninus*. at all, but on the contrary, he was very sorry that he was deprived of an occasion to shew his Mercy; and said, *He would rather have had him taken alive, to have convinced him of his Ingratitude, and then saved him.* One said, *That Antoninus was to blame for being so favourable to his Enemy, and to his Enemy's Friends and Children, and all his adherents:* Adding, *That if Cassius had got the better, what then?* *Antoninus* answered, *We have not so served the Gods, nor so lived, as that it should be his luck to Conquer us.* Upon which he reckoned up all the Princes that had been killed, and said, *That there were Reasons for which they had deserved it; for scarce ever any good Prince had been either killed or conquered by an Usurper; for Nero deserved it; Caligula deserved it; Otho and Vitellius were not fit to reign. He thought as much of Galba for his Covetousness, and said, That Avarice in an Emperor is a most bitter Fault. In fine, not Augustus Caesar, nor Trajan, nor Hadrian, nor Antoninus Pius his Father, could ever be surmounted by the Rebels, tho' they had many of them; but it was the Rebels*

bel's Fate to be destroyed, sometime even without the Knowledge, and contrary to the Will of those Princes. So he desired the Senate not to animadvert too severely upon the Accomplices of the defection of *Cassius*, wishing that no Senator might be put to Death in his Reign; which gained him an extraordinary deal of Love. Some few Centurions were punished, and then as for others who were banished, he ordered them to be re-called and pardoned them.

He pardoned the *Antiochians*, who had so firmly adhered to the Usurpation of *Cassius*, together with other Cities that had assisted him. For tho' at the first he was very angry at the former, so as to take away their publick Games, and many other Ornaments of their City, yet he afterward restored them to them again. He bestowed a Moiety of the Estate of *Cassius* upon his Sons, and gave his Daughters the Gold, Silver; and Jewels. *Alexandra*, who was one of them, and *Druentianus* her Husband, had free Power from him to go whither they would, and lived in the greatest Security, not like the Pledges of an Usurper, but the Children of a Senator. He forbid the Fortune of their House, so much as to be cast in their Teeth; and some who were rude to them upon that Account, were by his Order prosecuted and punished for it.

Here

Here follows a Letter from the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* to *Faustina* his Wife.

VERUS formerly wrote the Truth to me concerning *Avidius Cassius*, when he said, That he had a greedy Eye upon the Empire. For I suppose you have heard, what the Expresses bring of him. So come thou to *Albano*, that we may consider together of Matters by the Will of the Gods, and fear nothing.

This obviates what *Marius Maximus* says of *Faustina*, who desiring to defame her, makes her accessary to the Usurpation of *Cassius*. Her Answer in which she presses him to be very severe was this.

I Will come strait to *Albano*, to morrow, as you command. However, I now advise, that if you love your Children, you would prosecute this Rebellion most severely: And you may assure yourself, that unless you oppress them, they will you.

Another Letter of *Faustina* to *Marcus Antoninus* upon the same Subject.

MY Mother *Faustina*, in the time of the Defection of *Celsus*, advised your Father her Husband *Antoninus Pius*, that he should first shew his kindness to his own Family, and next

to Others. Because he cannot be a good Prince, who does not take care of his Wife and Children. You see what Age our Son Commodus is of. Pompeianus your Son-in-Law is already Old, and a Stranger. Mind what you do about Avidius Cassius and his Associates. Do not spare Men, who have not spared you, and who if they had conquered, would neither have spared me, nor our Children. I shall follow you in your Journey quickly. I could not come to Formiæ, because Fadilla is Sick. But though I find you not at Formiæ, I shall overtake you at Capua, which City may do good both to me and our Children in our Healths. I desire you to dispatch Soteridas the Physician to Formiæ. I cannot trust to Plistheus; he knows not what Physick to give to a young Girl. I receiv'd your Letter, which you sent by Calphurnius, and I shall answer it, if I stay, by Cæcilius the old Eunuch, a trusty Man whom you know, and by whom I will send you an account by Word of Mouth, what the Wife of Avidius Cassius, and Son, and Son-in-Law, are reported to say of you.

By these Letters, one may see that Faustina was not at all Privy to the Enterprize of Cassius, upon whom she is so severe. What Antoninus writ to her again, the following Letter shews us

You, it is true, my Faustina, Advise very well in your love to your Husband and Children. I have Read your Letter, in which you desire me to prosecute the Accomplices of Cassius. But yet I shall spare his Children, Son-in-Law, and Wife, and write to the Senate to be Favourable

to all the Party. For there is not any thing that more recommends a Roman Emperour to all the World, than Clemency. This made Cæsar a God. This Consecrated Augustus. This particularly adorned your Father with the Title of Pious. In a word, if they had gone according to the judgment of my Advice upon the War, not so much as Cassius should have been killed. So be then satisfied. The Gods protect me: my Piety is pleasing to the Gods. I have declared our Pompeianus, Consul for the next year. This is what Antoninus writ to his Wife.

Now let us see what an Oration, upon this occasion, he sent to the Senate. A part of it is thus.

Fathers of the Senate; you have now my Son-in-Law to be your Consul: I say, Pompeianus; whose Age had long ago been rewarded with that Office, but that other extraordinary Men have intervened, to whom it was just to pay the Honour, that the State hath owed them. Now as for what concerns the Defection of Cassius, I beg and conjure you Fathers of the Senate, that you would continue to me, nay to your selves, the Character of Piety and Clemency, and let the Senate put none to death. Let not one member of the Senate be put to death, nor the blood be spilt of any one that is Noble. Let the banished return, and the Proscribed receive their Estates. I wish I could raise even the dead to life again. For Revenge is never good in an Emperour, it appears ill in his own Cause, let it be never so just. You will give a Pardon therefore to the Children of Avidius Cassius, his Son-in-Law, and his Wife. But why do I say Pardon,

Pardon, when they have committed nothing? Let them live in safety, knowing that they live under the Reign of Marcus Antoninus. Let them enjoy the Patrimony of their Parents, which hath in part been already granted to them. Let them have the Gold, the Silver, and the Wardrobe. Let them be rich. Let them be safe. Let them have their full Liberty, and in the sight of all People. Let them be as so many instances of mine, and instances of your Clemency. Nor is this such a great Grace, Fathers of the Senate, to grant a Pardon to the Wives and Children of persons Proscribed: I do further desire of you, that such of the Senatorian, and Equestrian Orders, as have been Accomplices in this Defection, be Protected also by your Authority from Murder, from Proscription, from Fear, from Infamy, from Envy, and from all kind of Injury; and that you allow this Honour to my Reign, that none upon these accounts are killed in it, but who only in the very Tumults are killed.

This great Clemency of his was followed by the Senate, with these Acclamations. The Gods preserve Antoninus the Pious, the Gods save Antoninus the Merciful. O Antoninus the Merciful! the Gods save you. Your Majesty hath refused to do what you very well might have done: we have done but what became us. Make Commodus, your Son, Emperor with you. Strengthen your Race. See that your Children are safe. No Force can touch a good Reign. We beg the Tribunitian Power for Commodus Antoninus. We beg the Presence of your Majesty with us. We Congratulate you for your Philosophy,

phy, your Patience, your Learning, your Nobility, your Innocence. You conquer your Foes. You surmount your Enemies. The Gods save you.

So the Posterity of *Avidius Cassius* lived in Safety, and were admitted unto Honours, till *Commodus Antoninus* succeeded after the Death of his Father, and then commanded them all to be burnt alive, as much as if he had surprised them in the very Act of some Treason.

This then is what we have found concerning *Avidius Cassius*, who in his Temper was always various, but more especially propense to Correction and Cruelty: But yet if he had carried the Empire, he would have been flattered with the Name of not only of a Gracious, but an Useful, and an Excellent Prince.

A Letter to his Son-in-Law, which he writ in the time, that he acted the Emperor, is in part as follows.

U*nhappy State! How miserably does it suffer under the Power of the Rich, and Men thirsting to be so? Marcus is an excellent Person truly; who to get himself the Title of Merciful, suffers those to live, whose Lives he condemns at the same time! Where is now that Lucius Cassius, whose Name I bear, tho' I am unworthy of it? Where is that Marcus Cato, the Censor? Where is all the Discipline of our Fore fathers, which decayed long ago, but now is not so much as asked for? Marcus Antoninus Philosophiser, and Disputes about Clemency*

mency and the Soul, to Justice and Honesty; and never thinks of the State. You see there is need of a severe Hand, to reduce things to the Condition they were in in antient Times. For my part, I wish to those Presidents of the Provinces, all the Chastisement that they deserve. What can I think them Proconsuls, or think them Presidents, who live, as if the Provinces were given them by the Senate, and by Marcus the Emperor, only to be Luxurious in, and to get to be Rich? You have heard of the Captain of the Guards to our Philosopher. He who three Days before was a Beggar, and a poor Rat, is now become a rich Man on a sudden. From whence, I pray, but out of the Bowels of the State, and the Fortunes of the People of the Provinces? Well, let them be Rich, let them be Wealthy, they will so much the more enrich the publick Coffers. The Gods favour only an honest Cause, and the Friends of Cassius shall restore the Empire.

This Letter very well shows, what a strict sort of an Emperor Cassius would have made, if he had reigned.



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THE
Life and Reign
 OF THE
EMPEROR
Commodus Antoninus,

BY
ÆLIUS LAMPRIDIUS:

Addressed to the

EMPEROR
DIOCLESIAN.

AS for what concerns the Family of *His Ex-*
Commodus Antoninus, we have spoken *tractions.*
 sufficiently already upon that Head in
 the Life of his Father *Marcus.* He
 was born at *Lavinia,* the Day before the Ca-
 lends of *September,* under the Consulships of
 his

his Father and his Uncle. It is said, his Grandfather by his Mother's side had been formerly born at the same place. When *Faustina* was big of him, she dreamt, *She should be brought to Bed of two Serpents, but that one of them was more Fierce than the other.* So she was brought to Bed of *Commodus* and *Antoninus*, at one Birth; the latter died at four Years of Age, and yet the Mathematicians had promised him by his Stars, an equal Fortune and Life with *Commodus*.

His Preceptors.

Marcus Antoninus educated *Commodus* as well, according to his own Precepts, as to those of the great and the best Men. *Onesicritus* was his Master in the Greek; *Capella Antistius* in the Latin, and *Atteius Sanctus* in Rhetorick. But as many Masters as he had in the good Arts, they signified nothing to him; whether the Fault was in his natural Genius, or in those who had the Conduct of his Youth at the Court. For from a Boy, he was Naught, Filthy, Cruel, Lewd without Shame; at the same time, Excellent at things not belonging to the Quality of an Emperor, as Glass-making, Dancing, Singing, Playing upon the Pipe; a Buffoon, and a Gladiator in Perfection. He gave an early mark of his Cruelty at *Civita Vecchia*, in the Twelfth Year of his Age; when Bathing, and the Water happening to be a little too hot, he commanded his Servant to take the Man that attended the Bath, and throw him into the Furnace: In whole stead, the Servant threw in a Sheep-skin, which he did, to make him believe, that it was indeed the Bagnio-

Bagnio-man, by the filthiness of the Stench. He had the Title of *Cæsar* given him, when a Boy, together with *Verus*, a Brother of his; and in his Fourteenth Year, he was entred into the College of the Priests.

He was declared *Prince of the Roman Youth*, at the same time that he put on the Man's, that is, the *Roman Gown*; before which, he had already given a Largeess to the People. He put on that Gown upon the Nones of *July*, the Day that *Romulus* died, and the Year that *Cassius* revolted from *Marcus Antoninus*. He went with his Father into *Syria* and *Egypt*, and returned with him again back to *Rome*. Then by a Dispensation of the Law, as to his Age, he was made Consul; and upon the Fifth of the Calends of *December*, under the Consulships of *Pollio* and *Aper*, he was declared Emperor in Conjunction with his Father, and triumphed with him; the Senate having decreed it so to his Honour. He went with his Father to the *German War*: But as for such of the Officers of his Court, and of his Attendants, as were Persons of Virtue, he could never endure them. All the worst sort of Men he gladly kept in his Service; and if they were removed from him, he was sick till he had them again. Hence he made a Tavern and a Bawdy house continually of the Court, never sparing for Cost or Modesty; playing at Dice, and hiring the lewd Women of the Town, which were any thing pretty, to be with him, to make a Sport with in all manner of Debauchery. Sometimes he went about

He is declared Emperor, A.C. CLXXXI.

His Debauchery.

the Markets with small Wares like a Pedlar; sometimes he was a Horse-Merchant, sometimes he drove his own Chariots in the Coachmen's Cloaths. He eat and drank with Gladiators, pimped to the Whores with Washes, and appeared to be born rather for the most infamous uses, than for that Place unto which Fortune raised him.

He turned off at his coming to the Empire, his Father's old Servants, and his old Friends. And one day he made an attempt upon the Modesty of a Son of *Salvius Julianus*, who was one of his Commanders. But being repulsed, he ever after stuck upon the skirts of his Father. All the best sort of Men about the Court were turned away, either in disgrace, or by removing them to other places which were unworthy of them. The Mimicks represented him, as a Burdask, for which he presently banished them. He quitted the War which his Father had almost finished, and granted to the Enemy every thing that they desired, and then came to *Rome*; where when he triumphed, he had one *Seaterus* in the Chariot with him at his back, to whom he many times turned about, and kissed him publicly; and so he did in the Cirque. In the Evenings he gave himself the Liberty to run up and down to the Taverns and the Bawdy-houses; he made Men Governours of the Provinces, who were either the Companions of his Crimes, or recommended by as ill as those that were; which brought him so much on the one hand into the hatred, and on the other into the contempt

tempt of the Senate, that he set himself in Revenge upon the destruction of that great Order.

In fine, the Cruelty of *Commodus* was a thing that moved *Quadratus* and *Lucilla* to enter into a Conspiracy to kill him, not without the privity of *Tarruntinus Paternus* the Captain of the Guards. The care of giving him the fatal Blow, was committed to *Claudius Pompeianus* his Kinsman; who going in to him with a Ponyard, prepared for that purpose, as he had his Opportunity to strike, he broke out first into these Words, *The Senate sends you this*; whereby detecting his Design too soon, he failed to accomplish it, the Company taking the Part of *Commodus*. Upon this in the first place, *Pompeianus* and *Quadratus*, were put to Death; then *Norbana*, and *Norbanus*, with *Paternalis* and his Mother; and *Lucilla* was banished. Another Reason of *Commodus* his falling into so great an odium, being upon the Account of *Saoterus*, whose Power the People of *Rome* could not brook; the Captains of the Guards very civilly drew this Man out of the Court, under the colour of going to assist at some Sacrifice, and as he was returning back again, their Spies (that they had set) fell upon him, and killed him. This was worse taken by *Commodus*, than the Conspiracy that had been form'd against himself; and looking upon *Tarruntinus Paternus* to be the Author of it, as he was, and privy also to the intended Assassination of his own Person, he first removed him from his Place and Power of Cap-

A Conspiracy against him defeated.

His cruel
Severity.

tain of the Guards, by the way of doing him the Honour to make him a Senatour, (because these two Places were then inconsistent with one another) and in a few days after, he charged him, not only with the said Conspiracy, but with promising his Daughter in marriage to the Son of *Julianus*, in order as he pretended, that the Empire should be transferred upon *Julianus*. So both *Paternus*, and *Julianus*, and *Vitruvius Secundus*, who was a particular Friend of *Paternus*, and who was one of the Secretaries to *Commodus*, were put to Death. All the House of the *Quintilii* were extinguished, except *Sextus* the Son of *Condianus Quintilius* who passed under the notion of being dead. *Vitrasia Faustina*, *Velius Rufus*, and *Egnatius Capito* were put to Death; the latter of which had been a Consul. The Consuls *Emilius Juncus*, and *Attilius Severus* were banished, and many others were severely treated in divers ways.

Perennis
governs
all.

Commodus did not so easily appear after this in Publick, nor suffer himself to be spoken with upon any Business, but what was first referred to *Perennis*; who knowing very well the Inclinations of his Master, took the Opportunity which was now in his hands, to aggrandize his own Person. He persuaded *Commodus*, that he had nothing to do, but to pursue his Pleasures, while he took care of the Affairs of the State, to which *Commodus* consented without Difficulty. So *Commodus* living with his Three Hundred Concubines, of the handsomest he could get of the Ladies

and the Mistresses of the Town, and with Three Hundred other *Bardaccio's* which he had collected indifferently out of the Plebeians and the Gentry by their Beauties, passed his time in Revels, and in Feasts, and the Baths; sometimes he butchered the Sacrifices himself, in the stead of the Sacrificator, whose Office that was; sometimes he fought upon the publick Stage with the Gladiators at Foils, and sometimes at home with own Servants at sharps. *Perennis* was the Minister in the meantime that did every thing. Whom he would, he put to Death; others he plundered. He subverted all the Laws, and whatever he took, he put it into his own Pocket. As for *Commodus*, he first ravished, and then killed his Sister *Lucilla*. He violated in like manner the rest of his own Sisters, and lay with a Cousin-German of his Fathers, and gave the Names of his Mother and of his own Wife to one of his Concubines; which Lady he afterwards taking great with another Man, he turned her off, banished her, and then killed her. Yet he hath other times commanded his own Concubines to be enjoyed by others in his sight; nor was he without the most scandalous rule of Boys. He corrupted himself with both the Sexes, in every part of his Body, even to his Mouth. *Claudius Pompeianus*, whose Son had gone into the Chamber to him with the Poinyard, was set upon, as if it were by Thieves at this time, and killed. Many other Senators were, without Law or Judgment upon them, executed, and some rich Ladies. O-

thers in the Provinces were for their Riches, first falsely accused, then plundered or killed. And if they wanted a Crime to fasten upon them, it was enough to say, that they had refused to assign the Inheritance of their Estates to the Emperor.

Perennis
slain.

The Affairs of *Sarmatia* about this time passed very well, which *Perennis* attributed to the Conduct of his Son there, when indeed the Honour of it was due to the other Commanders. But at last this *Perennis*, who was so Omnipotent in the Government, having displaced some Senators to put in others who were of the Equestrian Order, to command in the Army that served in the War in *Greece* and *Britain*; and the thing being remonstrated against by their Deputies, he was on a sudden declared an Enemy of the Army, and delivered up to be torn in pieces by the Soldiers; and *Cleander*, one of the Officers of the Bed-Chamber, was appointed to succeed in his place. Then after the Death of *Perennis* and his Son, who was also killed, *Commodus* rescinded several of his Acts, as if they had not been done by his Order, and as if he was re-establishing all things in their first Estate. But he could not hold on this shew and pretence of Repentance above Thirty Days; committing worse things afterwards by the Ministry of *Cleander*, than he had before by that of *Perennis*. It was in his Ministry only that *Cleander* had succeeded to *Perennis*. For as for his Place of Captain of the Guards, *Niger* had that, and possessed it, they say, but

Cleander
succeeds
in his Mi-
nistry.

six hours: For the Captains of the Guards were changed daily and hourly; *Commodus* carrying himself in every thing now, worse than he had done before. *Martius Quartus* was Captain of the Guards five Days; the rest that followed after him, were either retained or put to Death at the Pleasure of *Cleander*; by whose Authority, manumitted Slaves were brought into the Senate, and made Patricians. We had then Five and Twenty Consuls in One Year, which was never known before. The Governments of all the Provinces were sold. For *Cleander* made a Sale of every thing for Money. He recalled what Exiles he pleased, and put them into Offices, and rescinded the Acts of the Courts. He prevailed so much over the Weakness of *Commodus*, that when *Byrrhus*, who was *Commodus's* Sister's Husband, took the Liberty to blame his Ministry, and to tell *Commodus* what had been done, he made no more, but charged him with High-Treason in Revenge for it, upon which he put him to Death, and many others with him, who had stood in the Defence of him. Amongst the rest was *Ebutianus* the Captain of the Guards, in whose place *Cleander* himself succeeded in Conjunction with Two others of his own nomination; which was the first time that there were Three Captains of the Guards together, and one of those was a late Slave made free.

But at length *Cleander* also met with that end that his Life deserved. For having by Treachery, and upon false Accusations, con-

Cleander
slain.

demned and put to Death *Arrius Antoninus*, the Proconsul of *Asia*, in favour of *Atallus*, at which the People were so incensed, that *Commodus* could not sustain the Envy that it had brought upon him; he was delivered up as a Sacrifice to the People, and *Apolaustus* and others of his Creatures about the Court, were killed with him. Amongst other things that he had done, he gave himself the Liberty to use his Master's own Concubines, by whom he had Children, who after his Death were killed, together with their Mothers. His Successors were *Julianus* and *Regillus*, who were afterwards also killed by *Commodus*. The same Fate befel *Servilius* and *Duillius*, with all that belonged to them. Then he killed *Annius Lupus*, *Petronius Mamertinus*, *Suras*, and *Antoninus*, who was his Sister's Son by *Mamertinus*. Then he put to Death six others at once, who had all been Consuls, to wit, *Allius Fuscus*, *Celcius Felix*, *Luceius Torquatus*, *Lartius Euripianus*, *Valerius Bassianus*, and *Paetumeius Magnus*, together with all those that belonged to them. In *Asia* he put to Death *Sulpitius Crassus*, the Proconsul; *Julius Proculus*, and *Claudius Lucanus*, a Consul. He put to Death *Faustina Annia*, his Father's Cousin-German in *Achaia*, and an infinite Number of others. He had marked out Fourteen others ready for the Slaughter, then when his own time came, and when the *Roman Empire* with all its Power was no longer able to sustain his Weight.

Now

Now whilst these things past, the Senate in secret Derision of him, upon his making his Mother's Gallant a Consul, called him the Pious *Commodus*; and when he had cut off *Perennis*, they called him the Happy *Commodus*. So this Pious, this Happy *Commodus*, to add to the many Murders that he had committed daily, as if he was a New *Sylla*, contrived and invented a Plot upon himself, for an occasion still of Murdering more. By flattery they stiled him likewise, Conquerour of the Britains, when the Britains would have set up an Emperor against him. They called him the *Roman Hercules*, because he had slain Wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre at *Lavinia*; which was a common Exploit with him. He arrived to that degree of Vanity, that he would have the City of *Rome* to be called the Colony of *Commodus*; which was a thing that he was put upon amidst his Gallantries with *Martia* his Mistress. He drove in Person the Chariots in the Races in the Cirque. He appeared in publick in a *Dalmatick*, which is an effeminate Habit, and gave the Signal to the Chariots to start. When he signified his Pleasure to the Senate about New Naming the City of *Rome*, *Colonia Commodiana*, they pretended, not only willingly to accept the Proposition, but called by derision their own Assembly, the House of *Commodus*, and him nothing less than a *Hercules* and a God.

He once pretended, that he would make a Voyage into *Africa*; but it was for no other end, than under that pretence, he might exact Money.

Commodus flattered by the Senate.

His
Strange
Pranks.

Money for his Charges, as he did, and spent it when he had done, in Feasting and Gaming. He poisoned *Motilennus*, a Captain of the Guards with a Fig. He had his Statues set up in the Habit of a *Hercules*, and they sacrificed to him as to a God. He observed the Sacrifices of *Isis*, insomuch, that he shaved his Head, and bore the Image of *Anubis* upon his Shoulders about the City. He obliged the Priests of *Bellona*, out of a Spirit of cruelty, really, to cut and slash their Arms; and the Priests of *Isis*, to beat their Breasts with Pines, in earnest, till they had almost killed themselves. As he assisted at the carrying about of the Image of *Anubis*, he diverted himself with giving the Priests now and then, a good knock with the Head of it. Old Men that were lame and weak that they could not walk, he took, and dressed them up so, that with the Clouts and Patches which he put about them, they looked like so many Dragons, and then he made it his Sport to shoot them through with Darts. He polluted the Sacrifices of the Sun with real Homicides; whereas what at other times is used to be said or acted there of that kind, is only a Matter of Shew.

From an Infant, he was ravenous and dissolute; he debauched all sorts of Persons that came about him; and if any dared to deride him, he cast them to the Wild Beasts. He did this to one who had but read to him the Life of *Caligula* out of *Suetonius*, because it appeared, that he and *Caligula* were born upon the same day. If any one had happened to say, *Would I was dead*, he put him to death at his word, whether

whether he would or no. He was a pernicious Man in his Jest. He slashed open a fat Man cross the Belly, for the Curiosity to see in an instant his great Guts. When he had cut off a Leg of any one, he said, *He was now of the Nation of the Monopodii*; and when he had cut out an Eye, he called him *Luscinus* (a Nightingale) by an allusion to the word *Luscus*, which signifies one-eyed. He murdered many in a way of gayety in places up and down; sometimes because he met them ill dressed, sometimes on the contrary, because they looked noble and handsome. He was pleased with Men of obscene Names, and often kissed them. He had one Man with him called *Onon*, who exceeding in a private Part, the measure of almost any Animal, he was extremely dear and kind to him, and preferred him to be the Ruler over the Priests of *Hercules Rusticus*.

With humane ordure it is said, he defiled often his best Dishes of Meat, and then pleased himself in drawing in the Company to eat of them. He pusht *Julianus* a Captain of the Guards, into a Pond in his Cloaths, as he was waiting; and at another time he commanded him to Dance naked before his Concubines, playing upon a Cymbal, with his Face disfigured. He seldom was without all sorts of Beans, Pease and Pulse-meats at his Table, for the benefit of their provocativeness. He bathed seven or eight times a day, and sometimes eat in the very Baths. He polluted the Temples of the Gods with Whoredoms, and Murders; sometimes he pretended to play the Surgeon, and
to

to let Blood: but then he cut off an Ear, or a Nose, with the Instruments. The Months of the Year were new-named by his Flatterers, according as he was pleased to have them. *August* was called *Commodus*; *September* was called *August*, *October* was called *Hercules*, *November* was called *Invincible*, *December* was called *Exuperatorius*, and *January* *Amazonius*; which last Title was one that was occasioned by his Concubine *Martia*; whom he fell in love with, by seeing her pictured in the dress of an *Amazon*; for which reason he sometimes also appear'd in the Amphitheatre himself in an *Amazonian* Dress. He entred the Lists with the Gladiators, and hath been as much pleas'd to be huzza'd by the Mob upon those times, as if he had received a Triumph. He practis'd the Weapons in the Common School, where the Gladiators learn them. Every time that he Fought he ordered it to be entred upon the Publick Records; and in all, it is said, he Fought seven hundred and thirty five times.

He was created the *Cæsar*, the fourth of the Ides of *October*, under the Consulships of *Pudens* and *Pollio*. He received the honour of the Title of Conqueror of the *Germans* upon the same Ides, in the Consulships of *Maximus* and *Orphitus*. He pass'd into the Colleges of the Priests upon the thirteenth of the Calends of *November*, when *Piso* and *Julianus* were Consuls. He went into *Germany*, the 14. of the Calends of *June* (which Month he afterwards called *Ælius*) under the Consulships of

of the same Persons. He put on the *Roman* Gown, and was declared Emperor in Conjunction with his Father, the fifth of the Calends of *December*, when *Pollio* and *Aper* were Consuls, which was then the second Consulship of *Pollio*. He triumphed upon the tenth of the Calends of *January*, the same Persons being Consuls. He went his second Journey into *Germany*, the third of the Nones of *August*, when *Orphitus* and *Ruffus* were Consuls. And as he was thinking upon a third Expedition, the Senate and the People of *Rome* detained him from it. Together with these things, it is upon Record, that he fought in Publick before his Father died, three hundred sixty and five times. He did it again so often afterwards, and still with success, that he subscribed himself the Conqueror of a thousand Gladiators. He killed many Thousands of wild Beasts of divers sorts with his own hand, amongst the rest Elephants; and this he did often, in the sight of all the People of *Rome*.

In all these things as vigorous as he was, His great he had yet a Rupture in his *Scrotum*, so large Strength. that one might discern it through his Silks. Many Verses were made upon him, which *Marius Maximus* hath Collected with care. His strength in killing the wild Beasts was such, that at once he hath struck an Elephant thro' with his Spear, and pierced the Horn of a wild Goat with his Lance, and killed thousands of great wild Beasts, one after another, at a blow. He came to the Theatre and Amphitheatre often in Women's Cloaths, in which he

he impudently called for Wine, and drank in the sight of all the Company. It was thus that he past his time, whilst his Lieutenants abroad overcame the *Moors* and the *Dace*, and compos'd the Troubles of *Pannonia*. For the Provinces of *Great Britain*, *Germany* and *Dacia*, had endeavour'd to reject the Yoak of his Empire: but his Lieutenants quieted them. He did not care to trouble himself so much as to subscribe his Dispatches. In many of which he us'd the same form; and in several of his Letters all that he writ was the word *Favet*.

His Neg-
ligence.

By this sort of Negligence, and with that waste of Provisions together, which was made by those who were in Power under him, there arose a great scarcity at *Rome*, in a year that was not itself unfruitful. So upon this, he put several that had made that waste, to Death, and Confiscated their Estates. Then he lessened the Prices of things; but that made the Scarcity still greater. Many in his time bought off another's Punishment, and purchased their own safety with Money. He made Money by Commutations of one Punishment for another, and by the Sepultures of the dead, and by putting to death some in others steads. He sold the Governments of the Provinces; part of the Money going to those by whom he sold them, and part to himself: He sold to some Persons the Massacre of those they hated; and by his example, his Servants made a Sale of the Justice of the Courts. He did not long continue either *Paternus* or *Perennis*,
Captains

Captains of the Guards. Neither did any of their Successors, keep in so long as three entire years under him: because he dispatched them either with Poyson, or the Sword: and with the same facility he chang'd the Governors of the City of *Rome*.

He made nothing of putting to death the Officers of his Household, though they were Men who had been used to advise him in all things. One of them, by name *Electus* or *Alius Latus*, perceiving this, resolv'd to be before Hand with him, and so engaged with the Party that Conspir'd to his death. Besides, he had this Custom with him, that every thing he did, though never so Base, Impure, Cruel, Gladiator, or Pimp-like, he order'd it to be entred upon the Records of the City. One day fighting as a Gladiator, and fancying that the People derided him, he had given Orders to Massacre them all upon the place, and burn the City: which had been Executed but that the Captain of the Guards deterred him from it: He hath been called six hundred times by the name of *Patrus*, that is, the name of the Chief of the Gladiators; and triumphed in it.

The Prodigies that attended his Reign, whether Publick or Private ones, were these. A Comet appear'd. The Statues of the Gods in the *Forum* moved their Feet, as if they had a mind to be gone. An excessive heat of Weather. On the Calends of *January* a great darkness on a sudden covered the Cirque. Ominous Birds came in the night. He removed

moved out of the Palace; because, he said, he could not possibly sleep there, unto a Houle upon Mount *Calius*. The Temple of *Janus* opened of it self, and the Marble Image of *Anubis* appeared to move. The Brazen Statue of *Hercules*, which is at one of the Gates of Rome, Sweat for several days. An Owl appeared over his Bed-chamber, both at Rome and at *Lavinia*. He obliged Persons to come to the Games of the Gladiators, not in their Gowns, but in such other Coats as they ordinarily were at Funerals, and presided at them himself dressed in Black. His Helmet fell off of his Head twice at the Gate called the Gate of Death, through which the dead are carried out of the City.

At length, although too too late, *Quintus Aelius Latus* the Captain of the Guards, and *Martia*, one of the Concubines of *Commodus*, entred upon a Conspiracy to kill him. They first gave him Poyson; but that operating ineffectually, they strangled him by the Hands of one with whom he was used to Wrestle for Exercise.

He is slain.

His Personage.

He was of a just size and shape of Body, a heavy sottish sort of a Look, no fine Discourse, yellow Hair, which he used Art with to make it still yellower: his Beard he took off himself, for fear of trusting to a Barber. Both the Senate and the People desir'd to have him drag'd, and thrown into the *Tyber*: but *Peritina* buried him in the Sepulchre of *Hadrian*.

There

There are no Works of his extant, besides the Baths, which *Cleander* built in his name. He did not so much as perfect those of his Father. Where he had cut his own name upon the Works of others, the Senate erased it again. He set up a Corn-fleet to *Carthage*, to be for a relief, in case that other from *Alexandria*, and the Corn from thence should chance to fail: upon which he ridiculously called the City of *Carthage*, *Alexandria Commodiana Togata*, and this Fleet of his *Commodiana Hercules*. He added some Ornaments to the Statue of the Sun, which were all afterwards abolished. In the Place of the Head of *Nero*, he had put up his own upon the Body of it, with all his empty Titles at the bottom; not forgetting that of his Conquests over so many Gladiators, and that of *Amazonius*, which he took from his Mistress. All which notwithstanding the Emperor *Severus*, who was one that in no wise indeed differed from his name, made this Prince a God, out of his opposition, as it is supposed, to the Senate: and he appointed him the same Chief Priest, under the same Title, to serve him, that *Commodus* had provided for himself before he died.

He left behind him three Sisters. The same Emperor *Severus* ordered the Anniversary of his Birth to be observed. The Imprecations of the Senate against him after his death were extraordinary: and because it is fit to know them, I will set them down out of *Marius Maximus*, together with the Decree of the Senate.

O

Let

The Senate's Decree upon him.

Let the Enemy of his Country be degraded of all his Honors. Let the Parricide be degraded of his Honors. Let the Parricide be dragged. An Enemy of his Country, a Parricide, a Gladiator, let him Rot upon the Dunghil. An Enemy of the Gods. A Butcherer of the Senate. An Enemy of the Gods. A Parricide of the Senate. An Enemy of the Gods. An enemy of the Senate. A Gladiator, to the Dunghil. He Murdered the Senators, throw him to the Dunghil; drag him about the Streets. He murdered the Innocent, drag him about the Streets. An Enemy, a Parricide, that spared not his own Blood, let him be dragged about the Streets. He who would have murdered your Majesty, let him be dragged about the Streets. Your Majesty was in the same sin with us, in the same danger with us. Preserve Pertinax, thou most great, most excellent Jupiter; so we also shall be safe. We Congratulate the Fidelity of the Guards. We Congratulate the Prætorian Bands. We Congratulate the Roman Armies. We Congratulate the Piety of the Senate. Let the Parricide be dragged. We beg of your Majesty, that the Parricide may be dragged. We beg this, that the Parricide be dragged. Hear us, Cæsar; the Delatours to the Lions! Hear us Cæsar; Delators to the Lions! Hear us Cæsar, Speratus to the Lions. We Congratulate the Victory of the People of Rome. We Congratulate the Fidelity of the Soldiers. We Congratulate the Fidelity of the Guards. We Congratulate the Prætorian Bands. Down every where with the Enemies Statues. Down every where with the Parricide's Statues. Down every where with the

Gladi

Gladiator's Statues. Down with the Statues of the Gladiator and the Parricide. Let the Murderer of his People be dragged. Let the Parricide of his People be dragged. Down with the Statues of the Gladiator. Under your Majesty we are safe. Now we are Free; now we are Secure; and the Delators in fear. Let the Delators be ever in fear, and we in safety: Degradate them, Cudgel them, cast them to the Lions; Cudgel them to death.

Let the memory of the Parricide, the Gladiator, be abolished. Let the Statues of the Parricide, the Gladiator, be taken down. Let the memory of the filthy Gladiator be abolished. The Gladiator, to the Dunghil. Hear, Cæsar, let the Murderer be dragged about the Streets. Let the Murderer of the Senate be dragged about the Streets, after the manner of old. He who was Crueller than Domitian, and Filthier than Nero; thus did, thus let him suffer. Let the Memories of the Innocent be preserved with Honor. We beseech your Majesty, restore the Honors of the Innocent. Let the Carcase of the Parricide be dragged about the Streets. Let the dead Body of the Gladiator be dragged about the Streets. Let the Carcase of the Gladiator be thrown upon the Dunghil. Ask, ask us all, if we do not all Judge him to be dragged about the Streets. He who Murdered all sorts of Persons, let him be dragged about the Streets; that spared no Age, let him be dragged about the Streets, that spared no Sex, let him be dragged about the Streets: that spared not his own Blood, let him be dragged about the Streets. He who Plundered the

O 2

Temples,

Temples, let him be dragged about the Streets: that abolished the last Testaments of the dead, let him be dragged about the Streets: that robbed the living, let him be dragged about the Streets. We have been Slaves to his Slaves: He who sold the Lives of his People, let him be dragged about the Streets: that took the Money, and yet kept not his faith, let him be dragged about the Streets. He who sold the Senate, let him be dragged about the Streets: that deprived Children of the Inheritance of their Fathers, let him be dragged about the Streets: Delators, Informers, Suborners of false Witnesses, be for ever banished the Senate. Even your Majesty hath been in the same fear with us. You know all things. You have seen the good, and the bad. You know all things. Amend all things. We have been in fear for you. O happy we in your Life and Reign! This about the Parricide, is the Advice, the Judgment, the Decree of us all round. We beg your Presence among us. The Innocent lye unburied; let the Carcase of the Parricide be dragged. The Parricide hath pulled the very Dead out of their Graves, let the Carcase of the Parricide be dragged.

But the Body of Commodus being however by Livius Larensis his Servant, delivered into the hands of Fabius Cbilo, the Consul, was privately buried in the night by the order of Pertinax. Hereupon the Senate exclaimed, By whose doing is this, that he is Buried? Let the Parricide be taken up again out of the place where he is, and be dragged. Then Cincius Severus said, He is Buried against Law: as I say this, as a High-Priest, the whole College of

the Priests says the same: And I am further obliged to declare and pronounce, That as he lived to the destruction of the People and his own shame, his Statues are every where to be destroyed, destroyed: His Name to be erased out of all the publick and private Monuments, and the Months of the Year to return to be called by the old Names they had, when first this Pest beset the State.

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
Publius Helvius Pertinax.

BY
JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

His Ex-
tradition.

Publius Helvius Pertinax was the Son of *Helvius Succellus*, who was the Son of a late Slave made free. He had the Name of *Pertinax* given him by his Father, from nothing but his wilful and pertinacious adherence for a long time, to the poor Occupation of his Father, which was drying and burning of Wood, and making of Charcoal. He was born in a Village in the *Apenine*; and at the same time, an Accident happened at his Birth, which moved his Father

to go to an Astrologer to enquire about his Fortune; who telling him such great and such extraordinary things of him, as were past his belief, he said, he had but flung away his Money in consulting him. After he had begun to take to Letters, and had studied Arithmetick and Greek, and was put into the hands of *Sulpitius Apollinaris*, he came to be a Professor of Grammar himself. But making but little Advantage by it, he changed that course of Life, and by the means of *Lollius Avitus*, who was his Father's Patron, and had been a Consul, he got himself made a Centurion. Then he rose to be a Captain of a Cohort in *Syria*, which is a Body of Foot of, it may be, Six Hundred Men; and going Post into *Syria* in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, without the Authority of the Emperor's Letters so to do, the President of *Syria* obliged him to follow the rest of his Journey, to his Command, on Foot, as far as from the City of *Antioch*.

He deserved very well by his Services in the *Parthian War*, which made him be translated into *Bithynia*. Then he commanded a Part of the Army in *Mæsia*, and afterwards in *Germany*, where his Mother who had followed him thither died, and her Sepulchre is said to be standing at this day. From *Germany* he was removed to be the Governour of *Dacia*, with a Salary of Two Hundred *Sestertium's*; but the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, being made to suspect him as one that was ambitious of the Empire, he was re-called from that Govern-
ment,

ment, and was afterwards chosen by *Claudius Pompeianus*, the Son-in-Law of *Marcus Antoninus*, to be his Assistant in the Command of the Auxiliaries. He behaved himself so well, that he was created in the next place a Senator. And his Innocency appearing, as to the Ambition of which before he was maliciously accused, for a compensation of that Injury done him, the Emperor made him a Prætor, and gave him the Command of the First Legion; by the means whereof, he presently recovered *Rætia*, and the Country of *Noricum* from the Enemy. This was so Eminent a Service, that the Emperor made him a Consul; who very often in publick in his Speeches, which it would be too long here to insert, but one of them is extant in *Marius Maximus*, commended him both to the Soldiers and the Senate, and expressed himself before all the World, sorry, that he could not make him a Captain of the Guards, because of his being a Senator. After the Rebellion of *Cassius* was at an end, *Pertinax* was commanded out of *Syria*, to the Defence of the *Danube*. Next he was made Governor of both the *Mæsia's*, and then of *Dacia*; and from his well managing of those Provinces, he gained the Government of *Syria*.

Hitherto, that is, to his Government of *Syria*, he had conducted himself, in a manner that was altogether unblameable. But after the Death of *Marcus Antoninus*, he strangely applied his Care to the amassing of Money; which failed not to bring upon him the Reproaches

proaches of the People. He came a very rich Man into the Senate; where he first appeared to take his place in Person, in the time of *Commodus*, after he had been the Governour of Four Consular Provinces, and had had the Honour of a Consulship given him in his absence. But it was not long before *Perennis*, the great Minister under that Prince, banished him, and commanded him to retire to the Village, in the State of *Genoa*, where his Father had kept his Charcoal-Kiln. So he came, and being there, he bought himself a great quantity of Land, and surrounded his Father's Kiln, which he left standing in the same Form as it was before, with an infinite company of fine Buildings. He resided there three whole Years, in which he past his time in his old Trade, which he carried on by his Servants. After *Perennis* was kill'd, *Commodus* took *Pertinax* into Favour, and ordered him to go into *Great Britain*. He went, and repressed the Mutiny of the Forces there, who were for setting up a New Emperor. They would have set up even *Pertinax* himself. Nor was it without much difficulty that he appeased their Seditions. He was almost killed in one of them, at least he was left among the dead; which he severely resented and punished. Then he desired leave to be re-called, because he said his Discipline amongst them had made the Army averse to him. So another Person being appointed to succeed him, he was first made General of the Provisions, and soon after the Proconsul of *Africa*.

During

During his Proconsulship of *Africa*, he was, they say, troubled with several Seditions there also, occasioned by the pretended Prophecies of the Goddess *Cælestis* at *Carthage*. Then he was made the Governour of the City of *Rome*, in which place succeeding *Fuscianus*, who was a most severe Man, and he behaving himself on the contrary with the greatest mildness and humanity, he pleased every one, and amongst the rest, *Commodus* so well, that he took him to be Consul in Conjunction with himself; which was then the Seventh time of the Consulship of *Commodus*. Then came on the Conspiracy to kill *Commodus*, which *Pertinax* did not reject, when made acquainted with it; and the thing being done, the Captain of the Guards, and *Electus* a great Officer of the Household, came to him, and set him up for the Empire, and carried him to the Camp. *Pertinax* harangued the Soldiers, and promised them a Donative. He told them, how that those Two great Officers had thought him a Person, not unworthy to be proposed for the Empire, since *Commodus* was dead; not saying, that *Commodus* was killed, but that he was dead of a Sickness only. In fine, *Pertinax* was saluted Emperor at the first but by a few. This was the day before the Calends of *January*; and he was then above Sixty Years of Age. After this, late that Night, he came from the Camp to the Senate; and the Chappel of the Senate not being ready opened for him, he went into the Temple of *Concord*; where *Claudius Pompeianus*, the Son-in-

Law

He is
made
Consul,

And de-
clared
Emperor.

Law of *Marcus Antoninus* meeting him, and Complementing him, *Pertinax* would have persuaded him, to have taken upon him the Empire; but he refused it, because he saw that *Pertinax* was already the Man. Immediately all the Magistracy with the Consuls came to the Senate, and as soon as they were entred, they declared *Pertinax* Emperor, tho' it was then midnight.

After the Consuls had set forth his Praises in such Speeches as the occasion required, and that the Senate had also ended their Imprecations against the Memory of *Commodus*, *Pertinax* returned his Solemn Thanks to them. He returned his Thanks particularly to the Captain of the Guards, by whose means it was, both that *Commodus* was cut off, and that himself was raised to be Emperor: And tho' it was true, he said, as *Falso* objected, that the said Captain of the Guards, and *Martia* together, had been the Instruments of many of the wicked Deeds of *Commodus*, yet he told them, that they were to consider the Necessity there was of obeying the Orders of that Prince; for otherwise, what they had done was against their own Inclination. The same day, his Wife *Flavia Titiana* was declared Empress. He was the first Emperor that ever received the Title of Father of his Country, together with the Proconsular, and the Tribunitian Powers, and the Right of a fourth Reference, the first day of his Reign. Which thick and sudden accumulation of so many Honours, was lookt upon as an Omen but of a short Reign. Then

Then he went to the Palace, which was void, because *Commodus* had been killed in a House upon Mount *Cælius*, and the Tribune coming to him the first day for the Watch-word, his Word was, *Militemus*, let us Fight; which was the same indeed that he had given before under all his Administrations; but upbraiding by it, as it seemed, the remissness of the times past, the Soldiers were touched to the Quick, and presently thought of changing the Emperor again.

The same day, being the first of the New Year, he invited the Magistrates, and the Chief of the Senate to a Banquet, which was an ancient Custom that had been however omitted by *Commodus*. The next day as the Statues of *Commodus* were thrown down, the Soldiers appeared to be troubled, and so much the more, because *Pertinax* had given them again the same Word as before; and War was a thing not to be admitted, they thought, under an Emperor so old as he. Upon the Third of the Nones following, tho' it was the Thanksgiving Day for his accession to the Empire, they would have drawn *Triarius Maserus Laservius*, a Noble Senator, into the Camp, to have set up him to be Emperor; but he refused it, and escaped from them, and came to the Court to *Pertinax*, to assure him of his Fidelity, and afterwards withdrew out of the Town. In the mean time, all this obliged *Pertinax* in fear, to confirm to the Soldiers and the *Veteranes*, all the Pay, and all the Gifts that had been granted them by *Commodus*. He

also

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also courted the Senate, and owned himself to receive the Empire at their Hands. He assured them under his Oath of his innocency from having had any hand in the malversation of the last Reign. He re-called such as were in Banishment, and restored the Memories of others to their Honour, who had been unjustly put to Death. The Senate conferred the Title of *Cæsar* upon his Son: But as he had not yet approved the Honour which they had shewn to his Wife, so as to this of his Son; he said, *Let it be when he deserves it.* And whereas *Commodus* had added by his Authority many Persons to the Order of the Prætors, who had never exercised the Office of a Prætor, and yet he allowed them to take their Places in common with those that had; *Pertinax* passed an Edict as to this, to command, that those who had never exercised the Office of a Prætor, but had received that Honour only by the Creation of *Commodus*, should give place to such as had been Prætors indeed; which brought an odium from many upon him.

He ordered the publick Account of the Estates, and the valuation of all Persons to be over-look'd, and stated a-new. He ordered severe Punishments to be taken upon Persons that had informed against others falsely. But yet he was not altogether so severe, as his Predecessors, with Relation to Persons of Quality, who were brought before him for any Crime. He made a Law, for the first Will always to stand good, until another that is Posterior

His publick Ordinances.

terior to it is established and received in due Form in its stead. He declared, that as for himself, he would never enter upon any Inheritance, which either was devoted to him in Flattery, or by any litigious Right, or to the prejudice of the Lawful Heirs; using these Words upon the same occasion, *It is better, Fathers of the Senate, that the Crown should be poor, than that it should get never so much Riches by ill means, and dishonourable Actions.* The Largeſſes to the Soldiers and the People, which himself, and also *Commodus* had promised them, he paid. But yet the Exchequer was so extremely low at his coming to the Crown, that he declared, he had not found in it above Ten *Sestertiums*; so that this obliged him to exact some Payments which *Commodus* had imposed, although he had before promised to remit them. *Lollianus Gentianus* a Consul, asking him therefore why he broke his Word, he told him the Reason was, *Necessity*. He made an Auction of the Goods belonging to *Commodus*; ordered his very Bardaccio's and Concubines to be sold, excepting such of them, as appeared to have been retained in the Court by him by violence. And of those which were sold, there were many that afterwards redeemed their Fortunes, and under other Princes arrived as high as to be Senators. The Buffoons and Jesters of *Commodus*, such as were Men of obscene Names, he sold, and of the Money that he made of this Negotiation, which was a great deal, he gave a Bounty to the Soldiers. He exacted also from the Servants of *Com-*
modus,

modus, an Account of all things that their Master had lavishly given them, to enrich them.

The most principal Things in the Auction of the Goods of *Commodus* were these, Garments of Cloth of Gold, Tunicks, Cloaks, Hanging-Coats, Dalmaticks, Fringed Vests, Coats of Mail, and others of other sorts; Arms for the Exercises of the Gladiators, enrich'd with Jewels and Gold, vast Herculean Swords; Collars for the Gladiators; Vessels of fine Gold, Ivory, Silver and Citron; Drinking-Vessels, which were some of them of obscene Figures; other Vessels belonging to the Arts of the Gladiators; Chariots of a rare Invention, with the Seats to turn so, as either to decline the Sun, or take in the Air, as you please; with other things to measure the Way, and shew the Hour; and whatever else was agreeable to the Pleasures of that Prince in all sorts of Vices.

Auction of Commodus's Goods.

As for such Servants as had been taken out of private Houses into the Court, *Pertinax* restored back those to their proper Masters. He reduced the Table, and cut off all the prodigious Expences of *Commodus*. He contented himself with a little, and the Example of his Frugality was of great effect upon all things. In fine, he reduced the Expence of the Household of the Emperor, to a Moiety of what it was accustomed to be before.

He appointed certain Recompences for the Soldiers that acquitted themselves with Honour. The Debts that he contracted on the first occasions of his Reign, he discharged. He restored

restored the Credit of the Exchequer. He set a-part a Sum for Publick Works. He gave Money for the Reparation of the High-ways. He paid a great many Soldiers that had served well, their Arrears. He put the Exchequer, in a word, in a Condition to discharge its Debts. But whereas there was due to the Alms-Children of *Trajan's* Establishment, the Allowances of Nine Years, he quite sunk that Debt, which was severe, and a great Reflection upon him. It is true, he was not exempt from the aspersions of Covetousness, in the time he was a private Man. He had oppressed with Usury his Neighbours upon the *Lake di Sabau*, and had turned them out of their Lands, to extend further the Limits of his own. He was called really a Money-monger; and many have writ, that he did sordid things in the Consular Provinces which he governed; they say, that he sold the Discharges from, and the Commands in the Army. His Parents had little or no Estate to leave him, and no Inheritances fell to him from others, yet he was grown a rich Man on a sudden. He restored after he was Emperor, to every one, the Estates which were taken from them by *Commodus*, but yet he exacted a Consideration for it. He came constantly to the Senate, and always reported some thing or other to them. He shew'd himself always gracious to all those that came to pay their Reverences to him, or ask him any Favour. He discharged some from the Accusations of their Slaves, and avenged the Death of others by crucifying their Accusers.

Whilst

Whilst these things passed, *Falco* the Consul formed a Design against him, out of an Ambition to set up himself. *Pertinax* complained in the Senate of it; but however, forgave him, and begg'd his impunity of the Senate, whereby *Falco* lived in Safety upon his Estate, and his Son was his Heir when he died. Many indeed said in his behalf, that whatever Design there might have been amongst others to make him Emperor, he knew nothing of it himself; and that the Slaves who were his Accusers, did him wrong, and were corrupted, and had not agreed in their Evidence. But however it is, a worse Faction than this was made against *Pertinax* by *Latius*, the Captain of the Guards, and those to whom the Sanctimoniousness of this Prince was offensive. For *Latius* had repented himself of his Services in having advanced him to the Crown, because he had re-proved his Conduct in some things. Nor were the Soldiers without their Resentments, because *Pertinax* had put to death several in the Business of *Falco*, upon the simple Deposition of one Slave.

Therefore a Party of Three Hundred Soldiers of the Guards, well equipped, assaulted the Palace, and killed him. The same Day, no Heart was found in the Sacrifice, at which *Pertinax* had assisted; and in another, no Liver. Therefore having intended to have gone that Day to the *Athenæum*, to hear the performances of a Poet; but putting it off, because of the ominousness of the Sacrifices, the Guards that were to attend him, had Orders to retire

to their Camp, when on a sudden they turned upon the Palace, from whence it was not possible to repel them, nor yet to give Advice to *Pertinax* of them in due time: for all the Courtiers regarded him so little, that they encouraged rather the Soldiers on to the Enterprize. So they surprized him, as he was giving some Orders about the Affairs of his Household; and being come up into the Gallery, as far as to a place which is called *Sicily*, and the *Banqueting-Hall of Jove*, as soon as *Pertinax* knew of it, he sent *Latus* to them: but *Latus* avoided them, and went another way, hiding his Face, and slinked Home. After they were broken in further, *Pertinax* came forth to them himself, and bespoke them in a long and a grave Oration which sweetned them: till one *Tusius*, one of the Troop of *Tongres* that served in the Guards, putting them into a new fire, darted his Javelin at *Pertinax's* Breast; who then Invocating *Jupiter* the Avenger, threw his Gown over his Head, and the rest fell upon him, and Stabbed him. *Electus* died with him, having first killed two of the Assassines. The other Officers of the Chamber that were about him, fled: some say that the Soldiers had broken into the Bed Chamber, and that they killed him there, hiding himself about the Bed.

His Personage.

He was a Venerable old Man, with a long Beard, curling Hair, pretty Gross, his Belly standing a little out, of a Princely Stature, wanted not Eloquence, but was rather Gracious in his Words than thought Sincere. He

obliged

obliged every body in Words, but in Deeds was illiberal and almost sordid; and particularly in his Entertainments and Presents. He had as yet made no Change in the Officers that had been put into the Government by *Commodus*; expecting the Anniversary of the Birth-day of the City of *Rome*, (that is the eleventh or twelfth of the Calends of May) because he design'd to date from thence his beginning of all things. And therefore they say the Officers of the appointment of *Commodus*, who were afraid to be turned out, had resolved to kill him in the Baths by that time, if it had not been done to their Hands before.

Certainly Empire, and all the Honors there-
unto belonging, made so little an impression
upon him, that he always shew'd himself
greatly displeased with them, and he desired
to appear still the same Man, that he had ever
been. He carried himself to the Senate, the
most respectfully in the World. When they
Congratulated him, he Complemented them
again, and divided his Discourses to all of
them, as if he was but the Governour of the
City of *Rome*. He would willingly have laid
down the Empire, and have return'd to a private
life; and he would not suffer his Children
to be brought up in the Court. Indeed he was
so saving, and such a lover of Profit, that he
Trafficked at the Lake *di Sabato* by his Ser-
vants, when he was Emperor, in the same
manner, as he did when he was a private
Man. Persons who spoke freely of him, said,
he was one that promised Well, but did No-
thing.

thing. Those of his own Country, who resorted much to him upon his being made Emperor, obtained as good as nothing from him, and said the same. Yet he was free to suffer himself to be presented, with any thing to his advantage. He left a Son and a Daughter behind him; together with his Wife, who was the Daughter of *Flavius Sulpitianus*, whom he made the Governor of *Rome* in his own place. He did not much concern himself with the impudicity of his Wife; who in the sight of all the World entertained for her Lover, a Musician. On the other hand he had for his Mistress, one *Cornificia*; to whose love they say he was extremely abandoned. He was extraordinary strict upon the Servants about the Court: and this therefore made him be much hated by them.

*Signs of
his Death.*

The signs forerunning his Death were these. Three days before he was killed, he thought he saw a Man by reflexion in a Pond, making at him with a Sword. The day that he was killed, it was observed that the Pupils of his Eyes, as if they were dead, did not represent the Images of Persons that look'd on him: and as he sacrificed in his private Oratory, the Fire went out; and neither the Heart, nor the Liver were found in the Victims. Stars very bright, though near the Sun, appeared in the day time some days before. What himself said of *Didius Julianus*, was an Omen of the succession to him of that Person. For *Julianus* bringing his Kinsman, his Brother's Son to him, to whom he had promised to give

his

his Daughter in Marriage, he advised the young Man to observe the Commands of his Uncle, for says he, *He is my Colleague and my Successor*: For he had been his Colleague in his Consulship, and had succeeded him in his Proconsulship: and at last he succeeded him in the Empire too. The Soldiers and the Courtiers both hated *Pertinax*. But the People took his death with Indignation, because they saw he was one, who might have re-settled all things in the good order as they were of old. The Soldiers that had killed him, stuck his Head upon a Spear, and brought it through the City into the Camp. But it was retrieved again, and together with his Body buried in the Sepulchre of his Wife's Grand-father, by *Julianus*, with all the honour that he could do it: only he made no publick Harangue upon him, either to the People or the Senate; but yet when afterwards it was his own fate to be in like manner deserted, and killed, then the Senate and the People did translate *Pertinax* into the number of the Gods.

This was done in the time of the Emperor *Severus*; when *Pertinax* having had a very great Character given him by the Senate, a Royal Funeral was solemnized for him, in which he was represented by his Effigies, and *Severus* himself did him the honor to make the Oration in his praise: loving the memory of him to that degree, that he was pleased to be called by the Senate by the same name of *Pertinax*. The Son of *Pertinax* was made the Chief Priest to his Father; and the Priests of the

*Honours
paid to
him af-
ter.*

Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* were appointed, as his Associates. The Games of the Cirque were Celebrated for his Ascension to the Empire, and the day of his Birth was kept: which last is remaining still: but the others were afterwards laid aside by *Severus*. He was born upon the Calends of *August*, under the Consulships of *Verns* and *Bibulus*. He was killed upon the fifth of the Calends of *April*, in the Consulships of *Falco* and *Clarus*. He lived sixty six Years, seven Months, and twenty six Days. He Reigned two Months, and twenty seven days. He gave a Largeſs to the People of a hundred *Roman* Penies a Man: and he had promiſed another to the Guards of twelve thouſand Sesterces; but he gave them but the half: what he had promiſed the Army, was not given them, becauſe his death prevented him. There is a Letter of his, in the History of his life, written by *Marius Maximus*, which I have not thought fit to insert here, becauſe of its too great length, but which is a certain Proof, that *Pertinax* was one that had a Flavour for the Station of an Emperor.

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
DIDIUS JULIANUS.

By ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS.

Addressed to the
EMPEROR
DIOCLESIAN.

THE

Didius Julianus, who succeeded in the His Ex-
Empire after *Pertinax*, had for his traction.
Great Grandfather, *Salvius Julianus*;
who was twice Consul, the Governor of the
City of *Rome*, and which rendred him yet
the more remarkable, was that he was
P 4 a Pro-

His Advancement.

a Professor of the Law. His Mother was called *Clara Emilia*; his Father *Petronius Didius Severus*; his Brothers, *Didius Proculus* and *Nummius Albinus*; his Uncle by his Mother's side, *Salvius Julianus*; his Grandfather, by his Father's side, an *Insubrian* of *Milan*: and his Great Grandfather by his Mother's side was *Salvius Julianus*, who was of the City *Mabometia* in the Kingdom of *Tunis*. He was brought up by the hand of *Domitia Lucilla*, who was the Mother of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*; and by whose Interest he was first put into the Commission of the *Viginti Viri*. Then he was made a *Quæstor*, although a year sooner than the Law permitted him in point of age. Then he was made an *Ædile* and a *Prætor*, by the favour of *Marcus Antoninus*. And after his *Prætorship*, he had the Command in *Germany* of the Twenty Second Legion, called *Primigenia*. After that he Governed in *Gallia Belgica* very well, and very long: where the *Cauchi*, a People of *Germany*, who bordered upon the River of *Elbe*, making an Eruption upon him, he resisted them so well with only the tumultuous Forces of the Province, that he merited by it a *Consulship*. In like manner he overcame the *Catti*. Then he was translated to the Government of *Dalmatia*; which he very well maintained against the bordering Enemies. Next he was removed to the *Lower Germany*, and after that he was made the General of the Provisions in *Italy*.

He

He was once accused by one *Severus Clarissimus*, a Soldier, of being in a Conspiracy with *Salvius Julianus*, against *Commodus*. But because *Commodus* had already put many Senators to death, who were great and powerful Persons, and because he was willing a while to forbear his further Cruelty, *Didius Julianus* was discharged at that time, and his Accuser Condemned; after which he was remanded again to his Province. Then he had the Government of *Bithynia* given him; in which however he came short of that Fame, that he had acquired in his other Governments. Next he was made a *Consul* in Conjunction with *Pertinax*, and he succeeded to *Pertinax* in the *Proconsulship* of *Africa*; who therefore always called him his Colleague and his Successor: But this was more especially remarked to be Ominous, one day when *Julianus* came with his Kinsman to him, when Emperor, to be Contracted to a Daughter of *Pertinax*. For as *Pertinax* received him with the respect and kindness that was due; he said to him at the same time, You, Sir, *Are my Colleague and my Successor*: and presently after that, followed the death of that Prince. Now he who first put up to be Emperor after the death of *Pertinax*, was *Sulpicianus*, who was then in the Camp of the Guards. In the mean time the Senate assembled; whither *Julianus* together with his Son-in-Law coming, and finding the Doors shut, and the two Tribunes *P. Florianus* and *Vestius Aper* standing at the Door, those two Tribunes

Tribunes began to persuade him to possess himself of the Empire that was vacant. To which he answering, that it was already disposed of to another, they nevertheless took him even against his will, and carried him to the Camp: where they found *Sulpitianus*, who was the Governor of *Rome*, and Son-in-Law to *Pertinax*, haranguing the Soldiers in his own favour so strongly, that they refused to hearken in the least to *Julianus*, till he had wisely advised them not to make Choice of one who would Revenge the Murder of *Pertinax*, who was Father-in-Law to him; and then they all immediately tacked about to *Julianus*; who giving it them under his Hand in Writing, that he would restore the Memory of *Commodus*, they proclaimed him, engaging him to bear no displeasure however against *Sulpitianus* for the Pretensions which he had made to their Favour.

Then he Chose, by their Advice, *Flavius Gentilis*, and *Tullius Crispinus* to be the Captains of the Guards; and whereas he had promised, that he would give the Soldiers a Bounty of five and twenty thousand Sesterces, he gave them thirty. In the Evening, after he had Harangued them according to Custom, he came from the Camp to the Senate, to whom he intirely referred himself: the Senate accepted him; and first Inrolled him amongst the Families of the Patricians; then they declared him Emperor. The Tribunitian and the Proconsular Powers were conferred upon him; and his Wife called *Mallia Scantilla*,

Declar'd
Emperor.

tilla, and his Daughter *Didia Clara* were honoured by them with the Titles of Empress, and Princess. From the Senate he repaired to the Palace, whither he took his Wife and Daughter with him; but they went trembling, and against their wills, as if their minds gave them some secret Presages of an approaching Destruction. He made *Cornelius Repentinus*, his Son-in-Law, the Governor of the City of *Rome*, in the place of *Sulpitian*. But in the mean time the Populace bore to *Julianus* a Publick hatred, as if he would revive the times of *Commodus*, and as if he had been the Murderer of *Pertinax*, because he proposed to amend his Faults. They pretended to say further, that despising the Frugal Table of *Pertinax*, he had from the first day provided himself another that was Luxurious, full of all sorts of excellent Meats; but this however was false. For besides that his Table was sufficiently Frugal, he did not Eat at all the first day, till the Body of *Pertinax* was buried; and then he did it with a great Melancholy upon him, and spent all the night afterwards sleepless, he was so concerned for his Friend's death.

The next Morning, as soon as it was light, the Senate and the Gentry coming to wait upon him at the Palace; he admitted them, and called them all, with a great deal of Civility, according to every one's Age, his Father, or his Son, or his Brother. Nevertheless the Populace both in the Forum, and before the House of the Senate, loaded him with perpetual Reproaches, as if they hoped by that means to oblige him to

to lay down the Empire, that he had received at the Hands of the Soldiers. They threw a Shower of Stones at him; and as he came to the Senate Cursed him publickly, and Cursed him again as he was at his Devotions, by which they wished he might never obtain any thing of the Gods. In the mean time as they threw Stones at him, he only waved his Hand towards them to Pacifie them: and what he said to the Senate was very sweet and prudent. He thanked them that they had admitted him to Administer, in Conjunction with them, the Sovereign Power; and for the Honor they had done, not only to himself, but to his Wife and his Daughter. He accepted from them the Title of the *Father of the Country*; but he refused to have his Statue set up in Silver, which they offered him. Going from the Senate again to the Capitol, the Populace made a stop to him; till they were forced aside, partly by Blows with Sword in Hand, and partly by good Words and promises of Money. From thence he went to the Publick Games in the Cirque; where the People Crowding themselves indifferently into all the Seats, redoubled their outrageous Reproaches against him; and called aloud upon *Pescennius Niger*, who was said to have already taken upon him the quality of the Emperor, to come to the Succour of the City of *Rome*; yet all this took he quietly, and appeared to be of an extraordinary sweet Temper all the time of his Reign. The People inveighed no less bitterly against the Soldiers, who had kill'd *Pertinax*, they said for Money. To

con

conciliate therefore the favour of these People, several things which *Commodus* had well appointed, and *Pertinax* had abolished, *Didius Julianus* restored again. He spoke nothing, neither good nor bad, as to *Pertinax* himself; which seemed to several to be very strange; but the only reason, why he was silent of his Honor, was the fear of the Soldiers, who had killed him.

Now *Julianus* had no apprehension of any Opposition being made to him on the side either of the Forces in *Great Britain*, or those in *Illyricum*. But fearing especially those in *Syria*, which were commanded by *Pescennius Niger*, he sent a Centurion thither with Orders to cut him off. Hereupon *Pescennius Niger* and *Severus* revolted from *Julianus* with the Armies under their Commands. Being told of the latter, from whom he had suspected nothing; he came in Anger to the Senate, and caused him to be declared an Enemy, and the Soldiers with him, unless they deserted him by such a day: to whom Messengers were sent at the same time from the Senate, to persuade them to renounce *Severus*, and adhere to *Julianus*. Amongst whom was *Vespronius Candidus*, who was a great Senior in the Rank of the Consuls, but hated of old by the Soldiers, because of his Severities. *Valerius Catulinus* was sent in the Quality of Successor to *Severus*: as if it was an easie thing to be the Successor of a Man, who had an Army to defend him. Together with these was sent *Aquilinus*, the Centurion, a known

known Assassin, who having already murdered many Senators, might try his Hand once again, and do no less to *Severus*. In the meantime *Didius Julianus* ordered the Guards to be exercised, and their Camp to be refortified. But as the Soldiers were become idle, and dissolute by being accustomed to the Luxuries of *Rome*, it was very much against their wills, that they were brought to their Arms; insomuch that they hired others for Money to supply their places, and do their duties in their steads.

Septimius Severus took his march towards the City of *Rome*, with the Army under his Command; whilst the People there, every day more both hated and derided *Julianus*. Nor was he able to do any good upon the Soldiers of the Guards; and thinking that *Latius* was a Favourer of the Cause of *Severus*, he ungratefully commanded him to be killed, who was one that had formerly saved his life from the Hands of *Commodus*; and *Martia* he commanded to be killed with him. But whilst these things were in passing, *Severus* possessed himself of the Fleet and City of *Ravenna*; and the Embassadors of the Senate, that had promised this Succour to *Julianus*, changed sides, and engag'd on the part of *Severus*. Also *Tullius Crispinus*, the Captain of the Guards, who had been sent to make Head against his Troops, received a defeat, and returned back by *Rome*. When *Julianus* saw all this, he proposed to the Senate, that the *Vestal Virgins* and all the Priests, together with the Senate, should

should march forth to meet the Army of *Severus*, Arrayed all in their several Habits, and should conjure and persuade him fairly to desist his Hostilities. A vain thing indeed, to suppose of an Army of desperate Soldiers. Therefore *Faustinus Quintillus*, an Augur, and a Consul, took the liberty to contradict him in that Proposal; and boldly said, to which many of the Senators gave their consents; *That a Man was not fit to Command, who could not resist his Adversary by force of Arms.* *Julianus* in great Anger sent for Soldiers out of the Camp, to force the Senate into a Compliance with him, or Massacre them upon the place. But neither did this take. For certainly it was very unreasonable, that when the Senate had adjudged *Severus* an Enemy upon the account of *Julianus*, the same *Julianus* should turn such a Butcherer of the Senate. So he came to the Senate with another and a better Proposal, which was that there might be an Act for the participation of the Empire betwixt *Severus* and him, and this was done immediately. Every one now called to mind an Omen of all this, which came from the Mouth of *Julianus* himself, when he had the Empire given him. For when the Consul had said in the name of the Senate, I order *Didius Julianus* to be proclaimed Emperor, *Julianus* prompted and corrected him thus, say *Didius Julianus Severus*, that is, because *Severus* was a third name which he took from his Grandfather, and Great Grandfather. Some indeed deny, that there was any such Order of his, as that of murdering

Severus
declar'd
Partner
in the
Empire.

murdering the Senate, who had been so kind to him. But however that is, after passing that Act, he sent immediately *Tullius Crispinus*, his Captain of the Guards, to *Complément Severus*. He also Created *Veturius Macrinus*, another Captain of the Guards; because he understood that *Severus* had sent Letters to make him one. In the mean time the People said aloud, and *Severus* suspected as much, that this Peace was but a Feint, and that *Tullius Crispinus* was sent to him rather with private Orders to kill him. So *Severus*, with the advice of his Army, chose to be his declared Enemy, rather than his Partner; and accordingly he writ to a great many Persons in *Rome*, his Friends, who secretly received and dispatched his Orders. As for the rest, *Julianus* tried all sorts of things by the Magicians, that could be devised to mitigate the hatred of the People, or to bridle the Arms of the Enemy. And certainly the Magicians offered such Sacrifices for him upon this occasion, as were by no means consonant to the Rites of the *Romans*. They tried their Charms in Profane Verses, and other Charms which they do with a Looking-glass: but yet all went ill on the side of *Julianus*; and all that they discovered from them was, the coming in of the one, and the departure of the other Emperor.

As *Tullius Crispinus* came as far as to meet the Avant-Guards of *Severus*, he was killed by his order, in which he followed the advice that was given him by *Julius Latui*. Then *Julianus* convoked the Senate again, and

and asked their Opinions, what more was to be done; but the Senate could not resolve him. He ordered after that, of his own motion, the Gladiators of *Capua* to take Arms under the Command of *Lollianus Titianus*. He invited *Claudius Pompeianus*, from his Retreat at *Tarracina*, to joyn with him in the Government, because he had long commanded Armies, and was the Son-in-Law of an Emperor. But *Pompeianus* excused himself, and said, he was an Old Man, and wanted his sight. In the mean time, the Army of *Severus* was increased, by Soldiers that came to him out of the Province of *Ombria*; and he sent Letters before him to *Rome*, to order the Murderers of *Pertinax* to be secured. So in a little time, *Didius Julianus* was abandoned by all the World, and remained in the Court, with only *Genialis*, one of his Captains of the Guards, and his Son-in-Law *Reperitinus* with him. The next thing was to depose him from the Empire, by the Sentence of the Senate: This was done, and all his Power abrogated, and *Severus* immediately declared Emperor in his place. Afterward it was pretended that he had poysoned himself; but in effect, there were Persons immediately sent on the part of the Senate, who caused him to be killed by the hands of a mercenary Soldier, imploring, as he fell, the Faith of *Cæsar*; that is, *Severus*. He had given all his Paternal Estate to his Daughter, and emancipated her upon his Elevation to the Empire. But as well her Riches, as her Illustrious Title of Princess, were soon taken from her again. His Body was delivered by *Severus*, to

He is deposed,

And slain.

Q

Manlia

Manlia Scintilla his Wife, and to his Daughter, to be buried; who put it into a Tomb of his great Grandfather, five Miles from Rome, upon the *Via Lavicana*, that is, the High-way, called by that Name.

Now the things condemned in this Prince were these; that he gormandized, that is, eat to excess, gam'd much, plaid at the Weapons of the Gladiators; and did all this, being an Old Man, tho' he had never before been attached to those Vices in his Youth; and that he was Proud; but this is not to be believed, for in his Reign he shewed himself the most humble Man in the World; the most obliging in his Entertainments; the most courteous in his Subscription of himself in his Letters, and of a most excellent Temper in allowing of the Liberties of his Friends. He lived Six and Fifty Years and Four Months; and reigned but Two Months and Five Days. Therefore his great Error was, that he ought by his absolute Authority to have governed those, whom on the contrary he made absolute over himself, to govern the State.

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
Septimius Severus,

Dedicated to the
EMPEROR
DIOCLESIAN.

BY
ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS.

SEVERUS, who enjoyed the Empire after the Death of *Didius Julianus*, was born in *Africa*, at the Town of *Napoli di Barberia*, in the Government of *Tripoli*. His Father's Name was *Geta*. His Ancestors had been Knights of Rome of old Time. His Mother

THE

Q²

His Ex-
traction.

ther was *Fulvia Pia*. His Uncles by his Father's side were *Marcus Agrippa* and *Severus*, who had both been Consuls. His Grandfather by his Father's side was *Macer*; by his Mother's, *Fulvius Pius*. He was born under the Consulships of *Erucius Clarus*, and *Severus*, which was then the second Consulship of the first, upon the sixth of the Ides of *April*. When he was but a Child, and before he had any Tincture of the Latin and Greek Letters, in which he was afterwards so very perfect, he loved to play altogether at a Sport, in which having Bundles of Rods and Axes carried before him, and a row of Boys standing about him, he sat himself down as a Judge, and tried Causes.

He is
made a
Senator.

In the Eighteenth Year of his Age, he declared in Publick. Afterwards he came to *Rome* to make his Studies; where through the Favour of his Kinsman, *Septimius Severus*, who had been twice Consul, he received the Honour of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* to be created a Senator. Now his Landlord with whom he lodged at *Rome*, upon his first coming thither, was at that moment Reading the Life of the Emperor *Hadrian*, which he was quick to observe, as an Omen to himself of future Grandeur. Another Omen that he had, was more particularly, as to his Reign, which was this; being once invited to a Banquet of the Emperor, he came in his Cloak, when he ought to have come in his Gown; which the Emperor taking Notice of, he gave him a Gown of his own to put on, which was the

same

same that he wore when he sat in Judgment. The same Night he dreamt that he sucked the Breasts of a Wolf, as if he was a *Remus* or a *Romulus*. He sat himself down in the Emperor's Chair, which a Servant had put out of its place, without thinking any thing of it, nor knowing that this was not permitted. As he was asleep once at his Lodgings, a Serpent came and had twisted it self about his Head; which the Servant perceiving, cried out, and he awaked, and the Serpent went from him again without doing him any hurt.

His Youth was full of Fury and Wildnesses, which were sometimes criminal. He was arraigned for Adultery, but was acquitted by *Didius Julianus*, the Proconsul of *Africa*, to whom he succeeded in the Charge of that Proconsulship, and was his Colleague in his Consulship, and again succeeded him in the Empire. He discharged his Questorship of the City of *Rome*, very well, into which he was elected unanimously. Afterwards he was chosen a Military Questor, that is, Pay-Master, or Commissary to the Army, for the Province of *Hispania Batica*. From thence he went into *Africa* to receive the Succession to his Father who was dead there. And whilst he was in *Africa*, instead of the Province of *Batica*, he was made the Questor for the Island of *Sardinia*, because the *Moors* had laid waste *Hispania Batica*. This Administration being over, he was advanced to be the Proconsul of *Africa*; in which place a Plebeian of his own Town of *Napoli di Barbaria* coming to him, whilst the

Q 3

Rods

Rods were carried before him, and presuming to embrace him, as his old Companion, he ordered him to be taken and well cudgelled, with this Inscription over his Head, *You who are a Plebeian, have a care of touching so a Proconsul of the People of Rome*: Since which time, the Custom is for the Proconsuls to go out always in a Coach, whereas, before they walked on Foot. He consulted, being in *Africa*, with an Astrologer, about his Fortune, which he was solicitous to know. The Astrologer took the Hour of his Birth, and observing great things from it, says he to him, *Give me your own Horoscope, and not another Man's*: *Severus* protesting, that it was his own, he told him of all the things which afterwards arrived to him.

By the Favour of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, he was made a *Tribune of the People*, which he discharged with the greatest Exactness, and all the Strictness that could be desired. Then he married *Martia*, of whom he says nothing himself, in his History of his private Life. But after he was Emperor, he set up her Statues. In the Thirty Second Year of his Age, he was chosen a *Prætor*, before a Number of others that were Competitors against him. At the same time, he was sent into *Spain*. Upon which he dreamt, that it was said to him, that he should restore the Temple of *Augustus* at the City of *Tarragona*, which was falling into ruin; and then that from the top of a very high Mountain, he had a Prospect given him of all the Earth, but particularly of the City of

Rome

Rome, about which all the Provinces were joining in a Consort of Harps, Voices, and sweet Flutes. He gave the People the diversion of the publick Shews in his absence. Then he had the command of the Fourth Legion, called *Scythica*, which was in *Syria*. In his way to which, he went to *Athens*, for the Curiosity of observing the Studies and the Rites, the Works, and the Antiquities of that Seat of the Muses: But because he received some Injuries there from the *Athenians*, he became their Enemy; and when he was Emperor, he was willing to avenge himself of them, by cutting short their Privileges. Next he was removed to the Province of the *Lionnois* in *Galilia*, to be the Lieutenant there. And having lost his Wife, and proposing to marry another, he took the Care first to be informed, being very well vers'd in the knowledge of Astrology himself, in the Nativities of his Mistresses; and as he had heard, that there was a Lady in *Syria*, who had found by her Nativity, that she was to be married to a King, he courted her, and in fine, married her, whose Name was *Julia*, by whom he was soon after made a Father.

His second Marriage

His Exactness, his Honour, and his great Sobriety, caused him to be so much beloved amongst the *Gauls*, as never Person was. He was translated from thence to the Government of *Pannonia*, with a Proconsular Power. From *Pannonia* to *Sicily*, which was another Proconsulship; and when he had made his return again to *Rome*, he received of his Wife a second

cond Son: Being in *Sicily*, he was accused of consulting the *Chaldeans* and the *Astrologers* about his coming to the Empire, for which he was ordered to be heard before the Captains of the Guards; who, it then being the time that the Emperor *Commodus* began to fall into an universal odium, acquitted him, and crucified the Man that calumniated him. He was Consul the first time in Conjunction with *Apuleius Ruffinus*, by the particular appointment of *Commodus*. After his Consulship, he continued an entire Year at *Rome*, without Employ; and then by the recommendation of *Latus*, he was preferred to the Command of the Army in *Germany*. He had lived till now at *Rome*, in a very little House with one small Plat of Ground to it. But as he went to take the Possession of this last Charge, he purchased himself a spacious *Villa*; where once taking a small Repast together with his little Infants, and Fruit being brought, his Eldest Son, who was then of the Age of Five Years, distributed it amongst the Children, his Play-Fellows, so liberally, that his Father said to him, *Not so fast, my Son, you have not the Riches of a King.* The Child of Five Years old, answered, *But I shall have.* So being gone to his Command in *Germany*, he acquitted himself in that sort, that he raised his Name, which was already ennobled, to a far higher pitch of Glory.

Hitherto he had followed Arms, but in the Quality of a private Person. But now the News coming that *Commodus* was killed, and

and that *Didius Julianus*, who for the present was upon the Throne, was universally hated; the *German* Legions encouraged him no less than he declined it, to put up for the Empire. They declared him Emperor upon the Ides of *August*; at the same time he gave them a Bounty of Fifty Thousand *Sesterces*, which was more than any Prince had ever done before; and having secured the Provinces which he left at his Back, he hastened his March to *Rome*. Every one opened the way to him in all the places where he came. The Armies of *Illyricum* and *Gallia*, swore Fidelity to him. And every where they received him, as the Avenger of the Murder of *Pertinax*. In the mean time, *Didius Julianus* prevailed with the Senate to declare him an Enemy, and the Senate sent their Commissioners to his Army to command the Soldiers in their Names to depart from his Service. It is true, it put him first into a great concern: but afterwards he managed the thing so, that he corrupted those very Commissioners, so that they spoke to the Soldiers for him, and came over themselves to his side. *Julianus* who was soon advertised of a Conduct so extraordinary, obtained then a Decree of the Senate, in which it was declared, that the Empire should be participated betwixt himself and *Severus*: but whether this was with a sincere, or a treacherous Intention, it is uncertain, because in truth, he had before sent some known Assassines to him, to kill him; and others, at the same time, to kill *Pescennius Niger*, who had also taken up the Empire

Declared
Emperor
by the
Army.

Empire against him, upon the Authority of the Forces in *Syria*. However it was, *Severus* escaped their Hands, and writ Letters to the Guards at *Rome* to abandon and slay *Julianus*; which was executed upon him accordingly, as he was in the Court, and *Severus* was invited to enter into *Rome*; who with a Fortune, which hath never happened to any before him, became a Conqueror as it were with a Word, and so marched on to *Rome* at the Head of his Troops.

Enters
Rome.

He kept himself all the while in his Camps and Tents, in his march in *Italy*, no less than if he still appeared there with the face of an Enemy. The Senate deputed a Hundred out of their Body, as their Envoys to compliment and congratulate him; who came up to him at the City of *Teramo* in *Abruzzo*. He received them when they saluted him, all in Armour, and in the midst of his armed Troops. The next day all the Domesticks of the Court arrived to pay their Reverences to him. He presented the Envoys of the Senate with seven hundred and twenty Pieces of Gold, and dismissed them. But yet if they pleased, he welcomed them to stay and to return to *Rome* in his Company. Then he immediately made *Flavius Juvencalis* the Captain of the Guards, who was one that *Julianus* had chosen to be a third Captain of the same under him. In the mean time, the Trouble was very great at *Rome*, amongst the Soldiers and the Citizens; because *Severus* whom they judged their Enemy, approached to them with a puissant Army. At the same time

time the Legions in *Syria* had set up *Pescennius Niger*, Emperor; whose Edicts therefore, and whose Letters to the People or to the Senate, *Severus* intercepted, that they should not be read to the one or the other. And as he judged very well, that it concerned him to secure himself against him, he sent *Heraclius* to take in the Country of *Bithynia*; and *Plautianus*, to make himself Master of the Children of *Pescennius Niger*. Then coming up to the City of *Rome*, before he made his entrance into it, he ordered the old Guards there to appear before him without their Arms, which they did, and he held a Council of War upon them, and surrounded them with Guards of his own Troops.

In fine, as he made his publick Entrance into the City, himself and his Soldiers, all under their Arms, he took his way strait up to the Capitol. From the Capitol, he proceeded in the same form to the Palace, with the Banners which he had taken from the old Guards carried before him, not flying, but furled, as in mourning. All the City over did the Soldiers spread themselves, and filled the Temples, the Piazza's, and the Houses of the Court, like so many Inns. At their Discretion they took all things, without Buying, and threatened to plunder all the City; so that certainly one may say, the Entrance of *Severus* was odious and terrible. The next day he came, accompanied with his Friends, and a great Guard of his armed Soldiers, to the Senate, where he gave the Senate an Account of his assumption of the Empire, and complained,

complained, that *Didius Julianus* had sent Men, who were known Assassines, to him, to kill him. He obliged them to pass an Act, that it should be unlawful for the Emperor to put to death a Senator, without taking the advice of the Senate. But whilst he was there, the Army that had brought him in, demanded of the Senate seditiously ten thousand Sesterces, after the example of those who had formerly brought in *Augustus Caesar*, and had received that Sum. *Severus* would have repressed them, but he could not, without sweetening them with Money; which sent them away pacified. In the next place, in honour of the Memory of *Pertinax*, he solemnized a Royal Funeral for him, in which he was represented by his Image; and he Consecrated him a God, and appointed his Priests. He was willing to be called *Pertinax* himself, till the complaints of his Friends made him abolish the name again, as if it was ominous of a short Reign.

After this he rendered to every one what belonged to him; and he married his two Daughters, having endowed them well, to *Probus* and *Aetius*. To the former of whom he offered the Government of the City of *Rome*; but he refused it, and said, *That he thought it less to be the Governor of Rome, than to be the Son in-Law of a Prince*. He made both of them Consuls, and gave them great Riches. Another day he came to the Senate, and made a Proscription of the Friends of *Didius Julianus*; such as against whom there were Accusations brought, and afterwards ordered

dered them to be Executed. He heard a great many Causes Pleaded before him. He severely punished the Magistrates of the Provinces, who stood accused by their People, if he found the matter of their Accusations proved against them. He looked so well after the affair of the Magazines of Corn, which he found in a very low condition, that when he died, he left enough for seven years to come. He took up an Expedition into the East to establish the State of Affairs there; not speaking any thing as yet openly of *Pescennius Niger*, only he immediately sent some Legions into *Africa*, for fear that *Niger* should possess himself of *Alexandria* or *Carthage* by the way of *Libya* and *Egypt*, and so afflict the People of *Rome* with a want of Corn. He left *Domitius Dexter*, Governor of the City of *Rome*, in the place of *Bassus*, and within thirty days of his coming thither, he set out from it again. After he had marched as far as to a place called *Saxa Rubra*, he had an occasion to appease a great Sedition which was arisen in his Army upon the subject of their Encampments. Here his Brother *Geta* met him; whom he Commanded to do his Duty in what had been ordered him; but *Geta* had been full, when he came, of other Hopes. Here also the Children of *Pescennius Niger* were brought to him, whom he received and entertained with the same Kindness, as if they were his own. He had sent a Legion to secure the Countries of *Greece* and *Thrace*, against *Niger*. But, notwithstanding that, *Niger* had already seized upon *Byzantium* and pretended

His Expedition
against
Niger.

pretended to do the same to the City of *Heracleia*; and having put to death a great many Persons of his Army, because he suspected them, *Severus* declared him, together with *Emilianus*, the Proconsul of *Asia*, an Enemy. *Niger* invited *Severus* to agree to a Participation of the Empire; but this was slighted. *Severus* promised him, if he pleased, his Life in Safety: But he would give no Quarter to *Emilianus*; who therefore being beaten soon after upon the Coasts of the *Hellepont* by the Captains of *Severus*, fled first to *Cyziqua*, and then to another City, in which he was killed; and the Troops of *Niger* were also put to the Rout by the same.

Niger
defeated,

Severus with the News of this, sent Letters to the Senate, as though his Work was done. He fought next in Person with *Niger*, and killed him by the City of *Cyziqua*, and ordered his Head to be carried about upon a Spear: whose Children, after this, whom he had hitherto received with the same kindness as his own, and their Mother, he banished. Immediately he gave the Senate, by Letter, an account of his Victory; and he put none to death of the Senators, who had been of the side of *Niger*, except only one. He was angry with the City of *Antioch*; because they had both made a mock of his Administration of things in the East, and had furnished *Niger* with Provisions; so he deprived them of many of their Privileges. He deprived also the People of *Sichem* in *Palestine*, of their Freedom of *Rome*: because they had been a long

long time armed for the service of *Niger*. He chastised several other Cities that had followed him; and by the losses and damages which he made them suffer, he left upon them the marks of his Resentments. After this, he did a great many things about *Arabia*. He obliged the *Parthians* to yield to him, and the People of the Country of *Adiabene*, who were all in the same Interests with *Pescennius Niger*. Wherefore at his return, he was offered the honour of Triumph, and was Entitled Conqueror of the *Arabians*, *Adiabeniensians*, and *Parthians*; but the Triumph he refused; lest it should be pretended that he triumphed for a Victory, gained as it were over his own Subjects, and he refused the Style of Conqueror of the *Parthians*, not to offend the *Parthians* too sensibly.

But no sooner was he returning to *Rome* from the Civil-War of *Pescennius Niger*, but he had the News of another, which he was to sustain against *Clodius Albinus*, who had revolted in *Gallia*. This occasioned him to command the Children of *Niger*, and their Mother to be put to death. Then he immediately declared *Albinus* an Enemy, and all his Adherents, if they had but written tenderly to him, or answered his Letters. And as he was upon his way against him, meeting with his eldest Son *Bassianus* at the Village of *Vimy* near *Lions*, he conferred upon him the Title of *Cæsar*, and called him by the name of *Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus*. The reason whereof was, to cut off his Brother *Geta* from the hopes which he had conceived of the Empire. And he called him

Revolt of
Clodius
Albinus.

him by the name of *Antoninus*, either because he had dreamt that an *Antoninus* should succeed him, for which reason some say that *Geta* had had given to himself the same name; or because *Severus* himself had sometime formerly been of a mind to pass out of his own Family into that of *Marcus Antoninus*. The Captains of *Severus* were at first defeated by those of *Clodius Albinus*; which cast him into the concern, that he consulted with the *Augurs* of *Pannonia* about his Fortune; who told him that he should be the Conqueror, but yet that his Adversary should neither fall into his power, neither save himself; and that he should perish by the side of a Water. Not was it long after this, before several of the Friends of *Albinus* abandoned him, and came and presented themselves before *Severus*, and others of his Captains were taken Prisoners upon whom he exacted a rigorous Chastisement.

After a great many things had past variously on both sides, the Battel of *Tournon* near *Lions* was fought, in which *Severus* carried the Day with the greatest success; only he was once thrown from his Horse, and the Army believing him to be killed, was just upon the point of making another Emperor. The Senate had at this time read some things, which were in the praise of *Clodius Celsinus*, who was of the City of *Mabometa* in *Africa*, and the Kinsman of *Albinus*: which disoblighing *Severus*, as if they had meant it in the favour of *Albinus* himself, and thinking that he could not better revenge

Albinus
over-
thrown.

it upon them, than by Consecrating *Commodus* a God; he first of all pronounced him a God amongst the Army, and then writ the same to the Senate, with a recital of the Victory, and commanded that the Bodies of the Senators who were killed in the fight, should be left abandoned and unburied. The Body of *Albinus* being brought to him, but half dead, he ordered his Head to be cut off, and carried to *Rome* with the Letters which he writ upon this Subject. He was overcome the eleventh day of the Calends of *March*; his body was exposed before his own Tent till it stunk: *Severus* rid his Horse over it; and his Horse boggling at it with horror, he forced him on with the Spur. At last he ordered it to be thrown into the River of *Rhone*, together with those of his Wife and Children.

He put to death after this an infinite number of Persons of the Party of *Albinus*, and amongst the rest, many of the Chief of *Rome*, and several Ladies of Quality. All whose Estates were Confiscated, and returned into the Exchequer. He did the same, on this occasion, with several of the Grandees of *Spain* and *Gallia*. So that he gave the Soldiers the greatest Pay by this means, that any Prince ever did; and to his Children by virtue of this proscription he left the most of any Prince at his death. For he had amassed to himself the greatest part of the Gold and Silver that was in *Gallia*, and in all *Spain*, and all *Italy*. He was the first that Constituted the Officer of Procurator of the Private Affairs of the Em-

His extreme Severity.

peror; or Keeper of the Privy Purse. Many others of the Party of *Albinus*, keeping their Faith to him, which they had promised, were defeated in Battel, likewise by *Severus*. The *Arabian* Legion had revolted to him. All which aggravated the Revenge of *Severus* upon the Party; of whom having killed a great many more, and extinguished the whole Family of the *Albini*, he came to *Rome* in a Choler at the People and the Senate: where he applauded *Commodus* publicly both to the one and the other: called him a God; said they were only infamous Persons and Poultrons, to whom he had been displeasing: you might see, he was evidently furious. Then he discoursed upon his own Clemency, though of all Men he had been the most Cruel, and had murdered the Senators following, without any legal Tryal, who were all illustrious Personages: *Mummus Secundinus*, *Asellius Claudianus*, *Claudius Rufus*, *Vitellius Victor*, *Papius Faustys*, *Albius Celsus*, *Julius Rufus*, *Lollius Professus*, *Armenianus Cornelianus*, *Antoninus Balbus*, *Posthumus Severus*, *Sergius Lustratus*, *Fabius Paulinus*, *Nomius Gracchus*, *Mustius Fabianus*, *Casperius Agrippinus*, *Cejonius Albinus*, *Claudius Sulpicianus*, *Memmius Rufinus*, *Casperius Emilianus*, *Cocceius Verus*, *Erucius Clarus*, *L. Stilo*, *Claudianus Rufus*, *Egnatuleius Honoratus*, *Petronius Junior*, *Festus*, *Neratianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Materianus*, *Julianus*, and *Albinus*, of the Family of the *Julii*; *Macrinus*, *Faustinianus*, *Julianus*, of the Family of the *Cerellii*; *Heremius Nepos*, *Sulpitius Canus*, *Valerius Catulinus*, *Novius* *Rufus*.

Julius Claudius Arabianus, and *Marius Ascellio*. Of these, the greatest part were of the degree of the Consuls, others Prætors, but all certainly very excellent Men: the murdering of whom, so many and so illustrious, as they were, made the *Africans* admire *Severus* as a Deity. He charged *Cincius Severus* with a design to have Poisoned him, and so likewise put him to death. He threw *Narcissus*, who had strangled *Commodus*, to the Lions. Many of obscure Note and Birth besides he killed, not to speak of the rest who were taken off by the rights of War.

After all this, being willing to recommend himself to the People, he removed the Charge of the Post, and the Publick Carriages from Private Persons; to lay it upon the Exchequer. He ordered his Son *Bassianus Antoninus*, to be declared *Cæsar* by the Senate, and to wear the Ensigns of Majesty accordingly: and next of his own absolute Authority, he erected Statues to his Father, Mother, Grandfather, and his first Wife. He conceived such a great disgust against *Plautianus*, after knowing his Life, that from an intimate Favourite, he declared him a publick Enemy, and did him the disgrace to throw down his Statues which before had been placed next to those of the Relations and Allies of *Severus*, in all places of the Empire where they were. He remitted the People of *Palestine*, the Punishments which he had menaced them with in the Cause of *Pescennius Niger*. Afterwards he received *Plautianus* into favour again, and banished his Enemies.

mies: who entred the City, as it were in Triumph, and went up to the Capitol; and yet in Proceſs of time, for all that he killed him. He gave the Man's, or the *Roman Gown*, to *Geta* his youngest Son; and married his Eldest to a Daughter of *Plautianus*. He made them both Consuls; but *Geta*, his own Brother, he killed. Then the *Parthian War* came on; upon his going to which, he first treated the People with the Games of the Gladiators, and gave them a Largeſs. But still he put to death several Persons, whether for real, or pretended Causes, whilst these things paſt. Some because they Rallied upon him; others because they held their Tongues and ſaid nothing. Some because they had ſaid, *He was an Emperor that had not his name for nothing*. A right *Pertinax*, a right *Severus*.

The Par-
thian Ex-
pedition.

As for the *Parthian War*, certainly it was generally ſaid that *Severus* affected it out of a deſire of Glory, rather than that he was carried upon it by any neceſſity. He embarked his Army at the Port of *Brindis*; from whence continuing on his Journey, he came into *Syria*, where he prepared himſelf to make War upon the *Parthians* in their own Country; after he had driven them out of their Footings in this. Together with which, by the advice of *Plautianus*, he hunted after the Reliques of the Faction of *Pescennius Niger*, and ſlew them without Mercy. Others he ſlew, pretending that they had conſulted the *Aſtologers* and the *Diviners* concerning his death. Particularly he ſuſpected every one that was but pro-

per to make an Emperor of. Whilst his Sons were yet little, which was the time for Men to try their Fortunes, either he heard, that it was ſaid by them, or he imagined, that they ſaid ſo. But yet as to ſome, who were murdered, he excuſed himſelf, and denied that it had been done by his order; and particularly *Marius Maximus* ſays, he did it in the Caſe of *Latus*. His own Siſter making him a Viſit from the Town of *Napoli di Barbaria*, where he was born, had brought her Son along with her: and as ſhe was one that was ſcarce able to ſpeak the *Latin Tongue*, ſhe made the Emperor bluſh for her very much: who gave her ſeveral rich Preſents, and made her Son a Senator; but when that was done, he ordered her to go back to her own Country again, and take her Son with her, who ſoon after died.

The Summer being over, becauſe in thoſe Parts the Winter is the beſt Season for War, he entred into the Kingdom of *Parthia*; and obliging the Enemy to give way to him, he marched forward, and ſet himſelf down before *Cteſiphon*, which he took. But as his Soldiers had lived but upon the Roots of the Herbs which they found, whereby they had contracted great ſickneſſes, and particularly the Flux, which hindered their Marches, he ſatisfied himſelf with the Conqueſt which he had made, having killed a great number of the Enemy, and put to flight their King, which gained him the Title of Conqueror of the *Parthians*. His eldeſt Son the *Caſar Baſſianus Antoninus*, of thirteen years of Age, was

Refuses a
Triumph.

upon this occasion by the Army proclaimed a Partner in the Empire with his Father; and his younger Son, *Geta Antoninus*, was declared at the same time *Cæsar*. Wherefore *Severus* gave to the Army a very large Donative, and all the Booty of the Town of *Ctesiphon*, according to their desire, which they were become the Masters of. From thence he returned a Conqueror into *Syria*. The Senate offered him the Honor of a Triumph: which he refused, because he could not sit in the Chariot, by reason of the Gout, which afflicted him. But he permitted his Son to receive it in his Place; to whom the Senate had decreed a Triumph in relation to the successes over the *Jews*. For all things had passed well in *Syria*, as well as *Parthia*, under the Conduct of *Severus*. In fine, being come to *Antioch*, he granted to his eldest Son the *Roman* Gown, and appointed him to be Consul with himself. Accordingly they both entered upon their Consulships in *Syria*. After which, having gratified the Army with a Bounty upon that Subject, they took their way to *Alexandria*.

In this Expedition he made a great many Laws to Establish the Rights of the People of *Palestine*. He forbade Men to turn *Jews*, under a great penalty, and he made the like Ordinances as to the Christians. He granted to the City of *Alexandria* the Privilege of a Senate; besides which he changed their Laws in several things. He was much pleased with his Voyage into these Parts, to see the Worship of the God *Serapis*, and because of the singular strangeness

ness of the Animals, and places which he saw here. He viewed *Memphis* and *Memnon*, the Pyramids and the Labyrinth, with great Care and great Satisfaction.

It would be too tedious to pursue the Life of this Prince in Matters of a lesser Note. Therefore his diminishing the Power of the Pretorian Guards at *Rome*, after *Julianus* was conquered and killed, and his consecrating *Pertinax* a God, contrary to the Will of the Soldiers, were bold and great Actions. He seems to have deserved the Name of *Pertinax*, (which once he assumed) not so much for his Affection to *Pertinax* the Emperor, as for the austerity of his manners, and his own pertinaciousness in what he did. As one of the Enemy, who was taken had cast himself humbly at his Feet, and said to him; *Sir, what would yourself have done in my place?* He not at all softened with so prudent an Expression, commanded him to be killed without remorse. He was bent upon utterly extirpating the Parties that were against him, and almost from no place did he come off less than Conqueror.

He conquered *Abgarus*, the King of *Persia*. His other The *Arabians* yielded themselves under his Successes. Obedience. He made the *Adiabeni* Tributary to him. He fortified *Great Britain*, which is the greatest Ornament of his Reign, with a Trench drawn cross the Island, from the one Ocean to the other, from whence he received the Title of *Conqueror of the Britains*. He put his Native Country of *Tripoli* into a Condition of the greatest Security, and a lasting

Peace, by subduing those most Warlike Nations, which lie all about it; for which the *Tripolines* in return, presented him with Oyl and Corn, every Year in abundance; and gave for that purpose some fruitful Fields for ever to the People of *Rome*. As he was of a Temper to be implacable towards such as transgressed their Duty; so on the other hand, he was of a singular good Judgment in making Choice of Persons to serve him, who were Men of Fidelity. He was much addicted to the Studies of Philosophy and Eloquence, and had a desire to know the rest of the Sciences. He was a mortal hater of Robbers. He writ his own Life himself faithfully, as he was a private Man, and as he Emperor; in which however, he excuses as much as he can, the Fault of his Cruelty. The Senate gave this Judgment upon him, that either he ought never to have been born, or he ought never to die. Because he seemed at once to be too Cruel to keep, and too useful to lose.

*His Wife
suspected.*

In the mean time, as to his Affairs within his own Family, he was not so very Prudent. For the Virtue of his Wife *Julia* was much to be suspected. She was also an Accomplice in a Conspiracy that was form'd against him, yet he spared her, and kept her with him. Whilst he lay lame of the Gout in his Feet, which retarded the Operations of the War, which the Army bore impatiently, they had nominated his Son *Bassianus*, to march as Emperor at the Head of them. *Severus* immediately upon this, called a Council of War, to which, causing himself to be taken

taken up, and carried and placed upon the Tribunal; and having cited to it all the Tribunes, Centurions, Captains, and the principal Officers of the Army, that had been the Authors of that Action, together with his Son; he demanded of them all, *Whether they were returned to their Duty?* who all, except his Son, whom he had pardoned, prostrating themselves before him for Mercy; says he, *I hope now you are satisfied, it is the Head that rules, and not the Feet.* Another very remarkable Expression of his, is, being one whom Fortune had raised from a low Birth by several degrees to the Empire, with the Assistance of Letters, and the Knowledge that he had acquired in Arms; says he, *I have been at things, and all's worth nothing.*

He died at *York* in *Great Britain*, in an advanced Age, and the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, of a very violent Malady, the Gout, after having subdued the Nations which were troublesome to the Repose of that Country. He left Two Sons, *Antoninus Bassianus* and *Geta*, to which latter he gave the same Name of *Antoninus*, in Honour of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*. He was interred in the Sepulchre of *Marcus Antoninus*, for whom of all the Emperors, he had that Honour, and held his Memory so dear, that he consecrated even his Son *Commodus Antoninus* a God, and thought that for the future, the Name of *Antoninus* ought to be inseparable from the Person of the Emperor, as well as that of *Augustus*, for ever. The Senate, his Children, and those of his Family, joyned to make a magnificent Funeral for

His Death.

for him, and he was likewise enrolled in the Number of the Gods. The publick Works of his that are extant, are chiefly these; the *Septizonium*, his Baths, and his *Fani*. The Judgment that was passed upon him after his Death was so much the more to his Honour, as his Son, and those Princes that came after, proved unfortunate to the State; when all things were abandoned into the Hands of Robbers, that made a Prey of all the Grandeur and the Riches of the *Romans*. He was so little curious of fine Cloaths, that his Vest had scarce any Studs of Purple upon it; and over that, he wore a loose shagged Coat. He eat little, and loved above all things the Pease, Beans, and Pulse of his own Native Country; he sometimes drank pretty freely; often quite abstained from flesh. He was handsome as to his Person; big, with a long Beard; his Hair naturally curl'd; of an awful Countenance; a sweet Voice, but something of an *African* Tone with it to the last. After his Death, he was more beloved than ever he had been during his Life; because People then had ceased to envy him, and because they were out of the fear of his Cruelty.

I remember, I have read in *Ælius Maurus*, the manumitted Servant of *Pblegon* of *Tralles*, that this Prince, when he died, rejoiced infinitely, that he left behind him two Sons of the Name of *Antoninus* to succeed in the Empire, and to be of equal Power with one another, after the Example of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*, who was succeeded at once by *Marcus Antoninus* and *Verus Antoninus*, who yet

His Personage.

yet being the Sons of that Prince but by Adoption; it pleased *Severus* so much the more, to think that his two Sons were his own, and derived of his own Blood; that is, *Bassianus Antoninus*, whom he had by his first Wife, and *Geta Antoninus*, whom he had by *Julia*. But he was much mistaken in his good hopes as to them both. The untimely Murder of the one, and the Vices of the other equally deprived the State of reaping any Good by them.

And really when I have sometime reflected upon this, I have with astonishment observed, may it please your Majesty O *Dioclesian*, that seldom any of the great Men have ever left a good and an useful Son behind them. But either they have died all without Issue, or if they have had Children, their Children have been such, that it had been better for their Glory to have left none at all. To begin with *Romulus*, he left the World no Children; nor *Numa Pompilius*, who were of any Service to the State. What shall I say of *Camillus*? Had he any Children like himself? What had *Scipio*? What had the *Cato's*, who were all such great Men? What shall I say of *Homer*, *Demosthenes*, *Virgil*, *Salust*, *Terence*, *Plautus*, and so many other excellent Persons? What shall I say of *Cæsar*? What shall I say of *Tully*? but that it had been much better, that he had left no Children neither. What shall I say of *Augustus* himself? who had not a good even adoptive Son, though he had all the World to chuse out of. *Trajan* was also mistaken in the Choice

Choice that he made of his own Countryman, and one of his own Blood. But to omit any more adoptive Sons for the sake of *Antoninus Pius* and *Marcus Antoninus*, who were Two such Divinities: What had been happier than *Marcus Antoninus*, if he had not left *Commodus* his Heir? what more Glorious than *Septimius Severus*, if he had never begotten *Bassianus*? who murdered his Brother, for a Crime maliciously invented by himself, and then charged it upon him who married his Mother-in-Law, who was as good as an own Mother to him, and in whole Arms he had before killed her Son, his Brother; who killed *Papinian*, that Sanctuary, that Treasure of all the Doctrine of the Laws, only because he would not justify so cruel a Fratricide. Therefore in comparison with this Son, *Severus* the Father, though he was in all Respects a hard, or rather a cruel Prince, was accounted Pious, and worthy of the Consecration of a God; who as he lay on his Death-Bed, sent, they say, to this his Son, that Divine Oration in *Salust*, of the King *Micipsa* to his Children. But it was so quite lost upon *Bassianus Antoninus*, that he lived long in the hatred of the People, to whom although he gave a Bounty of those Coats called *Caracalla*, from whence himself hath the Name of *Caracallus*; and though he built those Baths of his Name, which are very Magnificent, yet that Holy and Venerable Stile of *Antoninus*, became much the less beloved for his sake. He, as we are told, built besides the Portico which is at *Rome*, with
 • very

very great Splendor, in which there are represented, the memorable Exploits of *Severus* his Father.

The Signs fore-running the Death of the Emperor *Septimius Severus*, were these. He dreamt, that he was carried up to Heaven in a Chariot, drawn by four Eagles, and enrich'd with precious Stones, and I know not what large humane Form flying before him: that as he was elevated in the Air, he display'd the Numbers Eighty Nine, beyond which Age precisely he did not live; for he was already old, when he came to the Empire. Then that he continued a long time alone and destitute of help, in a great Circle by himself, till at last, fearing to fall to Earth again, he saw himself called by *Jupiter*, and placed amongst the *Antoninuses*. One day whilst the Games of the Cirque were celebrating, as there were three Figures of Victory, with Palms in their hands placed according to Custom upon the Platform where the Emperor's Throne is; that in the middle bearing a Globe, on which was inscribed the Name of *Severus*, was blown down with a blast of Wind to the Ground, and there lay. The other, which was inscribed with the Name of *Geta*, fell, and was broken to pieces; but that which was inscribed with the Name of *Bassianus* stood, but with much ado, and lost its Palm-branch in the Wind. After he had finished his Wall or Trench in *Great Britain*, and was returning to the next Garrison victorious, having hereby assured the Peace of that Country for ever, he was thinking

ing in his mind, what sort of Omen he should meet with upon it; a *Black-moor* who was of the Number of his Soldiers, and who was a famous Droll, always ready to make some pleasant piece of Rallery, presents himself before him, with a Crown in his hand made of Cyprès; *Severus* in anger, commanded him immediately to retire out of his sight, being sensibly touched with the double ill Omen of his Hew, and the Matter of his Crown. In the mean time said the Man, *Your Majesty hath been all Things, and conquered all Things, now be a God.* Being afterwards returned to the City of *York*, and going to discharge his Devotion, he was conducted by a mistake of an Augur, into a Temple of *Bellona*, and next the Beasts which were presented to him to sacrifice, were black: But he refusing to sacrifice in that colour, retired to the Palace, and the same black Victims being left neglected by the Priests, went after him as far as to the Gates of the Palace.

His public Works. In a great many Cities there are Works which he ordered to be done, which are excellent; but particularly at *Rome*, all the publick Edifices which were decaying by old Age, and the course of time, he restored, and which was a great Action in him, without scarce ever inscribing his own Name upon one of them, but every where continuing upon them the Names of their antient Founders. At his Death he left in the publick Stores, Corn to serve for Seven Years to come, at the rate of expending Seventy Five Thousand *Modii* a day, whereof each

each *Modius* was a Peck and half. And for Oyl, he left such a Quantity, as was sufficient not only for the City of *Rome*, but all *Italy* upon occasion, for Five Years. They say that his last Words were these; *I found the State when I received it, every where in Disturbance. I leave it in Peace even to the Britains. Old and Lame, as I am, I leave the Empire firm to my Sons, if they are good: But in a feeble Condition for them, if they are bad.* The last Watchword which he ordered to be given to the Tribune, was, *Laboremus*, let us take Pains; as that of *Pertinax*, the first day that he was admitted to the Empire, was, *Militemus*, let us fight. He had designed a second Royal Image of Fortune to be made and added to that which always stands in the Emperor's Chambers, and is used to accompany them in all Places where they go; he desired to leave of those most sacred Figures, to each of his Sons one. But when he found himself pressed with the approaching hour of his Death, it is said, he ordered that that Image of Fortune, which there was, should be carried alternatively into the Chambers of his Two Sons; but *Bassianus Antoninus* slighted that Order, even before he had killed his Brother.

His Body was brought from *Great Britain* to *Rome*, where it was received with the greatest Reverence of all the Provinces; though some say, it was only his Ashes which were brought to *Rome*, reposed in a little Urn of Gold, which was interred in the Sepulchre of the *Antoninusses*; and that the Body was burnt upon

on the place where he died. When he built the *Septizonium*, he had no other Design in it, but to make appear the Magnificence of his Work, to the Eyes of those, who particularly should come out of his Native Country of *Africa*; and if he had not been prevented, it is supposed, he would have made a stately *Intrado* from thence to the Palace Royal; as afterward the Emperor *Alexander Severus* would have done, but that the Soothsayers prohibited him, for Reasons in their Art.

THE
L I F E
OF
P E S C E N N I U S N I G E R,
Dedicated to the
E M P E R O R
D I O C L E S I A N.
BY
Æ L I U S S P A R T I A N U S.

THE

IT is a difficult thing, and such as we rarely see done, to publish to the World a just Account of Persons who die under the Notion of Rebels and Usurpers, by being Conquered, and because they are concluded by another Person's Victory. All the Circumstances

His Ex-
traction.

cumstances of such are scarce ever fully expressed in the Monuments, and the Annals of the Antients; for that which is great of them, and to their Honours, is either generally depraved and turned another way, or it is suppressed. Neither is there so much Care taken to seek into the things that concern their Origin and their Lives, as to recount their Ends. For when they have brought them to that, and told the War, in which they were overcome, and how they suffer'd for the boldness of their Attempts, they persuade themselves they have said enough about them. Thus *Pescennius Niger* was, as some say, born of very ordinary, as others, of honourable Parents; that is, the latter say, that his Father was *Annus Fuscus*, his Mother *Lampridia*, his Grandfather the Curator of the Town of *Aquino*; according to which, his Family was of the Equestrian Order: but yet this is a thing which this day, others will dispute. His Instructions in Letters was but indifferent, no more than was his Estate. His manner of Life was moderate; his Temper hot enough; but particularly of an unbridled Passion to Liberty. He was a long time a Centurion, and afterwards through several other Commands in the War, came to be the General of the Forces of *Syria*, unto which the Emperor *Commodus* preferred him, by the Credit and the recommendation chiefly of that very Person, as things went at that time, who afterwards strangled *Commodus*.

After the Death of *Commodus*, and the Death also of his Successor *Pertinax*, *Pescennius Niger* set up for the Empire upon the Authority of the same Forces of *Syria*; encouraged to it from *Rome*, where *Didius Julianus*, who had succeeded to *Pertinax*, was so hated by the People, that they publickly cursed him, and threw Stones at him, and prayed, that the Gods would give them *Niger* to be their Prince, and *Niger* to come to the Succour of the City. Hereupon *Julianus* sent a Centurion with Orders to bring him the Head of *Niger*, which was a very imprudent Fancy indeed, as if it was such an easie matter for a single Centurion to make himself the Master of one, who was at the Head of a puissant Army, and could very well maintain himself. With the same imprudence it was that he proposed to take off the Head of *Severus*, after he had already been declared Emperor, and to send a Man to command in his place. For he had sent the known Assassine, *Aquilinus* a Centurion, to him to kill him; as if so powerful a General, was so easily to be killed by a Centurion. But yet all this was as Judicious, as his pretending to prohibit *Severus* from the Empire by Law, because himself was in the prior Possession of it.

In fine, the Inclinations of the People towards *Pescennius Niger*, and their aversion to *Julianus*, appeared sufficiently in this; that whilst *Julianus* was Entertaining them with the Games of the Cirque; even then, they called upon the Name of *Pescennius Niger*, and wished publickly for his coming to the Succour

Succour of the City. Upon which occasion *Julianus* it is said pronounced these Words, *That if they had him, he would not Reign long over them, no more than himself.* But *Severus*, he said, might, though he was the most of all to be hated by every body; which in the event proved true.

Befrien-
ded by
Severus.

Now in the time that *Severus* was the Lieutenant of the Province of *Lugdunum* in *Gallia*, *Pescennius Niger* and he had contracted a very great Friendship with one another; insomuch that the latter having acquitted himself in some Actions there with a great deal of Bravery and Honesty against the Enemy; he retired himself so perfectly agreeable to *Severus*, that *Severus* recommended him to the Emperor *Commodus*, and engaged for him, as a Person that was necessary to be employed in the State. And certainly he was a very good Soldier, and understood the Discipline of War perfectly well. He never suffered his Men to extort from their Quarters in the Provinces, Wood or Oyl, or any manner of Service. He never made Gain to himself out of their Pay; nor when he was a Tribune, did he suffer the other Officers to do so: And after he was set up to be Emperor, he commanded two Tribunes who were guilty of making Advantages to themselves out of the Pay of their Soldiers, to be stoned to Death.

A LETTER of *Severus* himself, written to *Ragonius Celsus* the Governour of *Gallia*, says thus of him.

IT is a miserable thing, that we cannot imitate the Military Discipline of him whom we have overcome in the Field; whereas your Men do nothing but ramble here and there; the Tribunes are Bathing themselves at Noon-day, Dine in Taverns, and Lye in Inns; Dance, Drink and Sing, and call this the only Rule that they have, that they Drink without all Rule. Certainly, should these Things be, if we had the least Vein of the Discipline of our Fore-fathers in us? First therefore, correct the Tribunes, and then you will amend the Soldiers; who will no longer stand in fear of you, if you are in fear of them. You may know this by *Pescennius Niger*, that the Soldiers will never be kept to their Duties, unless the Tribunes and the Captains that are over them, approve themselves before them, good and virtuous Men.

Letters in
his Favour

So much the Emperor *Severus* owned concerning his Rival *Pescennius Niger*, of whom he had gotten the Victory. The Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* hath a Letter to *Cornelius Balbus* concerning him, which says thus.

YOU commend Pescennius to me. I know him. For your Predecessor told me, that he was a brave Man, of an honest Life; and that he was worthy to be promoted to a higher Station. So I have sent Letters, which are to be read at the Head of the Troops, wherein I have ordered him the command of a body of Three Hundred Armenians, One Hundred Sarmatians, and One Thousand of our own Men. It is for me to tell them, that it is not the Ambition of Pescennius, because this is not consonant with our Principles; but it is his Valour and good Manners, which hath raised him to that place, that my Grandfather Hadrian, and my great Grandfather Trajan did never bestow, but upon Persons whose Merits they were most assured.

The Emperor Commodus says thus of the same Person.

Pescennius, I know, he is a Valiant Man; I have employed him Twice as a Tribune, and in a little time, I will advance him to be a General, as soon as the old Age of Aelius Cordus engages him to quit the Service of the State.

These were the Opinions of all Persons therefore about him. Severus had often said he would give him his Life with all his heart, if he would desist from his Enterprize. He was made Consul by the Emperor Commodus, who in that point gave him the precedence even to Severus, at which Severus was disoblige

Severus

Severus says in his own Life, that before that his Sons were come to be of an Age to succeed him, he had intended when he was sick, if he had died, to appoint before all others Pescennius Niger, and Clodius Albinus to be his Successors; though afterwards they were both the one and the other his greatest Enemies. But however, this is an Argument of the good Opinion that once Severus had of Niger.

If we may believe Severus, Pescennius Niger was a Man ambitious of Glory, of a Life close and reserved, and of an advanced Age, when he invaded the Empire; from which last Circumstance he takes the Liberty to blame him, as if himself had come to the Empire much younger; whereas he reigned but Eighteen Years, or thereabouts, and yet died at the Age of Eighty Nine. At the same time that Severus sent Heraclius into Bithynia to secure that Country, he sent Fulvius to go and get into his Custody the Children of Pescennius Niger, who were then in the Flower of their Youth. He took no notice at all of their Father to the Senate, but immediately began an Expedition to compose the State of the East. But withal, he commanded some Legions into Africa, to prevent that Niger should not possess himself of that Quarter, and thereby afflict the People of Rome with a want of the Corn from thence. For though the Passage both by Sea and Land was difficult, yet it did not seem impossible for Niger to do this, especially if he took his way through the Countries of Egypt and Libya.

S 4

In

In the mean time, *Niger* was in the possession of *Greece*, *Thracia* and *Macedonia*, when *Severus* came against him into the *East*. He proposed to *Severus*, that they might be Partners in the Empire, with one another, but this was slighted; on the other hand, *Severus* offered him his Life in Exile, but this *Niger* slighted. So whereas he had put to death several illustrious Persons, *Severus* declared him, together with *Emilianus*, an Enemy. Then the Captains of *Severus* engaged first with *Emilianus*, and beat him. After which they engaged with *Niger* himself, over whom having gotten the Victory, he fled, but mortally wounded; and being taken by a Lake, which is by the City of *Ciziqua*, and brought in the Condition that he was in to *Severus*, he expired presently after.

He is
defeated
and slain.

His Head was carried about upon a Spear, and sent to *Rome*; his Sons killed, his Wife killed, his Estate confiscated, and his whole Family extinguished. But yet it was not till after the News of the Rebellion of *Clodius Albinus*, that all this was done; because till then, the Banishment of his Wife and Children had contented *Severus*; who was made much worse, and much more unmerciful, than he was in this, by the next War he had with *Clodius Albinus*; for then he slew an infinite number of Senators, and some called him an *African Sylla*, some a *Marius*, for all that civil Blood which he spilt.

Pescennius

Pescennius Niger was very tall, and well made as to his Person; his Hair curling up to his Ears, a Voice so very clear and strong, that he could make himself to be heard, when he spoke in the Camp, if the Wind was not against him, a Mile; a modest Countenance, apt to blush; rather fat than meager; loved a Glass of Wine, eat but little; never lay with his Wife but to Conception, and then he abstained, which made him when he was in *Gallia*, be publickly celebrated for his Chastity. In the Arch of the Gallery which is in the Gardens of *Commodus*, we have to this day his Picture done in *Mosaick Work*, amongst the great Friends of that Prince, assisting at the Mysteries of the Goddess *Isis*. *Niger* was therefore a very Excellent Soldier, a Valiant Tribune, a Wise General, an Illustrious Consul; happy in his Affairs at home and Employments abroad; but an unhappy Emperor. He might have been of great use to the State, under such a Prince as *Severus*, if so be that he would have served on his side. But he was misled by the Counsels of *Severus Aurelianus*, who had contracted his Daughters to his Sons, and who for that reason had urged him on, to persist, as much as he could, to make the Empire his own.

We may see how considerable a Man he was by this; that his Authority and his Credit at the Court was so great, that he writ first to the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, and afterwards to *Commodus*, when he perceived how much the Provinces were ruined by making

His Personage.

His Skill
in Civil
Affairs.

making too frequent changes in the Persons who governed them; that in the first place, no President, or Lieutenant, or Proconsul of a Province should be succeeded by another, before the term of Five Years; that when that term was expired, the said Magistrates should give an Account, how they had administered the Power which they had been intrusted with; and then that no Persons who were not of good Extractions, should be admitted to serve in those high Offices of State. Besides this, it was a suggestion of his, that the Assessors attending upon the Governors and other Magistrates of the Provinces, to assist them in Counsel, should be preferred in their turns unto the highest Honours; which was observed afterwards by the Emperor *Severus*, and thenceforward by many others, as appears by the Examples of *Paulus* and *Ulpian*, who had been both Assessors to *Papinian*, and were both of them afterwards, first employed in the Office of Secretaries, the one for the Dispatches, the other for the Registers, and then soon after they were made the Captains of the Guards. It is also from him that no body is an Assessor to a Judge, but in his own Province; and that no one administers that Charge at *Rome*, but what is a Native of the City. He added besides, that there should be Salaries appointed for certain Counsellors, that they might not be a Charge upon those who were the Assessors, because a Judge (he said) was neither to give nor take any thing. As for the Soldiers, he was so

strict

And Military Discipline.

strict upon those, that when some of them who were in Garrison upon the Frontiers in Egypt had asked him for some Wine, he answered, *You have the River Nile there, and do you ask me for Wine?* And certainly, the Water of that River is so sweet and so pleasant, that those of the Country have no desire at all to drink Wine. Others that had been beaten by the *Saracens*, murmuring, and being upon the point of a Sedition, saying, *We have had no Wine to drink, we cannot Fight.* He answered, *For shame, when those that beat you drink Water!* The People of the Province of *Palæstine*, praying, that the Tax which was upon their Lands might be abated, because they cried they were overcharged; he made them Answer, *You would have the Tax taken off of your Lands, but I will tax your very Air that you breathe.*

During that great Commotion of the State, when there were three Emperors set up at one and the same time, that is, *Septimus Severus*, *Pescennius Niger*, and *Clodius Albinus*; the Oracle of *Delphos* was consulted, which of them would be the best for the Publick to carry it. The Oracle answered in some obscure Words in Greek, but which were understood to signify, that *Niger* was the best, *Severus* was well enough, and *Albinus* the worst of the Three. After this, their Curiosity lead them to ask the Oracle, which of the Three then should be the Person that should at last carry it; the Answer was to this effect, *That the White and the Black, that is, Albinus and Niger should be killed, and an African born (which*
Severus

Severus was) should possess the Empire of the World. Then they asked further, who should succeed that *African*, the Oracle answered, That he should be one, who was of the Name of the Pious. Which was not at all understood, till *Bassianus* the eldest Son of *Severus* assumed the Name of *Antoninus*, who was the only Person of the Title of the Pious, and then it was concluded to be meant of *Bassianus*. Lastly, it was asked, how long a time he, who of the Three Competitors carried the Empire, should Reign; and the Answer was to this effect,

*In twice ten Ships he'll ride the Italian Sea,
Or from that Sail, let one deducted be.*

That is, understanding by the *Italian Sea*, the *Roman Commonwealth*; it signified very plainly, that *Severus* should, as he did, Reign about Nineteen or Twenty Years.

This is what I humbly present before your Majesty, O *Dioclesian*, who are the greatest of Emperors, concerning *Pescennius Niger*. I have collected it for the purpose out of several Writings, wherein he comes to be but occasionally mentioned. For as for the entire Lives of Persons, who either have not actually reigned, or have not been declared Emperor by the Senate, or perhaps have been killed before they have establish'd their Fame in the World, it is seldom, as I said in the beginning, that any body dares to write them. Which is the reason that we have none of the Life of *Vindex*, and that we know nothing of the Life of *Piso*; nor almost of all those who either

have

have been only adopted to be *Cæsars*, and no more, or have been barely saluted Emperors by the Soldiers, and no more, as *Anthony* was under *Domitian*; or by being betimes killed, have presently ended their Usurpations, and their Lives together. But yet that I may not seem to omit any thing here, of what relates to this Person, that I can any where find, the Astrologers made this Remark upon him; that neither living nor dead, should he fall into the hands of *Severus*, but that he should perish by the side of a Water. Some say, *Severus* himself had said this of him, by his own Skill in Nativities. Nor was the Prognostication void altogether of Truth, for he was found half alive, and half dead by a Lake.

He had one day observed some Soldiers in an Expedition, drinking out of a Cup of Silver; whereupon he was so strict, that he commanded that all Silver at such times should be cast out of use, and that they should drink out of Vessels of Wood; which however, they did not very well like, because he said, it may possibly be, that the Baggage may fall into the Power of the Enemy; and he would not have it, that the Barbarians should find any such opportunity to set themselves off with our Silver, when there are other things to be carried, which if taken, will give them a less occasion of Glory. He ordered, that no Man upon an Expedition should drink Wine, but that all should content themselves upon a day of Battel with Vinegar. He forbade *Bakers* to follow the Army, being not willing that the Soldiers should

His strict Orders.

should eat any thing that day but Bisket. For the stealing of one Pullet, he had ordered Ten Comerades, that were at the eating of it, tho' only one of them had stoln it, to lose their Heads; which had certainly been executed, but that all the Army interposed for them, in a manner so high, that they were almost in a Mutiny; to prevent which, he moderated his Sentence, and ordered, that the Ten that had eaten together of the Theft, should pay to the Country-man the Price of Ten Pullets, for that One that he had lost. He suffered them not to make Fires to get themselves any hot Meat, but caused them to be contented with dry Bread on something that was cold, and set Spies upon them, to see that it was justly observed. He forbade the Soldiers, when they went to Battel, to keep any Gold or Silver about them in their Pockets, but to trust it in such safe and publick hands, as should restore it again to them faithfully, after the Battel was over; or otherwise pay it to their Children, or Wives and Executors, who should come to demand it; because if any Blow of Fortune should happen, yet he would have no Booty to fall into the hand of the Enemy. All which Orders, by reason of the dissoluteness of the times of Commodus, gained him then but only so much the more ill will. For though no Man made an exacter Commander in his time, than he, yet it redounded rather to his prejudice, till after his Death; when Envy and Malice being laid aside, such sort of Examples were valued.

Upon

Upon every Expedition that he took, he eat himself of the Soldiers Amunition-Bread, and Victuals in publick. He never wore any thing upon his Head to cover him, either against the Sun, or against the Rain, in which he had no Persons like him. He set before them all an Example of Industry in himself and his Servants. For he imposed Burdens of things upon the backs of his Servants, because they should not appear to walk at their ease, whilst the Soldiers were loaded, which might make them envy them. He protested in a Speech that he made to them, that as long as he had been, or should be ever employed in the occasions of War, he should behave himself as freely with them, as if he was a private Man: having always Marius and such great Generals as he before his Eyes, and making his Discourses always of Hannibal and the like. When a certain Person would have recited a Panegyric before him, upon his being saluted Emperor, he said to him, *Write the Praises of Marius or Hannibal, or some such excellent Captain that is dead; and tell us what he hath done, for us to imitate him in: But to praise the Living is a Jest, especially Emperors; from whom there are expectations of all things on the one hand, and fears on the other. They can reward, protect, kill, proscribe; as for me, I desire only to please while I live; when I am dead, then praise me.*

Above all the Emperors, he loved Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Antoninus. The rest, he said, were either

His personal Hardships.

ther effeminate and shadows of Emperors, or they were Vipers. He always was particularly pleased with the Accounts in History of *Camillus*, *Marius*, and *Quintus Martius Coriolanus*. Being asked what he thought of the *Scipio's*; he said, *They were rather happy Men, than great Captains*; which he proved by their domestick Lives and their Youths, which were too loose and too easie in the one and the other. Therefore it is a thing very evident, that if *Pescennius Niger* had gained, and peaceably enjoyed the Empire, he was one who would have amended all things, which *Severus* either could not, or he would not amend; and all this without Cruelty. He would have done it, on the contrary, with great Sweetness, and yet in a manner becoming a Soldier, and without that lenity that is foolish and ridiculous. His House is to be seen at this day at *Rome*, in the *Campus Fovis*, retaining his Name; in which, in one of the Rooms is his Statue, which was set up by *Statius Postumius* in the black Marble of *Thebes*, who had received it from the King of *Thebes*, who had caused it to be done to the Life. Upon the Basis thereof is written an Epigram in Greek to this purpose; *Here stands the Great Niger, the Terror of Egypt, the Allie of Thebes, who had proposed a Golden Age to all. Kings, Nations, Rome it self loved him. He was dear to the Antoninus, and to the whole Empire. As his Name was Niger, (that is, Black) so we have fashioned him in Black, that the Statue and the Person should correspond. Severus would never suffer this Inscription*

scription to be erased, altho' the Captains of his Guards, and others of his great Officers advised him to it. For, says he, if *Pescennius Niger* was so great a Potentate as this makes him, let the World know what a Man we have conquered; if he was not, let them however think, that we have conquered such a Man.

It remains, that now I proceed to an Account of *Clodius Albinus*, who was as it were the Companion of this Person, both in his Rise and Fall. For they both in effect, revolted about the same time against *Severus*, and were both of them overcome and killed by *Severus*. But though the Fortune of *Clodius Albinus* was much what the same, and ran parallel with this of *Pescennius Niger*, yet his Life was sufficiently different.

T

THE

THE
L I F E
O F
CLODIUS ALBINUS,

Dedicated to the
EMPEROR
Constantine the Great.

B Y
JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

AFTER the Death of the Emperor Pertinax, who was killed by an intrigue of *Clodius Albinus*, these Four Persons were proclaimed Emperors almost at one and the same time: *Didius Julianus* by the Senate at Rome, *Septimius*

Severus by the Army in *Illyricum*, *Pescennius Niger* in the East, and *Clodius Albinus* in *Gallia*.

As for *Clodius Albinus*, he was, according to *Herodian*, declared by *Severus* in order to make him his Successor, actually a *Cæsar*. But whilst out of their Envy to one another, the one thought scorn of the other's Reign; and that the Army in *Gallia* on the one hand would not endure *Severus*, nor the Army in *Germany* on the other accept of *Clodius Albinus*, because they were each for their own Prince; all things in all Parts went to confusion.

Clodius Albinus was of an Honourable Roman Family, although born of the Town of *Mambretia* in *Africa*. And being therefore originally an *African*, as well as *Severus*; he was willing to apply himself to the Oracle of *Delphi*, which we have before mentioned in the Life of *Pescennius Niger*; and which said, That an *African* born should possess the Empire of the World. His Ex-
tradition

But before I shall enter further into the Account of his Life or Death, I think fit to take in here a Passage, which is the thing of the World that renders him the most Noble. The Emperor *Commodus* had formerly written a Letter to him, in which he did him the Honour, so long ago, to constitute him a *Cæsar*. The Letter was this.

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The

The Emperor **COMMODUS** to *Clodius Albinus.*

Letter of
Commo-
dus, offer-
ing him
the Title
of Cæsar.

BESIDES the other Letters which I have sent to you, relating to your Successor, and the publick Business; this here is, as you see, all written with my own Hand; a familiar and domestick Letter; in which, I give you leave, when ever you shall see occasion, to go to the Army, and assume to yourself before them the Name and Quality of Cæsar. For I hear, that Septimius Severus, and Nonius Marcus have given ill Accounts of me to their Soldiers; with design, that they may by that means, pave themselves a way to the Throne; so when you do this, you shall have free Power, of presenting the Soldiers with a Donative of three pieces of Gold a Man. Accordingly, I have sent Letters to my Receivers, which will come to you sealed with the Seal of an Amazon, that when you have occasion for that Money, you are to deliver to the said Receivers those Letters, lest otherwise they may not serve you in your demands of Money belonging to the Treasury. And for some illustrious Mark of the Majesty of a Prince, so you so receive, you have the leave of wearing a Cloak of Scarlet, even in my presence; the Purple you shall have when you shall come to visit me, or to be with me, but without its being enriched with Gold, because my Great Grandfather **Albius Verus**, who died young, used it in this manner when Hadrian adopted him Cæsar.

But however, upon the receipt of this Letter, *Clodius Albinus* would by no means offer to take upon him to do what *Commodus* had appointed him, because he was afraid of the Odium that *Commodus* was in, by reason of his Manners, by which he ruined the State, and dishonoured it from day to day, killing the People with both Hands; and because he was afraid besides of being found some time or other in the number of those whom he should order to the same Massacre. In fine, his own Speech, which he made to his Army at the time that they set him up to be Emperor, takes notice of this; and likewise shews, that his advancement to the Empire was what was confirmed, or at least was once pretended to be, confirmed by *Severus* himself, when he called him his Cæsar and his Brother; the Speech was this.

My Fellow Soldiers,

TO shew you that it is contrary to my own Inclination, that I am elevated to the Empire; you cannot have a better Argument of it than this; that I condemn'd the offer of *Commodus*, when that Prince would have created me his Cæsar. But I must obey this day your Will, and the Will of the Emperor *Severus*. And I doubt not, but under so Excellent and so Valiant a Prince as he is, the State will be happily governed.

Nor can it be denied, but that *Severus* did at first intend, as *Marius Maximus* says, if he had died early, to substitute *Pescennius Niger*, and

T 3

Clodius

Clodius Albinus to be his Successors. But afterwards his own Sons growing up, whose Fortunes he had a desire to make, and envying *Albinus* the love which he had amongst the Senators, he changed those Sentiments, and oppressed both *Albinus* and *Niger* by a War, upon which he was more especially urged by the Entreaties of his Wife. This besides he had done for *Albinus*, he made him a Consul, which if he had not believed him to be an extraordinary Person, without doubt he would never have done; so very careful as he was, in the choice that he made of the publick Officers of the Empire.

But to return to the beginning of his Story, *Clodius Albinus* was born, as I said, at the Town of *Mabometa*; but yet that which made him Honourable in the Eyes of all who knew him, was, that he derived his Descent from the Roman Family of the *Posthumii*, and the *Albini Cesonii*, which is at this day very Noble, and hath been much augmented by the Benefactions of your most excellent Majesty, *O Constantine*; and there is reason to believe, that your Majesty will augment it yet much more, as formerly it received a great encrease from the Emperors *Gallienus* and the *Gordiani*. He was born but to a very small Patrimony, of a Father, who was called *Cesonius Posthumus*, and a Mother called *Aurelia Messalina*, to whom he was their first Child. When he was taken from the Birch, instead of having according to the usual manner of other Children new-born, his Flesh red, he was extreme white, and was therefor

therefore called *Albinus*. And that this is true, appears by a Letter of his Father sent on purpose to notify it to *Ælius Bassianus*, the then Proconsul of *Africa*; who, as the same Letter signifies, was a Relation of the Family of the *Albini*, as well as he.

A LETTER of *Cesonius Posthumus*, to *Ælius Bassianus*.

I Had a Son born upon the 7th. of the Calends of December, so white all his Body over; he was whiter than the very Linnen that he was swathed in. I have therefore given him the Name of *Albinus*, and have dedicated him to the Family of the *Albini*, which is common to me with you. I wish you to love him, and to continue, as you do, to love the State, yourself, and us.

He passed all his Infancy in *Africa*, took his Greek and Latin Learning pretty well, but had a Martial Heart, and was of a haughty Disposition by Nature. Amongst the little Boys of his Age, at School, he was often, they say, singing that Verse of *Virgil*,

Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis.

repeating, especially the first part of it, *Arma amens capio*, that is, I am for being a Soldier right or wrong, and come what will. They say, that

Omens of
his Ad-
vance-
ment.

that several things happened after his Birth, which were so many Omens of his future Greatness. And certainly the same day there was born a Calf as white as Snow, with Horns upon his Head, of a deep purple; which Horns were a long time afterwards to be seen in the Temple of *Apollo* at the City of *Cuma*, where himself had bestowed them, when he was a Tribune. Enquiring at the same Temple one day of the Oracle about his Fortune, he was answered in these Verses of *Virgil*,

*Hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
Sistet eques, sternet, Pænos Gallumque rebellantem.*

Accordingly, it is very true, as to what the latter Verse says of the *Gauls*, that *Clodius Albinus* did subdue many Nations of them. Another Omen was this; whilst he was a little Infant, a Fisher-man happened to take a Tortoise which was of a very great bigness, and made a present of it to *Albinus's* Father; who being a Person of some Learning, and looking upon it as a good Sign, accepted it, and ordered the Shell of it to be kept, and set apart for the use of his young Son to wash in; because it was a peculiar Custom in the Imperial Family, for the young Princes to wash in Shells of Tortoises. It was a rare thing, to see Eagles in that place, where *Clodius Albinus* was born; and yet upon the seventh Day after, which was appointed for the Solemnity of giving him his Name, seven young Eagles were taken out of a Nest, and brought to the side

of his Cradle; which his Father, not rejecting the good omen, ordered to be well kept, and that they should take great care of them.

These things therefore, and such others that occurred, were so many assured Presages of his future Elevation; which are more particularly pursued by *Ælius Cordus*; to whom I must refer the Reader, if he shall desire any further satisfaction.

He betook himself to the Army early in his Youth; and became known to the Emperors the *Antoninusses*, by the means of *Lollius* *Serenus*, *Babius* *Mætianus*, and *Cejonius* *Posthumianus*, who were all related to him. He was

some time a Tribune of *Dalmatian* Horse. After that he commanded the First and Fourth Legions. He kept the Army in *Bithynia*, which next he Commanded very well to their Duty, in the time of the Rebellion of *Avidius Cassius*. The Emperor *Commodus* translated him from thence into *Gallia*, where after having defeated some Nations on the other side of the *Rhine*, he gained himself a famous name equally amongst the *Romans*, and amongst the Barbarians: insomuch that it moved *Commodus*, to honour him the more, to offer him the Title of *Cæsar*, with the leave to present the Soldiers with a Bounty upon it, and to wear a Cloak of Scarlet in his presence. All which he prudently, and with great satisfaction declined, as if he suspected, that *Commodus's* design was only to find Persons, whom to involve in his own ruin, and whom to Massacre under some sort of pretence.

He

He had not served in the Office of an *Ædile* above ten days, before he was made a *Quæstor*, and sent with precipitation to the Army: His *Prætorship*, which he passed under the Reign of *Commodus*, was very famous. For to the usual Games, with which he entertained the People, *Commodus* himself added Fights, both upon the Theatre and Amphitheatre. Then the Emperor *Severus* made him a *Consul*; which was done about that time, that he proposed to have called him to his Succession, in Conjunction with *Pescennius Niger*.

He was advanced in years, and even older than *Pescennius Niger*, as *Severus* says, when he was set up to be Emperor. The Senate had a more than ordinary kindness for him, because of the Antiquity of his Family. Therefore *Severus* having changed his first Sentiments, as to the Honour that he had intended to *Pescennius Niger* and him, and resolving to preserve the Empire to his own Children, and having beaten and killed *Pescennius*, he in the next place sent the following Letter to *Clodius Albinus*, which I have met with in *Cædus*, in these Words.

The Emperor *Severus* to *Clodius Albinus*, *Cæsar*, his most beloved and dearest Brother, Greeting.

Pescennius Niger having been vanquished by my Arms, I sent my Letters of it to Rome, which the Senate, who have the greatest Affection for you, received very agreeably. I desire you to assist me in the Government of the State with the same Spirit, by which you make your self to be so beloved; being now become the Brother of my Soul, and my Brother in the Empire. *Bassianus* and *Geta*, salute you. My Wife *Julia* salutes you, and presents her recommendations to her Sisters. Pray preserve the Army in their Duty to the State, and to Us, my Soul, my Dearest, my entirely Beloved.

Now the Persons who were sent with this Letter by *Severus*, being such as had the greatest Affection for his Service, so that he knew he could confide in them; he ordered them to deliver it to *Clodius Albinus* in Publick: but when they had done, they should say, that Treachery they desired privately to speak to him about of *Severus*. Some things, which were of the secrets of the Camp and the Court. And having taken him aside, as if it were only to deliver what they were charged with, five strong Men of their Retinue,

The

Retinue, having Ponyards hid under their Robes, should fall upon him and kill him. And certainly they did not betray the Confidence imposed in them; nor were wanting in their Endeavours to execute their Orders. For when they were come to *Albinus*, and had given him the Letter, which he Read, and had told him that they had some other things in particular to discover to him, which were to be spoken more privately, he took them apart into a long Gallery; but in the mean time they were so over-careful that no other Persons should follow them, pretending as if it were out of a fear lest their Message should be discovered, that *Albinus* began to suspect something; upon which he immediately caused them to be seized, and put them to the Question. Who at first denied it; but being at last forced to yield to the violence of the Torment, they confessed then all that *Severus* had given in Charge to them. Wherefore, *Albinus* being satisfied in the just suspicion that he had conceived, gathered together a great Army, and put himself upon his March with them to make War against *Severus*, and against his Commanders.

In his first Engagement which he had with the Lieutenants of *Severus*, *Albinus* had certainly the better of it. After which *Severus* went in Person against him, having first prevailed with the Senate to adjudge him an Enemy: They fought it very severely on both sides, in *Gallia*, not without always a great variety of Fortune: insomuch that *Severus* was so

so concerned at it, that he thought fit to consult the Opinion of the *Augurs*; who answered him, as *Marius Maximus* says, that *Clodius Albinus* should indeed fall into his Power, but it should be neither living nor dead; and it was so. For when the last Battel was fought, *Albinus*, after an infinite number of his Men were killed, a great many others put to flight, and others taken Prisoners, fled himself; and whether it was that he struck himself through the Body, or whether, as some say, one of his own Slaves, or some of the Soldiers did it, demanding some acknowledgment from him of *Severus*, I cannot say; but he was brought half alive, and half dead to *Severus*; which made good the Prediction. He left one Son, or as *Maximus* says two; to whom at the first *Severus* was pleased to shew favour; but afterwards he ordered them and their Mother to be kill'd, and their Bodies to be thrown into the River. The Head of *Albinus* was cut off, and carried about upon a Javelin, and then sent to *Rome*; accompanied with Letters to the Senate, where in *Severus* insulted them for the Affection which they had a long time born to *Albinus*, and for the Honours and Kindnesses that they had shewn to his Brother and his Relations: but especially his Brother. His Body was exposed in its Gore for several days before the Tent of *Severus*, till it stunk, and then it was torn into pieces by Dogs, and thrown into the River.

As for the Manners of *Clodius Albinus*, they are represented variously. *Severus* says, he was per and deformed with Vices; Malicious, Lewd, Wick-
ed,

ed, Dishonest, Envious, and Luxurious. But it is to be observed, that it was in the time of the War with him, or after, that he speaks so ill of him, which makes it the less to be believed. Because before, he frequently sent Letters to him as his particular Friend, and certainly many People had a much better Opinion than that of him. Besides, that *Severus* himself, had once called him his *Cæsar*, and had set him the first before his Eyes for his Successor. There are also some Letters of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* concerning him, which give a great Testimony of his Virtues and Manners. One of which, written to the Captains of the Guards, it will not be improper, I think, to insert here.

*Antoninus
his good
Opinion
of him.*

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, to the Captains of the Guards, Greeting.

I Have committed two Cohorts to the Command of Albinus, of the Family of the *Cæjonii*; he is an African born, it is true; but he hath not many things in him of that Country, and he is the Son-in-Law of *Plautillus*. A Man of Experience, of a serious Life, and Grave in his Manners. I think he will do good in the Camp. I am sure he will do no hurt. I have doubled his Salary, and quadrupled his other Allowances: Do you encourage him to signalize his Services; and assure him he shall be rewarded as he deserves.

Another

Another Letter, which the same Prince writ in the time of *Avidius Cassius* concerning him, is this.

THE Fidelity of Albinus is to be commended: who when the Forces in Bithynia were upon the Revolt, and upon flying over to *Avidius Cassius*, (as certainly they had all done, if he had not been with them) was very careful in preserving them in their Duty. We think therefore that he deserves a Consulship. I shall accordingly substitute him in the place of *Cassius Papirius*, who I am told is so sick, that there is no appearance of his Recovery; But I would not have you to take notice of it, before he is dead; lest it may come to the Ears either of *Papirius* himself, or his Friends; which would not look so well.

These two Letters therefore make it appear that *Clodius Albinus* was an useful Person. And certainly his sending of Money towards the restoration of those Cities, which had been laid waste by *Pescennius Niger*, is another great Argument of a Publick Spirit, and what had gained him Friends amongst the Inhabitants there. *Ælius Gordus*, pretends at the same time to say, that he was such a Glutton, that particularly he would eat more Fruit at a time, than it is possible to imagine. He says, that

that he has eaten, at a Breakfast five hundred Figs, one hundred Peaches, ten Melons, twenty Bunches of Grapes, a hundred of the little Birds called *Baccasico's* or Fig-Peckers, and four hundred Oysters. But yet he says that he drank but little; in which *Severus* does not agree with him; for he tells us that he drank to excess, even in the time of the War. And whether it was because of this his great drinking, which *Severus* charges him with; or because of his Moroseness of Humour, it is said, he never lived well with his Family: but was very disagreeable to his Wife, and unjust to his Servants; as well as hard upon the Soldiers. As to which latter, he many times crucified Centurions, when there hath been as good as no occasion given for it. He beat others often with Rods, and pardoned not the least fault. He was proper in his Cloaths, and as improper in his Repasts; in which he minded nothing but Abundance. He was a great lover of a Mistress, but not at all of a Bardaccio; being so far from that, that he severely punished it upon such as were. He was perfectly well skilled in Agriculture; in so much that he writ a Book of *Georgicks*.

He was as much beloved by the Senate as any Prince ever was: but the great occasion of it was, their mortal hatred to *Severus*, which they had against him upon the account of his Cruelty. Therefore as many of them, as either were, or such as were but suspected to have been of *Albinus's* side, he put to death after the Victory. He ordered the Letters of *Albinus*

will

was to be searched, to discover his Correspondents: and all that he found whatever, he first caused them to be declared Enemies by the Senate; then put them without mercy to death, and Confiscated their Estates into the Treasury.

There is a Letter, which he writ to the Senate, that shews his very Soul, as to these things; a Copy whereof is as follows.

CAN any thing oblige me more, Fathers of the Senate, than to hear that *Albinus* should have your good Opinions, rather than *Severus*. With great care I have furnished the State with Corn, and have maintained several Wars for the State, and have supplied the People of Rome with more Oil than the World scarce ever beheld: and by my overcoming *Pescennius Niger* I have delivered you from the miseries of a Tyranny. Indeed you have made on your part a great return to me for all this. For here's a Man, who is not only an African as my self, but one of the poor Town of Mahometa, and only because he pretends to derive his blood from the Roman *Cejonii*, you have extolled him so far, that you would have him to be your Emperor, whilst as yet I am upon the Throne, and my self and my Children are in safety. Was the noble Senate at a loss I pray, for a Prince whom you ought to love, and who loves you? Because from this Man you hope perhaps to be made Consuls, to be made Prators, and what not, therefore you

U have

have for your better Interests in him conferred Honours upon his Brother. Which is not to make that return to me, as was formerly done by your Ancestors against the Faction of Piso; nor as it was lately done to the Emperor Marcus Antoninus against the Rebellion of Avidius Cassius. But you have preferred a Man to me, who is a deceiver, who tells you nothing but lies, and does but impose upon you in the matter of his Nobility. Statilius Corfulenus undoubtedly must be heard by the Senate to his Motion, that they would please to decree some Honours to Albinus, and to his Brother. In the mean time I should think, that that Noble Person had forgot himself, that he did not decree a Triumph for me in my turn. It troubles me more than all, that so many amongst you should think that Albinus is to be commended for a Man of Letters, who spent all his time in Apuleius, and those Ludicrous Pieces, which are no better than some Ditties of the old Wives.

By this it is to be seen how eager Severus was, and how he always blamed the Factions both of Pescennius Niger, and of Clodius Albinus; of all which, if any one desires a more particular account, let him read Marius Maximus for the Writers in the Latin Tongue, and Herodian for the Greek, who have delivered great many things very faithfully.

His Personage.

Clodius Albinus was Tall, his Hair naturally Curling, full Visaged, but withal so wonderfully fair and clear in Complexion, that most thought he took the the name of White, that

Albinus

Albinus, from nothing else. He had an Effeminate Voice, as shrill almost as an Eunuchs. He had an easie meen; but yet he was ill to be angred, and worse to be opposed. He was changeable in his Luxury; for many times he would Drink, and many times again Abstain. He was perfectly brave for Arms; one may, not improperly, call him the *Cariline* of his time. As for what remains, it will not, I think, be amiss to shew how it was that he gain'd himself so much of the love of the Senate. Reason of his Popularity. Whilst he Commanded the Army in Great Britain by the orders of Commodus, a Report came; but yet it was false at that time, that that Prince was killed; upon which occasion he came to the Head of the Army, and Harangued them thus.

If the Senate, and the People of Rome had evermore retained their antient Empire; and that a State so great had never been submitted to the power of a single Person, there had been no Vittelius, no Nero, no Domitian, to have fallen by the Stroke of an Assassine. And then it was during the time of the Consular Government, that those Families flourished, of the Cejonii, the Albinii, and the Posthumii: of whom your Fathers have many things to say, which they have heard from their Grandfathers before them. Certainly it was the Senate that annexed Africa to the Roman Empire. The Senate subdued Gallia and Spain. The Senate gave Laws to the Provinces of the East. The Senate had often attempted the

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Parthians;

Parthians, and had reduced them, if so Covetous a General as Crassus, had not then been at the Head of the Roman Army. It was when Caesar was a Senator, that he conquered Great Britain: at least he had not been declared Dictator then. And how much better had it been for Commodus himself, if he had stood in fear of the Senate. Their Authority held good, as far as to the times of Nero; being not afraid to condemn that sordid and impure Prince, nor to pronounce their Judgments against him, though he then had the full Power of Life and Death in his hands. Wherefore, my Fellow Soldiers; I for my part, who have had the Title of Caesar conferred upon me by Commodus, renounce that pretension, and the Gods grant that others may do so too. Let the Senate Reign, and distribute the Provinces. Let the Senate make us Consuls: or why do I say the Senate? Let your selves, and your Fathers. For your selves will also be Senators.

- This Speech was brought to Rome, whilst Commodus was yet living; who was so moved by it against the Author, that he presently sent to turn him out, and gave his Place to Junius Severus, who was one of his Guards. However the Senate was pleased with the Speech, and as well before as after Commodus was killed, they honoured Albinus in his absence with extraordinary Acclamations; so that some of them advised Pertinax, to take him for his Colleague in the Empire: in whole

Whose sudden Fall afterwards the Authority of this Person was very considerable; being provoked to it by a turn of Affairs, for the understanding of which I shall add a Letter of Commodus to his Captains of the Guards, wherein he signifies his mind as to the killing of Clodius Albinus, thus.

Aurelius Commodus, to the Captains of his Guards, Greeting.

I Suppose you have heard, How that first of all it was pretended, that I by the Conspiracy of those about me was killed; and then that Clodius Albinus made an Harangue to my Soldiers upon that occasion, in which he recommends himself mightily to the Senate, not without a design thereby, as I suppose, of advancing himself to the Empire. For he that is against the Government of the Empire by one Prince, and says that it ought wholly to be Governed by the Senate, seeks but to get the Empire to himself through the favour of the Senate. Look to him therefore very strictly. For this shews he is a Man to be avoided as Death; and so are all such who carry on designs to your prejudice.

Now Pertinax, who was advised to chuse Albinus for his Partner in the Empire, and did not do so, falling upon this Letter, published

it to bring an *Odium* upon the Person that he had thought fit to refuse. In revenge whereof *Albinus* sat so close upon his Skirts, that he was the Author of the design against the life of *Pertinax*, in favour of the Succession of *Didius Julianus*.

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR

Bassianus Antoninus Caracallus.

By ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS.

THE Emperor *Septimius Severus* left two Sons, *Bassianus* and *Geta*. The first and eldest had the name given him of *Bassianus Antoninus*, and was Created a *Cæsar* by his Father; the other had the name given him of *Geta Antoninus*, and was declared a *Cæsar* by the Army. The first succeeded to enjoy the Throne; the other was quickly adjudged an Enemy, and murdered by his Brother: concerning whose Ancestors I think it in vain to make any repetition here, because I have said enough upon that Head, in the account of the Life of their Father.

His Character when a Youth.

Bassianus Antoninus was when he was a youth and under the Tutelage of his Parents, endearing, ingenious, dutiful to them, obliging to all others, acceptable to the People, and to the Senate, and ready to offer at any thing to ingratiate himself. He was not slow at his Learning. He was not sparing of his Bounty. He was not negligent in giving Marks of his Clemency. If he was present, whenever any condemned Persons were thrown to the Beasts, he either wept, or turned away his Eyes from the Sight, which was an extraordinary pleasing thing to the People. When he was a Boy of seven Years old, and saw another Boy who was his Play-fellow beaten severely for making profession of the Christian Religion, he was a long time out of humour both with his own, and with the Boy's Father, and all such as were the occasion of the Boy's beating. He obtained that the Cities of *Antioch* and *Constantinople* should be restored to their antient Rights, by his interposition in their behalf with his Father, under whose displeasure they had fallen, for assisting in the Rebellion of *Pescennius Niger*. He conceived a hatred against *Plautianus*, because of his Cruelty. If his Parents had presented him with things, as is usual to do, about the Feast of *Saturn*, he gave them away again of himself to either his Masters or his Servants. All which good Qualities made up his Character when a Youth.

And when a Man,

But afterwards, as he grew more a Man, whether it was by the suggestions of his Father, or whether he did it of his own head, because

he thought to equalize himself with *Alexander the Great*, of *Macedonia*, he turned very reserved and grave, and affected such a fierceness in his Countenance, that many who knew him a Boy, could scarce believe him to be the same Person. He had always *Alexander the Great* in his Mouth. He was often in publick Company praising *Tiberius* and *Sylla*. He was prouder than his Father, who was one that was high enough, and he despised his Brother *Geta*, because of his great Modesty. Wherefore after the Death of his Father, he came to the Camp of the Guards, and complained that *Geta* had been in a Conspiracy against him, for which he had caused him to be put to death in the Palace, and his Body to be immediately burnt. He told them particularly, that he had designed to poison him, and that he had been undutiful also to his Mother; concluding, that to engage them to be the more faithful to himself, he presented them with a Bounty. There was another encampment at this time, near the City of *Albano*, where the Murder of *Geta* was highly resented; all the Soldiers saying, that as it was to both the Sons of *Severus* equally, that they promised Fidelity, so they ought to keep to them both, refusing to open their Gates; so that *Bassianus* was a long time in getting entrance to them, nor could he cool them at last, but with the finest words and promises of what a prodigious Bounty he would give them; as this way seldom fails of quieting the Heats of Soldiers. From thence he returned to *Rome*, where he came to the Senate

Puts his Brother to death.

Senate in a Cuirass under his Robes, and his Soldiers in Arms guarding him, whom he placed in Files in the middle betwixt the Seats, and made his Speech; in which he much complained of the evil designs of his Brother against his Life, to whom he said, to charge his Memory, and excuse himself, he had been so kind, and that he had denied him nothing, and had delivered him from the dangers that he had been in; but instead of having a due Sense of these Favours, he had attempted his Life, and had not answered his good Intentions. But yet he uttered all this confusedly, and with such an ill Grace, that the Senate did not very well accept what he said.

After this Speech, he declared, that it was his pleasure to restore all that were in exile to the Liberties of their Country again; and then from the Senate he return'd to the Guards, and lay in the Camp. The next day he came to the Capitol; from the Capitol he repair'd to the Palace-Royal, supported by *Papinian* and *Chilo*. In the mean time, those that he had a design to murder, he bespoke himself the most kindly to. He had observed the Mother of *Geta*, with other Women, weeping bitterly, and had it not been that he was restrained with the Sense, that it would make the Cruelty of his Brother's Murder look much worse, he was for putting them all to Death. He sent Poyson to *Latrus*, and obliged him to take it; who, as he was the first of those that had persuaded him to the Murder of *Geta*, was the first that fell a Sacrifice to his Ghost.

He

He afterwards often pretended to lament *Geta's* Death, and killed several that had been privy to it, and honoured his Memory and his Image. He had sent a Present to one, that was his Cousin German, an *African* by Nation, but the day before that he ordered him to killed; who throwing himself down from a Window to escape his Persecutors, broke his Leg, but yet had crept to his Wife, where they took him, and afterwards made a very sport of killing him. He put to death *Pompeianus*, the Grandson of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, and the Son of that *Pompeianus*, to whom *Lucilla* married, after the Death of the Emperor *Verus*, who had made him a Consul twice, and had intrusted him with the Command of his Armies in all his Wars. The way which he took to do this Murder, was, he ordered him to be set upon as it were by Thieves.

His many Cruelties.

Papinian was executed in his presence by the Soldiers, with an Axe; and after it was done, he said to the Murderer, *You ought according to my Order, to have done it with a Sword.* *Petronius* was killed by his Command before the Temple of *Antoninus Pius*, and both the Bodies of the one and the other were dragged about the Streets, without any regard to humanity. He put to death the Son of *Papinian*, who but three days before had treated the City with a magnificent Shew, upon his entrance into the Office of a Questor. An infinite Number of others were killed upon the same days, who had favoured the side of *Geta*. The Servants that had waited upon him. In all places,

places, and in the very Baths, were there Massacres committed upon some as they were at their Suppers; amongst whom was *Sammonicus Severus*, who is known by his many Learned Books. *Chilo* who was twice Captain of the Guards and Consul, was in the greatest danger, for only having advised the two Brothers to an agreement with one another. For the Soldiers had stript him, and were hurrying him away to the Execution when further Orders came to spare him. He put to death *Helvius Pertinax*, for no other reason, but because he was the Son of an Emperor. He never ceased to kill, upon some occasion or other, those who had been his Brother's Friends. He frequently and proudly inveighed both against the Senate and the People, not forbearing to value himself one day, because he was another *Sylla*.

Then he went into *Gallia*, whither he was no sooner come, than he put to death the Proconsul of the *Narbonnoise*. He made such a havock, and such a confusion amongst the Magistrates of this Province; that he was as much hated, as the most outrageous Tyrant ever was. Sometimes nevertheless he would disguise his sanguinary and cruel Nature, and pretend to be gracious. He did a great many things here against the Rights of the Country, and the People. And then he was taken with a great sickness, and yet he was afterwards very cruel to those who even recovered him. Next he prepared himself for an Expedition into the East, and so came into *Dacia*. He slew

His Dacian Expedition.

great Numbers of the Barbarians about the Country of *Rhaetia*, encouraging on his Soldiers, and gratifying them with his Bounty, as if they were the Soldiers of a *Sylla*. He suffered not himself to be called indeed by the Name of any God, as *Commodus* was, whom they called a *Hercules*, because of his killing a Lyon, and other Wild Beasts. But having received a Victory over the *Germans*, he called himself *Germanicus*, without any regard to the nearness of that Name to *Germanus*, that is, his own Brother whom he had killed. And had he, he said, overcome the *Lucani*, he would have been called *Lucanicus*, although it is a word which in another Sense, signifies an Action of Dishonour. He put to death such as had but made Water in the place, where stand the Statues or the Images of the Emperor; or had taken off the Crowns from the Heads of any Images to place them elsewhere, or used Amulets about their Necks, for Charms against *Quartan* and *Tertian* Agues. He took his way by *Thrace*, in company with the Captain of the Guards; and thence crossing the Sea into *Asia*, his Sail-yard broke, and he was in danger to be wreckt, had he not gotten into the Pinnacle, and so was taken into a stout Vessel, where the Admiral was that convoy'd him. He often with his Sword in hand, hath stood a Combate with Wild Boars. Once he fought a Lyon, of which he gloried much in his Letters, which he sent to his Friends, and boasted, that he was arrived to the Power of *Hercules*.

Coming

His Bar-
barities in
Egypt.

Coming into *Asia*, he applied himself to the matter of the War with the *Armenians* and *Parthians*, in which he appointed a General to command, who was of the same Kidney with himself. He went to *Alexandria*, where assembling the People together in the Schools, he made a sharp Speech to them, and commanded a draught of the stoutest Men to be made out of them for Recruits, as he pretended, for his Forces. But when this was done, he put them all to the Sword, after the Example of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, the Eighth of that Name, King of *Egypt*, who had practised the like Barbarity. At the same time, upon a signal given to his Soldiers, they fell every one upon his own Host and murdered him, and committed a vast slaughter throughout the City of *Alexandria*. Afterwards he marched against the *Parthians*, by the Borders of the People called *Cadusii*, and the Country of *Babylon*; and coming to a tumultuary Engagement with them, he let loose amongst them Wild Beasts; after which he sent his Dispatches about it to the Senate, to the end, to obtain the Title of Conqueror of the *Parthians*, as if he had gotten never so great a Victory. He was preparing himself for another Campaign, when going from the City of *Rhea* in *Mesopotamia*, where he wintered, to *Heren* or *Charan*, to assist at the Worship of the Moon, and by the way, alighting from his Horse to make Water, he was stabbed the same moment upon the Eighth of the Ides of *April*, being his Birth-Day, and the Festival of *Cybele*, by a Conspiracy

spiracy, which was laid for the purpose by *Macrinus* the Captain of the Guards, who invaded the Empire after him. Those who were privy to the same besides, were *Nemesianus*, and his Brother *Apollinaris*, and *Rhetianus* who commanded the second Legion; nor was the design unknown to *Martius Agrippa* the Admiral, nor to a great many other principal Officers, who had been brought into it by the instigation, especially, of one *Martial* a Centurion.

He was killed in the midway, betwixt the Cities of *Rhea* and *Heren*, where he had an occasion to alight, as I said, from his Horse. The Guards were of the number of the Conspirators; and so as the Quirry lifted him up to his Horse again, he struck him into the Body with a Dagger.

Now concerning the Death of *Papinian*, I *Papinian's Death.* know very well, that it is variously represented by a great many, as if they did not know the real cause it. However, I think fit to publish what to me seems to be the Truth, rather than I will be silent upon the Murder of so great a Person. *Papinian*, it is said, was one in very great Favour with the Emperor *Septimius Severus*, to whom, some add, that he was somewhat akin by his second Wife. Therefore *Severus* had recommended unto him the Care of his two Sons, whom accordingly he exhorted to a good Agreement with one another, and so interposed against the Murder of *Geta*. But for this, he, together with the rest who were Favourers of *Geta*, was killed by the express

express Order of *Bassianus*, who, as some further add, had desired *Papinian* to extenuate for him, to the Senate and the People the death of *Geta*. But *Papinian* answered; *That it was not so easie to excuse a Murder, as it was to commit it.* They say also that *Papinian* did decline to dictate the Speech, in which *Bassianus* was to inveigh against his Brother, to the end, to render his own Cause the better in killing him; and that *Papinian* said, that, to accuse the Innocent, who had been murdered, was in the nature of another Murder. But all this however, does not very well agree. Because it was not for the Captain of the Guards to form the Emperor's Speeches; and then it is certain that *Papinian* was for no other reason killed, but as he was a Fautor of *Geta*. As the Soldiers were hurrying him away to his Execution, he said, *That he should be very imprudent, who was the Captain of the Guards after him, if he did not severely revenge the Cruelty that was shewn to his place.* Which was afterwards done. For *Macrinus* his Successor, was the Author of the Death of *Bassianus*, and was afterwards himself made Emperor in the Camp; whose Son *Diadumenus*, was immediately new named *Antoninus Diadumenus*, to gratify the Soldiers, because the name of an *Antoninus* was so dear to them.

Bassianus Antoninus Caracallus lived Forty Three Years, and reigned Six. He was Nobly buried, and left a Son, who was afterwards called *Varus Antoninus Heliogabalus*; the dear Name of *Antoninus* being so fixt in the

Hearts

Hearts of Men, that it was no more to be removed, than that of *Augustus* from the Person of the Emperor. He was a Prince of ill manners, and crueller than his too cruel Father. He eat and drank freely, but was hated by his Servants, and by all the Men of the Sword, only the Guards. The Works which he left behind him at *Rome* were, the famous Baths of his own Name, in which there is one Room so Curious, that the Architects say, it is altogether inimitable. He left also a Portico of the Name of his Father, representing the principal Actions of his Father's Life, with his Wars and Triumphs. He received the Name of *Caracallus* from a Garment so called, which he first brought up and gave to the People of *Rome* for a Bounty. He repaired the *Via Nova*, which is below his Baths, so well, that you will scarce find a Street in *Rome*, that is fairer than it. He erected stately Temples in all places to the Honour of the Goddess *Isis*, whose Sacrifices he celebrated with much greater Reverence than ever had been used before at *Rome*. His Body was interred in the Sepulchre of the *Antoninus's*, that the same place should receive his Reliques, which had given him that Name.

It is now fit that I should relate how it is said that he came to marry his Mother-in-Law, *Julia*; she was very handsome, and as she happen'd one day in negligence, to discover her Body a little naked; *Ab, Madam*, said he to her, *I would, if I might.* Sir, said she again, *if you please, you can; you are an Emperor, and*

X

10

His incestuous Marriage.

to give Laws to all the World, and not take them from any. He no sooner had understood the sense of those Words, but his unbridled Passion led him to resolve upon the accomplishment of the Crime, and so he really celebrated those Nuptials with her, which were in effect the same, as to take to Wife his own Mother, and to add Incest with his Mother, to the Murder of his Brother. It will not be improper here to remark a very piquant thing, which was said of him. As he had ascribed to himself the Titles in his stile of *Germanicus, Parthicus, Arabicus, and Alemannicus*, because of his Conquests over the Germans, and those other Nations; *Helvius Pertinax*, the Son of the Emperor *Pertinax*, (imiling said) *His Majesty might be pleased to add Geticus Maximus*: In which word *Geticus*, there is an equivocation, with a double relation to *Geta* his Brother, whom he had killed; and with relation to the *Goths*, called *Getae*, whom he had overcome in some running Fights, in his passage into the *East*.

The Death of *Geta* was prognosticated by several Prodigies, as we shall shew by and by in his own Life, which follows. In the meantime we shall only observe farther, that formerly, when the Army had proposed *Bassianus Antoninus* to march at the Head of them, in the place of *Severus* his Father, who was so sick of the Gout, that he could not well follow the War; *Severus* was then for putting to death the his Son *Bassianus*, if the Captains of the Guards had not over-persuaded him against it. On the

the contrary, others say, that the Captains of the Guards were for punishing *Bassianus* with Death; but that his Father was against it; because he was not willing, that the foolish Rashness of a young Man should be reſented ſo ſeverely, as for his own Father to kill him, when the Soldiers rather were the great occasions of the Crime. However it is, this most cruel Prince *Bassianus Antoninus Caracallus*, who in a word was a Parricide, Incestuous, an Enemy of his Father, Mother, and Brother, was yet by *Magrinus* that killed him, out of fear of the Soldiers, and especially those of the Guards, after his Death made a God. A Temple was given him, and an Order of Priests appointed to serve him. Even the Temple of *Faustina*, built by *Marcus Antoninus* at the Foot of the Mountain *Taurus*, was re-dedicated to him; and his Son *Antoninus Heliogabalus*, translated the same again afterwards, to either *Jupiter Syrius*, or the Sun, or himself, but to which of the Three, I cannot very well assert.

THE
LIFE
OF
ANTONINUS GETA

BY
ÆLIUS SPARTIANUS.

Dedicated to the

EMPEROR
Constantine the Great.

I Am sensible, Sir, that your Majesty, with many others, may perhaps admire, why I do take in here the Life of *Geta Antoninus*. For indeed, I must confess that there is not much to be said of him, because he was called out of the World, as soon almost as he came upon



upon the Throne as a Partner with his Brother, however I shall observe, that he had the name of *Antoninus* given him, no less than his Brother, by the Order of the Emperor *Severus*, his Father; and the reason of it, which I shall premise, before I proceed further, was this. His Father sometime, had had a Dream, that he should be succeeded by an *Antoninus*. Upon which he immediately went to his Soldiers, and at the head of them gave his eldest Son *Bassianus*, the name of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus*. And when he had done this, whether it was out-of his Paternal Affection unto *Geta*, or whether it was that *Julia* his Wife, who knew the Dream, had put him upon it, because *Geta* should not be altogether precluded Access to the Empire, he ordered that he also should be called by the name of *Antoninus Geta*: and always in his familiar Letters, which he writ afterwards in his absence to his Friends, he said of them both equally, *Salute from me my Antoninusses, my Sons, and my Successors*. But yet however all this Caution of neither the Father, nor the Mother availed any thing. For only the elder possessed the Empire, who was the first honoured with the name *Antoninus*.

*Occasion
of his
Names.*

His other name of *Geta* was what he had from either his Father's Brother, or from his Grandfather, whose names were *Geta*. There were yet other reasons for the addition of that name of *Antoninus*, to this of *Geta*. *Severus* would have had it to be a Rule, that all Princes in the time to come should be Entitled *Antonini*,

in the same manner as they are *Augusti*; Which was the effect of his great love to the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, whose Son he was pleased to call himself, and whose Wisdom and the Precepts of his Philosophy he always endeavoured to imitate. And not only the effect of his love to that Prince, who was an *Antoninus* but by Adoption, but of his Love and Honour also to *Antoninus Pius* the Successour of *Hadrian*; by reason, that it was *Antoninus Pius*, who had preferred him from a Practicer in the Law to be the *Keeper of the Exchequer*; which was a happy Rise to him, and which had opened him the way to those great Advantages, that afterwards he came to attain unto: who thought therefore, that he could not borrow a name from any Prince better, than from one whose Reign had been so happy; nor a name more honourable than that, that had already run through four Emperors. Being skillful in the Doctrine of Astrology, as many of the *Africans* generally are, he said one day, because he knew the Nativity of *Geta*; *I admire, dear Juvenalis*, (who was the Captain of the Guards to him) *to think, that my Geta shall be a God, in whose Nativity I see nothing to make him an Emperor*. Nor did his skill at all deceive him; for after *Geta* had been killed by his Brother, and his Brother apprehended that he had drawn upon himself the hatred of a Tyrant by the Crime, he understanding that it would be sweetned if he did but declare *Geta* a God, cried, *Sit Divus dum not sit Virus*; *Let him be a God,*

a God, so he is not an Emperor; and so he Consecrated him; by which the Murderer in some measure retrieved to himself the good Grace of the People again.

Geta Antoninus, was born at the City of *Milan*, under the Consulships of *Severus* and *Vitellius*, upon the sixth of the Calends of *June*. His Mother was *Julia*; who was *Severus's* second Wife, being her whom he had chosen to Marry, because he had heard, that she had it in her Nativity to be the Wife of a King; though himself was at that time a private Person, only in a good Employment in the State. As soon as he was born, it was told by one that a Hen had laid an Egg in the House, which was of a *Purple* colour. So the Egg was brought up; but *Bassianus* taking it in his hands and letting it fall, like a Child, to the Ground, that it brake, *Julia* said to him laughing, *You wicked Villain, you have killed your Brother*. *Severus* took more notice of this Expression at that time, than any other Body: but afterwards all the Company looked upon it as a thing spoken, as it were, by Inspiration. Another Omen that happened was this: upon the same day, and in the same hour that *Geta* was born, a Plebeian of the name of *Antoninus*, had at his Farm in the Country a Lamb kidded, with a mark upon his Head of the colour of *Purple*: and being informed by a Soothsayer, that an *Antoninus* should succeed to the Empire after *Severus*, he very fondly interpreted it of himself; but however killed the Lamb (in which consisted the

Good and
bad O-
mens,

sign of the death of *Geta*) for fear that the Omen of so high a Fortune should bring him into danger. I would add one thing more, which the Event made People to interpret to the same purpose; which is, that when *Severus* one day Celebrated the Birth of *Geta*, his Brother *Bassianus* killed the Sacrifice himself, in the place of the Priest. A Circumstance not then considered nor taken notice of; but it was afterwards very well understood, when that Brother had sacrificed his Brother.

His Personage and Conditions.

Geta, was in his temper a rough sort of a Youth; though not to a Fault; handsome, a little eager, a lover of delicious Wines and good Chear. There is this Story of him, which is remarkable, when he was a Boy. His Father the Emperor *Severus* being for Eradicating wholly the Parties that opposed him, said once to his Sons, I do but rid you of your Enemies. So *Bassianus* advised him to cut them off all Root and Branch; them and their Children: but *Geta* askt the question, how many of them they were? His Father telling him, says he again, *Have they Parents and Relations living?* Yes. Then, says he, *there will be more People in Rome sorry for your Victory, than there will be that are glad of it.* And certainly *Geta's* Opinion had carried it, had not *Plautianus* the Captain of Guards, and *Juvenal* who had great interests, insisted upon the contrary, in hopes of enriching themselves by the Confiscation of the Estates: which was again seconded by the excessive Cruelty of *Bassianus*, who persisting in his first Opinion, and say-

ing,

ing, *He would have them all cut off; them and their Children;* says *Geta* to him; *You, who spare no Body, would kill your own Brother.* Which, as then spoken, signified nothing: but afterwards it appeared to be a sort of a Prophecie.

He had an excellent Memory to improve himself by what he read in the Antients, and by what his Father taught him. His Brother had always hated him; but he was more beloved by his Mother *Julia*, than ever *Bassianus* was by his. He spoke agreeably, though something Stammering: he was curious in his Dress, to excess: and whatever was presented him, he applied it to his own Ornament, without giving it away to any body living. After the *Parthian War*, at what time his Father flourished in great glory, as *Bassianus* was declared a Partner in the Empire with his Father, so *Geta* was Created a *Cæsar*, and honoured with the name of *Antoninus Geta*. It was an usual diversion with him to propose to the Grammarians, Questions about the several Cries and Voices of Animals, *As the Sheep Bleats, the Swine Grunts, the Dove Coos, the Lion Roars, the Elephant Brays, the Frog Croaks, the Horse Whinnies, the Ass Brays, the Ox Lows;* and to prove the use of the proper Latin Terms for each, out of the Antients. He read much in the Books of *Serenus Sammonicus*, written to *Antoninus*. As to the Table, he took a pleasure to observe an *Alphabet*; according to which, as every Letter came on each day in its Course, his Servants that knew it, and were well skilled in the

Arts

Arts of eating, provided things of the names, beginning with that Letter. As for example, for the Letter P. *Puddings Plover, Pullet, Partridge, Peacock, Pig, Pisco, Plumbs*, and so upon other days for the other Letters in order. Which is an Argument that from his Youth he had a gay choice of things, and was a very pleasant Person.

After he was killed by his Brother, a Party of the Soldiers who had not been Corrupted, resented his Murder very ill; saying all of them, *That they had promised Fidelity to the two Sons of Severus, and ought to keep it equally to them both.* Accordingly they kept fast the Passes of their Camp; and refused to give entrance to *Bassianus*, till he had flattered them up, and had appeased their Heats by giving them a Bounty, which was vastly great. After this *Papinian*, and many others were Massacred, who had either encouraged the good agreement of the two Brothers, or had appeared to be of the Side of *Geta*. Persons of Quality of both the Senatorian and the Equestrian Orders were Butchered, up and down publickly in the Baths and other places. *Papinian* died by the Axe; *Bassianus* finding fault with the Executioner that he had not done it with a Sword. In the mean time he was so afraid of his own Person, that he wore a Coat of Mail under his Purple, when he went to the Senate, to give them an account of what he did, and of the death of *Geta*. At which time, as *Fauslinus* the Prætor repeated the Imperial Style, saying, *Sarmaticus Maximus*, and *Parthicus Maximus*, Titles which

which *Bassianus* had gained by his Victories over the *Sarmatae* and the *Parthians*, *Helvius Pertinax*, the Son of the Emperor of that name, suggested it to him to say, and add to the rest *Geticus Maximus*; as if he meant it, in relation to his Victories over the *Gorbs*, who were then called *Getae*; but there was an Equivocation in the Word; for it also referred to the Murder of his Brother *Geta*. This sunk deep into the Breast of *Bassianus*, as it appeared afterwards by his putting to death the Author, and not him only, but those others, as I have said above. More particularly, as to *Helvius Pertinax*, he was willing to cut him off, upon the account that he was in the good esteem of all the World; and then besides he was the Son of an Emperor, which it self was no very safe Circumstance for a private Person.

The Funeral of *Antoninus Geta* was so very *His so-*
Fine, that one would not have thought the *lemn Fu-*
same Brother that buried him, had killed him. *neral.*
He was buried in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors, that is to say, of *Severus* his Father, which is upon the *Appian* way. In fine it is to be observed, that the Caresses of *Antoninus Caracallus Bassianus*, were more to be dreaded than his Frowns. He had an unaccountable Quality with him, to speak the fairest and the kindest to those in appearance, whom he resolved to destroy. And again, it was a Miracle to all to see him lament, as he did, the death of *Geta*, as often as his name was mentioned, or his Picture, or his Statue came in sight. He was therefore a Man of many Windings

Windings and Turnings in his Humour ; and this being accompanied with as much Cruelty as if he thirsted after Blood, it made him, that he would one time Massacre the Friends, another time the Enemies of *Geta*, as Fortune offered them to him ; so that the loss of *Geta*, by the same means, became lamented more and more.

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
OPILIUS MACRINUS.
Dedicated to the
EMPEROR
DIOCLESIAN.

THE

By JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

When Princes, either have not sat very long upon the *Roman* Throne, or have not been Persons of any extraordinary Characters before their Accession to it, so that there is but little to be said of their Reigns, for the shortness of them,

them, and less perhaps of their private Lives, in which they might never have been known, if they had not aspired to the Empire; it is not to be admired if their Memories should sometimes lye buried in obscurity. Therefore for my part, what I can find, that I do think may be deserving to be committed to Posterity, and worthy to be related out of the accounts of divers Historians, I shall produce it to the World; apprehending this to be the Duty of him, who proposes to write the Lives of others; that is, not to recount every thing that a Man does, but with Judgment to make a Choice of what is more particularly deserving of Memory. So that I should think, that *Ælius Furius Cordus*, who hath taken the Pains to publish the Lives of those Emperors, whom he believes to be more obscure and less known than others, hath not yet acquitted himself of his Design with the greatest Success. Because as short as he is, he hath yet reported things that are scarce worth the Labour of the Writing them. He suffers not the least trifles to escape him, as if concerning *Trajan*, *Antoninus Pius*, or *Marcus Antoninus*, it signifieth any thing to know every time that they went abroad, or how they changed their Habits, and who every Person was that they preferred, and when; or when they were served with other Viands upon their Table, than ordinary: all which he recounts, and fills his Books with them, and so makes his History a Tale of a Tub. Whereas, I think, that as for things that are so cheap, and of no value, no mention at all ought to be made

made of them; unless it is, when it is proper to give a Judgment by them of certain Inclinations, which may be really worth the knowledge; and even then, it is fit to touch them only in part and to leave the rest to be gathered by the Reader.

After the Death of the Emperor *Bassianus Antoninus Caracallus*, his Captain of the Guards, *Opilius Macrinus*, who had before that been the keeper of his Privy-Purse, possessed himself of the Empire. A Man of a low Birth, *His Education and Character.* not a Gentleman born or bred; full of assurance both in his Humour and his Looks; sometimes he called himself by the Name of *Severus*, sometimes *Antoninus*; but yet every body hated him, as well the Soldiers, as the People. He engaged himself immediately in the War with the *Parthians*, to take away by that means from the Soldiers the leisure to make Reflections upon him, and so to confirm his Power, or at least to stop the ill Reports from growing, as much as it was possible, under which he lay. The Senate indeed willingly accepted him to be Emperor; but yet it was chiefly, out of their hatred to the memory of *Antoninus Caracallus*, in relation to whom they cried out with one Voice, *Any body rather than a Parricide; any Person rather than an incestuous, and an impure Homicide; any one, rather than a Murderer of the Senate and the People.* It may be perhaps a Matter of some admiration, why *Macrinus*, having been the Author of the Death of his Predecessor, who was by Name an *Antoninus*, should nevertheless

nevertheless order his Son *Diadumenus*, to be called *Antoninus Diadumenus*. Now that which I find upon the Annals, as to that matter, is this.

The Oracle of the Goddess *Cælestis* in *Carthage*, having been consulted by the Proconsul, about the State of the Empire, and the publick Affairs, in the time of *Antoninus Pius*, about the Emperors. After other things, she particularly repeated the Name of *Antoninus* eight times; whereby it was understood, that the Emperor *Antoninus Pius* should Reign eight Years. But when that Prince had out-lived that term, so that if any Faith was to be given to the Oracle, something else than that was designed by it, which time was to produce. It was supposed at last to signifie, that the number of the Emperors of the Name of *Antoninus*, should be eight; and so they are. To wit, *Antoninus Pius*, the First; *Marcus Antoninus*, the Second; *Verus Antoninus* his Colleague in the Empire, the Third; *Commodus Antoninus*, the Fourth; *Antoninus Caracallus*, the Fifth; *Antoninus Geta*, the Sixth; *Antoninus Diadumenus*, the Seventh; and *Antoninus Heliogabalus*, the Eighth. For as for the Two *Gordians*, or *Severus*, or *Pertinax*, or *Julianus*, or *Opilius Macrinus*, who did all of them sometimes call themselves *Antonini*, they are never to be accounted of the number of the true *Antonini*, but only those Eight now mentioned, by whom that Name was more retained, than any of their own. Now *Macrinus* was willing to give his Son the Name of an *Antoninus*, for this

this reason, because the People should have the less occasion to suspect, that the late Emperor of that Name had been kill'd by his Orders; and because he knew very well, that every one had such an extraordinary Love for that Name, that unless the Emperor was called *Antoninus*, they could scarce think him an Emperor.

After *Opilius Macrinus* was also kill'd, and the Senate was assured that *Varius Heliogabalus* the Son of *Antoninus Caracallus*, was declared Emperor by the Army; then it was, that it was loudly represented in the Senate, what an ignoble Person *Macrinus* was. *Aurelius Victor Pinnius* spoke thus.

*Macrinus, a Slave the other day, that drud. His mean-
gd in the servile Offices of the Emperor's Family! Original.
Bougre! a Hireling! He lived a paltry Life
under Commodus. Severus thought him not fit
a first for the most miserable Employments, but
turned him out, and banished him into Africa;
where to cover his Infamy, he betook himself to
Letters, and came to plead some small Causes, and
to declaim, and at last to be a Justice. Then he
was created a Gentleman, and so at length, ar-
rived to be the Keeper of the Exchequer under
Severus, by the Favour of Festus, who was an
infranchised Slave of that Prince.*

This relation however, is not so undoubted, but that others give us the Steps of his Promotion thus. That he was a Gladiator, and had fought in that quality publickly. Obtaining afterwards his Freedom, he went into *Africa*, where he was a Notary, and raising himself
Y after

after that, to be the Keeper of the Emperor's Exchequer, from thence he succeeded unto the highest Honors. Whilst he was the Captain of the Guards, he contrived the Death of his Master, with that dexterity of Intrigue, that it could not be perceived, that he had the least hand in it. He gained upon a Quirry to give the Blow; what with the Money he bribed him with, and what with the great Promises that he made him. And then it was so ordered, that it should be said, that he was killed in a Mutiny of the Soldiers; because for his murdering his Brother, and the Incest of his marrying his Mother, he was so odious to them.

Makes his
Son Cæsar.

But no sooner was this done, but *Macrinus* possessed himself of his place, and made his Son *Diadumenus*, whom he immediately called by the Name of *Antoninus Diadumenus*, his Partner with him in the same. Then he sent the Body of the deceased to *Rome*, to be interred in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors; and commanded his Captain of the Guards, who was his own late Colleague in that Office, to take care of burying him in all respects honourably; knowing that the Common People loved him for the Habits and the Largeesses that he had given amongst them.

As he was afraid of a popular Emotion, and that some body should intervene and hinder his Reign, so he was glad to take the Empire, as it were by surprise; but yet in the mean time he served himself of that common Artifice to pretend, that it was against his Inclination.

Particu-

Particularly he was jealous of the Captain of the Guards, his late Colleague, because some People hoped, that if he had the Consent but of one Legion, he would not refuse an Opportunity, in which they would be ready to serve him, out of the hatred they had to *Opilius Macrinus* for his ill Life, and for the ignobleness of his Education and Birth. He took upon himself, as I said, the Name of *Severus*, though he had no relation to that Prince; which occasioned a good raillery upon both him and his Son; *Macrinus* is a *Severus*, as *Diadumenus* is an *Antoninus*.

Now to put a stop to any Commotion of the Soldiers, he immediately gave a Bounty, as well to the Legions, as the Guards, which was more than ordinarily large; and as it is the Custom so to do, his Money supplied the defect of his Innocence; and what he wanted in one, he made up with the other; by virtue whereof, he continued in the Empire for some time, although he was a Man of all manner of Vice. He writ Letters to the Senate, concerning the Murder of *Antoninus Caracallus*, in which he stiled him a God; protesting as to himself, that he was innocent, and had known nothing of it; and so he adduced to the Crime that he had committed Perjury, to begin his Reign withal.

It is fit to know, what a sort of an harangue it was which he made, when he writ to the Senate upon this occasion; that we may see the Confidence of the Man, and the Sacrilege with which he commenced his Reign. The

Y 2

Head

Heads of it were these, done in the joynt Names of the Emperors Macrinus and Diadumenus.

His Mes-
sages to
the Se-
nate.

We should have been heartily glad, Fathers of the Senate, to have had our Sovereign Antoninus yet in safety, and returning to you in Triumph. We should all have been happy in such a flourishing State of the Empire, and under a Prince, who was a Successor of the Antonini, and given us from the Gods. But since this Happiness hath not befallen us, by reason of a Mutiny of the Soldiers, which hath deprived us of it, we make you acquainted with what the Army hath done as to us in the first place; and next we with your Consents, decree an Apotheosis to be given immediately to our late Prince, whose Murder the Army hath thought no Man more worthy to avenge than his own Captain of the Guards, to whom himself had left it, to chastise the Faction, had he escaped their hands and lived.

In another place, says he, They have presented me with the Empire, which I have therefore taken into my Protection; and I shall continue it, if the same thing be pleasing to you, Fathers of the Senate, which is so pleasing to them, to whom I have given a Bounty, and done every thing as the Custom is for the Emperors to do upon these occasions.

Again, My Son Diadumenus, whom you know, the Army hath made my Partner in the Empire, and hath not denied him the Name of Antoninus. Indeed, they have done him a greater Honour by that Name, than by that degree of a Prince; which we desire may be ap-

proved

proved by you, Fathers of the Senate, as a good and happy Omen, that you shall never want a Prince of a Name which you do so dearly love. Again, We and all the Army have equally decreed the Honours of a God unto Antoninus, Caracallus. And though we might with the Authority of Emperors command the same from you, Fathers of the Senate; yet we rather desire you to do it, and to dedicate to him, two Statues on Horseback, two more standing in Military Habit, and two others sitting in a Civil one. We dedicate also two triumphal Statues to the Emperor Severus. All which, Fathers of the Senate, you will command to be performed, at our earnest Request.

When this was read in the Senate, they took the news of the death of Antoninus Caracallus very well, and hoping that Opilius Macrinus would maintain the publick Liberty, they first made him a Patrician, who was a Man originally of no Family, and little known; then they made him High-Priest, (a Title annexed to the Emperors) who sometime before, had been a Clerk to the minor Priests: And lastly, they voted him the Title of Pious. Nevertheless, at the first, upon the News of the Death of Caracallus, there was a long silence in the Senate, because no body dared to be forward to believe it. But it was no sooner confirmed to them, that he was really killed, but they inveighed against him as a Tyrant; immediately they conferred the Proconsular and the Tribunician Powers upon Macrinus, who accepted from them the Title of the Happy, in-

stead of that of the *Pious*, and was pleased that the Name of *Antoninus* should be confirmed by them to his Son.

And here I may observe, that this Name which began in a Prince, who was in reality, as well as by Title *Pious*, came by degrees, through a number of others one after another, who impaired its Reputation more and more, to end at last in a Man so impious, that he was the very scum of the Earth. *Marcus Antoninus* was the only Prince after *Pius*, who adorned it by a Life worthy of it: *Verus Antoninus* his Partner, degenerated from it, and *Commodus Antoninus* even polluted it. What shall I say of *Antoninus Caracallus*? Or what of *Antoninus Diadumenus*? What shall I say of *Antoninus Heliogabalus*? But as he was the last of the *Antoninusses*, and base born, so he is remembered to have lived in the greatest impurity.

His Par-
thian Ex-
pedition.

Opilius Macrinus being thus established in the Empire, he made great preparations to continue the War against the *Parthians*; and proposed to abolish the infamy of his former Life, and the baseness of his Birth, by the greatness of his Victories. He engaged the Enemy, as they were commanded by *Artabanus* their King, who fought obstinately. But after this, a Peace being agreed upon, then *Macrinus* retired to the City of *Antioch*, where giving himself up to Luxury, his Legions took a just pretence from thence to revolt from him to *Varius Heliogabalus*, who was the reputed Son of *Antoninus Bassianus Caracallus*; and who coming with an

an Army against him, defeated him, and killed him, after he had reigned but a little more than one Year. *He is slain.*

There was a Lady called *Mæsa*, alias *Varia*, a *Phœnician*, of the City of *Emissa*, the Sister of *Julia*, the Wife of the Emperor *Severus*, who after the Death of *Antoninus Caracallus*, was banished the Court by *Macrinus*; but yet she was allowed to take along with her, all the effects which she had amassed in the long time of her continuance there. This Lady had two Daughters, called *Semiamira* and *Mammaea*: The first and eldest was the Mother of *Varius Heliogabalus*, who was a Priest of the Sun, and had taken the Name of *Heliogabalus*, in the *Phœnician* Language, from the Name of the God that he worshipped. And being as well by his noble Stature and his Beauty, as by his Office remarkable to all that came to the Temple, especially the Soldiers, his Grand-Mother *Mæsa*, alias *Varia*, took her opportunity to say to them, that he was the Son of the Emperor *Antoninus Bassianus Caracallus*, which from one to another, came to be made known to all. And as she was herself very rich, and *Heliogabalus* very prodigal, she made such Promises to them in his behalf, that she seduced the Legions to a revolt; who accordingly received him and his Mother, and their followers into a Garrison by Night, and proclaimed him Emperor, by the Name of *Antoninus*, and invested him with the marks of that Dignity.

When this Account was brought unto *Macrinus* at *Antioch*, he admiring at the boldness of the Woman, which he could not but slight at the same time, sent *Julianus* the Captain of his Guards with his Legions to besiege her. But no sooner did the New *Antoninus* shew himself in Person to those Men, but they were all so marvellously inclined to love him, that they killed *Julianus* their Captain, and passed over in a Body to his side. Then *Antoninus Heligabalus* having formed his Army set himself to march against *Macrinus*, as *Macrinus* was marching against him; and joyning Battel, *Macrinus* was defeated; occasioned by the Treachery of his own Soldiers, by reason of their Love to *Antoninus*. So he fled with some few in company with him, and particularly his Son. But both he and his Son were afterwards pursued and killed in a Village of *Bithynia*, and his Head cut off and brought to the Conqueror. And all that his Son had gotten by the Empire, was his Destiny only to be killed with his Father.

Certainly *Macrinus* was in the time that he reigned more rigorous, and more austere than he had ever been before, thereby hoping to suppress the Reports of all his by-past Actions, and to bury them in oblivion; on the contrary, that Severity did but open a fresh occasion to People to blame him. Thus he was for having himself to be called a *Severus* and a *Pertinax*: And when the Senate had given him the Titles of the *Happy*, and the *Pious*, he only

only accepted the first, and refused the other, which occasioned a Libel to be made upon him, which was put up in the *Forum* in Greek and Latin Verse to this purpose; *That an old, ugly, troublesome, sour, and unreasonable Man of a Stage-player (alluding to his fighting, formerly, as a Gladiator) pretending to be Happy, without being at the same time Pious, it was a thing unnatural and irrational, for those were two Virtues not to be separated. An impious Reign will make his Subjects unhappy, and he who makes his Subjects so, must be unhappy himself.*

Macrinus was therefore one of a proud and bloody Mind; he loved to govern with the arbitrariness of a Soldier; accused the Discipline of former times, and praised *Severus* alone, of all the Emperors. He condemned his Soldiers to the Cross, and always punished them with the punishments of Slaves. In any Mutiny he generally decimated; sometimes he contented himself to centesimate them; which last was a peculiar word of his own, when he drew out but every hundredth Man when to execute, which he accounted a Mercy, he had said, they deserved to be decimated, or vicesimated. Certainly, it would be too tedious here to recount all his Cruelties. However, one I will mention, which was not great as he thought it; and yet it is something worse than the Barbarities of all the Tyrants that ever were. Two Soldiers were reported to have forced their Landlord's Maid against her Will, to lye with them, at the same time she was

His Temper and Cruelties.

His extreme Severity.

was one that had been debauched long before. He hearing of it by his Spies, sent for them and examined the Matter; and it appearing to be true, he ordered Two vast great Oxen to be opened alive suddenly, and the Men to be stuffed into their Bellies, there to remain till they died, with only their Heads out, that they could talk to one another; which was a sort of a Punishment that had nothing like it then, or in any former times, in the case of Adultery itself. In his Wars, always indeed, against the *Parthians*, *Armenians*, and *Arabians*, he quitted himself with equal bravery and success. A Tribune one day having neglected to appoint the Guard, he dragged him alive and dead in a miserable Condition at a Cart's Tail, all his march. He revived the Punishment of *Mezentius*, of tying the living to the dead, for both to rot together. Therefore it was said by the People in the Cirque, in favour of his Son *Diadumenus*, who was a very lovely Youth,

— *dignus, cui pater haud Mezentius esset.*
It was pity he had a Mezentius for his Father.

He shut up others betwixt four Walls, till they died starving. For Adultery he always tied the Parties body to body, and burnt them together alive. Servants that had run from their Masters, he condemned to be made Gladiators of. Unless Informers proved what they said, he made it Capital to them; if they did

it, they received a Reward in Money, but he dismissed them with all their Infamy upon them.

He was not a little versed in the Knowledge of the Laws of the *Romans*, insomuch, that he made no scruple to supersede all the Rescripts of the antient Emperors, to act according to Right, and not according to Rescripts. And it was a shame, he said, that the Wills of such as *Commodus* and *Caracallus*, and others that were unworthy to be Emperors, should be Laws; when *Trajan* would not allow that a Rescript that is written perhaps in favour in one case should be made a precedent in another; because things ought to be examined by the Rules of good Sense. He was liberal in his allowances of Bread and Provisions to the Poor, but sparing in giving Money. Towards his Servants he was so severe, and so cruel, that they called him instead of *Macrinus*, *Macellinus*, from *Macellum* a Shambles; because his House, like a Shambles, flowed with the Blood of the Servants that he killed. He eat and drank very freely, sometimes to excess in the Evenings. If he had dined at any time more sparingly, in his supper he would be very profuse. He admitted the Men of Letters to his Table, with whom talking, he prolonged his Meals.

But as every one called to mind the baseness of his Birth, and former Life, and on the other hand, observed his Cruelty, which was

was excessive, and the many horrid things that he did, which the Soldiers, especially, very well knew, they were not able longer to endure such a Nuisance upon the Throne, and so they resolved to rid themselves of him.

A Libel upon him.

There was a Libel once made upon his Son to this purpose. *I dreamt I saw a Youth of the Name of Antoninus, who hath a Slave to his Father, his Mother such a Whore, she hath had a Hundred, and ask'd a Hundred more. From such a Father, such a Mother, let him be a Pius or a Marcus, he cannot be a Verus Antoninus;* alluding to the Emperor of the Name of *Verus*, but intending to say, that he cannot be a true, but only a visionary, and a Bastard *Antoninus*. When *Macrinus* was told this, he answered it in some *Iambics*, which they say were very well done; but we have them not, because they perished with him in the Fray that he was kill'd in, when all that he had was plundered by the Soldiers.

The manner of his Death was such as we have represented it before already; that is, his Army revolting, and carrying all their Inclinations upon *Antoninus Heliogabalus*, he fled, and was afterwards taken and kill'd in a Village of *Bitthynia*; his Attendants all yielding, or otherwise cut in pieces or dispersed in flight. This made *Heliogabalus* famous, because he appeared to have revenged the Death of his Father. So he succeeded to the

the Empire, and as he certainly disgraced it afterwards with Vices of Luxury, Impurity, Riot, Pride, and Cruelty, and as he lived an unhappy Life, so he met with the like tragical Death.

This is what I have discover'd concerning *Macrinus*, out of a great many Historians that mention him. I humbly present it to your Majesty, O *Dioclesian*; being assured, that your Majesty takes a pleasure in viewing the Accounts of the Emperors of the ancient Times.

THE

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
Antoninus Diadumenus.

BY
JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Antoninus Diadumenus being but a Youth when the Army created him Emperor, together with his Father, after the Death of *Antoninus Caracallus*; his Life affords us little that is remarkable, more than the Account of his reception of the Name of *Antoninus*, and the stupendious Omens that appeared to fore-tell his Reign, and also that it was to continue but a short time. For as to the first, as soon as it was known amongst the

the Legions, that the fatal Stroke was given to *Antoninus Caracallus*, that which was a matter of great trouble to them all, to observe, was, that they had not another *Antoninus* to succeed him, as if they thought that the very Roman Empire was certainly to perish with that Name. *Macrinus* hearing this, and fearing, by reason that there were several Relations of *Antoninus Pius* that were Captains in the Army, lest the Army might cast their Inclinations upon some one or other of those, for the Empire; he immediately put himself at the Head of them, with this Harangue.

You see here, my Fellow Soldiers, my self, and my He is de-
Son *Diadumenus*. I am well advanced in years, clared an
but my Son by the mercy of the Gods, you will *Antoninus*
have long to be your Emperor. I understand that
there is remaining amongst you, a great Affection
for the Name of *Antoninus*. Wherefore since
for my own part, according to the Condition of
humane Frailty, I have not much time left me
to live, I name this young Son, an *Antoninus*,
with your Consents, and wish you long to enjoy
him.

They cried, *The Gods save the Emperor Ma-*
crinus. The Gods save Antoninus Diadumenus.
We all beg, that Antoninus Caracallus may be
made a God. Then most Excellent and most Power-
ful Jupiter, preserve the Lives of Macrinus and
Antoninus. Thou knowest, O Jupiter, Macri-
nus is invincible. Thou knowest, O Jupiter, Ma-
crinus is inconquerable. Having an Antoninus,
we have all things. The Gods, have given us
an

an Antoninus. Antoninus and his Father merit the Empire.

Macrinus replied, My Fellow Soldiers, we give you a Bounty of three pieces of Gold, to each of you, upon the occasion of our Accession to the Empire; and for the Name of Antoninus, five pieces of Gold more, besides your ordinary Pay, which shall be doubled to you. The Gods grant that this may be done often; for as much as we now give you this day, we will repeat it to you, every Fifth year of our Reigns.

His
Speech to
the Army.

After this, Antoninus Diadumenus the young Emperor spoke to them in these words. I thank you, my Fellow Soldiers, for the Honour of the Empire, and of the name which you have given me, for it is you that have thought my Father and me, worthy to be the Emperors of Rome, and to command the State: to the Government whereof My Father will take the Care not to be wanting, and it shall be my best endeavours not to be wanting to the Glory of the name of Antoninus. I am sensible, it is a name in which the Emperors Pius, Marcus, and Verus, have gone before me: who were Persons, to whom it is a difficult thing to answer worthily. I can only say, I will do all that is in my power: and in the mean time, upon the joint occasion of my Reign and my Name, I promise you the same, as my most honoured Father hath done; who hath but considered you at your deserve.

The Greek Historian Herodian, hath omitted these passages, and speaks Diadumenus under no higher a quality than a Cæsar. However after this Harangue, a Coin was stamped

stamped at Antioch; in the name of Antoninus Diadumenus: the other, which was to be in the name of Macrinus was deferred, till they had the express Orders of the Senate; to whom Letters were sent to acquaint them, with what was past, and with the New Antoninus, who desired their approbation. And whether it was as some say, because their hatred to Antoninus Caracallus made them willing to have any other Emperor, rather than him, they accepted of this Change freely. Had Macrinus lived, he intended to have given to the People of Rome a Present of some Vestments, after the example of the Donation of Caracallus: and also to establish a Charity, for the maintenance of the Children of some Poor Families; whom he intended to call by the name of his Son; to the end, as his own Words in the Edict are, to render so much the more agreeable and more commendable the glory of the name of Antoninus. At the same time, he says, that he wishes that he was present with the People of Rome; that his Son, their new Antoninus, might with his own hand distribute a Large of Corn amongst them. In the next place he ordered the Colours, and the Standards of the Antoninuses to be put up in the Camp. He erected the Statues of Antoninus Bassianus Caracallus, in Gold and Silver; and Celebrated a Festival of seven days, for the Honour of the name of Antoninus.

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Anton-

Antoninus Diadumenus was certainly one of the beautifullest Youths in the World. He was pretty tall, with bright yellow Hair, black Eyes, and a pretty long Nose; his Chin perfectly handsome, and a grace to his whole Face; a full kissing Lip, and then he was naturally Stout, and proper in his Exercises. When first he was dress'd in the Imperial Robes of Scarlet and Purple, and the other Military Ensigns of the Empire; he shined like a Star, or as one newly dropt from Heaven, and every body loved him, for the Charms of his Beauty.

In the next place, as to the Omens which prognosticated his Reign, they are indeed stupendous. The day that he was born, his Father over-seeing and examining the Purple Robes of the Emperor in his Office, had ordered some of them to be brought where his Son *Diadumenus* was born in two Hours after. And as some Children that are born, have a skin upon their Heads in the nature of a Coif, being a natural sort of a Cover upon the Head, which is afterwards taken away by the Midwives; *Diadumenus*, instead of this had a perfect Diadem in the place of it, which was a thin, but strong Flesh, made of a great many Veins and Fibres, like the strings of a Bow, from whence he was called at first *Diadematus*; but as he grew up, he was called by the Name of *Diadumenus*, from his Grandfather by the side of his Mother; and there is not much difference betwixt the one Name and the other. At a House of his Father's in the Country,

try, twelve Lambs were kidded; all of a Wool of the colour of Purple, except one, which was of divers Colours. The same day that he was born, an Eagle came and dropt a Ring-Dove into his Cradle as he slept, and retired without doing him any hurt. Other Doves, from whence the Soothsayers prognosticated great Riches and Honour, came and made their Nests in his Father's House. As he was one day walking in the Fields, an Eagle came and took from off his Head his Cap, and afterwards dropt it upon the Head of a Statue of an Emperor. He was born, not only upon the same day of the Month, but in the same hour, and almost under the same Constellations, as was the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*. Therefore the Astrologers said, *That he would be both the Son of an Emperor, and an Emperor himself.* A Woman, who was of his Kindred, observing that he was born upon the Birth-day of that Prince, cried, *Let him be called an Antoninus.* But *Macrinus* was afraid to do that, because it was an Imperial Name, which none of his Family had ever had; and he thought it was safer to let it alone, especially, the Report being already put about of the greatness of his Birth. Another Omen that still more particularly deserves our observation, is this; as *Diadumenus* was in his Cradle in a Garden, a Lyon that had broken loose, and was very fierce, came and lick'd him, and left him without offering him the least violence; but yet meeting his Nurse, he fell upon her, and bit her so cruelly, that she died.

Great
Honours
paid to
the Name
Antoni-
nus.

This is what hath seemed to me to be worthy of memory concerning *Antoninus Diadumenus*, whose Life I had even intermixt with the Actions of his Father, but that my Honour for the Princes of his Name, obliged me to such a particular Account of him. And certainly, it was a Name so amiable to these times, that it seems, as if he who was not call'd an *Antoninus*, was not fit to be Emperor. There is a Letter of *Opilius Macrinus*, in which he declares, that he glories not so much of his elevation to the Empire, whereof he was the second Person in rank before, as Captain of the Guards, as of being the Father of a Son, of the Name of *Antoninus*, which at that time was so Famous, that not any Name of the Gods themselves was more. Therefore, said one, *It is a thing void of all Reason, and unsuitable to the Dignity of Commodus, to covet, as he did, the Name of Hercules, as if that of Antoninus was not Honour enough. For would he be a God, he could never more eminently be so, than as he was an Emperor of so excellent a Name?* I mention this, in this place, only to shew, how highly the *Antoninusses* were valued, to have their Names set above the very Gods. And yet all this was wrought by only the Charms of three Princes of that Name, whose Wisdom, whose Goodness, and whose Piety consecrated them forever to Posterity; that is, Wisdom in the Person of *Marcus Antoninus*, Goodness in his Brother *Verus*, and Piety in the first of the three, *Antoninus Pius*. I come now to the Letter which I mention'd of *Opilius Macrinus*.

Opilius

*Opilius Macrinus, to Nonia Celsa
his Wife.*

THE Blessing we have received, my dear Wife, is above all Estimation; but perhaps you may think now, that I speak of the Empire, which is no such great matter; Fortune bestows that upon unworthy Persons often. I am made the Father of an *Antoninus*. Thou art become the Mother of an *Antoninus*. O happy we! And Fortunate our House! Now is our Reign happy, and to be highly Renowned. The Gods, and particularly the good Goddess Juno, whom you Worship, grant, that he may sustain worthily the merit of his Name; and that I, who am the Father of an *Antoninus*, may also appear worthy of that Honour to all the World.

By this Letter we see, how great an Honour he looked upon it to be, that his Son was received by the Name of an *Antoninus*. However, this fine Son was killed, together with his Father, in the Fourteenth Month of their Reigns. And it is to be observed, that as young and as amiable as he was, he was yet one that was very severe upon many Persons beyond his Age; witness these two Letters following, written to his Father and Mother; which as they are Pieces contributing to this History, so I have thought fit to insert them here.

Z 3

The

The Emperor the Son, to the Emperor his Father.

I Am apt to think, Sir, in consequence of my Love and Duty to you, that you have not been sufficiently careful of your self, in sparing the Accomplices of the intended Revolt; whether it is because you hope that your Mercy will make them more your Friends for the future, or because they are your old Acquaintance, and that therefore you spare them. For first of all, as they are Persons that have been once exulcerated in their minds against you, they can never love you again; and then when old Friends forget themselves, so as to turn Enemies, they make the most cruel Enemies of all Men. To which add, what the Army cries,

Virg. Æn.
4. 274.

Sic nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
Ascanium surgentem, & spes hæredis Iuli
Respice; cui regnum Italiæ, Romanæque tellus
Debetur — — —

*If Thirst of Glory cannot push you on,
Yet pray regard the Fortune of your Son,
To whom Rome's Empire has been destin'd long.*

*You must put them to death, if you would expect
to live in Safety. For if those be spared, others
will not fail to trouble you as much, according to
the natural viciousness of Mankind.*

Now

Now whether himself, or *Calianus* his Master in Rhetorick formed this Letter, it shews what a severe young Man he would have been if he had lived.

The other LETTER to his Mother, was this.

Certainly, my Father, the Emperor, neither loves you nor himself, to spare, as he does, his Enemies. Therefore, pray endeavour, that *Arabianus*, *Thulcus*, and *Gellius* be dispatched, for fear, lest, if occasion serve them, they do not suffer us to escape them so easily.

These Letters, says *Lollius Urbicus*, in the History that he hath made of his time, being betrayed to the Soldiers by his Secretary, did *Diadumenus* the greatest prejudice, and cost him his Life. For some of them considering that he was but a Youth, had been at first for saving him, after they had killed his Father. But when these Letters were produced and read, then they killed him also; and both their Heads were carried about upon the top of a Javelin. Then all the Army agreed to set up *Varius Antoninus Heliogabalus*, being the reputed Son of *Bassianus Antoninus Caracallus*. They say, he was a Priest of the God *Heliogabalus*; that is, in the Phœnician Language,

*He is slain
by the Sol-
diers.*

Z 4

the

the Sun; but certainly the most impure, and the most dissolute Man upon Earth, and by some Fate, sent entirely to dishonour the *Roman* Empire. As there are a great many things to be said of him, I shall reserve myself to speak of him in his place.

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
Varius Antoninus Heliogabalus.

Dedicated to the

EMPEROR
Constantine the Great.

THE

BY
ÆLIUS LAMPRIDIUS.

Varius Antoninus Heliogabalus, passed his Life in a manner, which was so very impure, that I should eternally excuse myself from committing it to Writing; nor should it be known by my hand, that ever such a Person was the Emperor of Rome,

Rome, if we had not had a *Caligula*, a *Nero*, and a *Vitellius* upon the same Throne before him. But as we see the same Earth produces as well Poysons as good Grain; and is diversified with things which are some wholsome, and some hurtful; here *Vipers*, and there other Creatures, that are tame, and good for the Life of Man: the prudent Reader will easily make himself an amends for such prodigious Tyrants, if he pleases but to read the Reigns of *Augustus*, *Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Antoninus*, in opposition to them. For by the comparison, he will perceive the Judgments of the Romans upon the one and the other; how that these latter reigned long, and ended their days at last with natural Deaths. But the others were murdered, shamefully dragged, branded as Tyrants, their Names thought unworthy so much as to be mentioned; or not to be mentioned without horror. After the Death of *Macrinus* and his Son, the Empire was conferred upon *Varius Antoninus Heliogabalus*, for this reason especially, because he was the reputed Son of *Bassianus Antoninus Caracallus*. He had been before a Priest, either of *Jupiter*, or the Sun, and had taken to himself the Name of *Antoninus*, not only for an Argument of his Birth, but because he knew that that Name was so very dear to the World, that even the Parricide his Father was loved for its sake. His other Name from his Grandfather *Varia*, was *Varius*. Then he called himself *Heliogabalus*, from the Name of the God in the Phœnician Language,

Reason
of his
Names.

Language, whose Priest he was; and when he came to the Empire, he was declared an *Antoninus*, and he was the last of the Roman Emperors of that Name.

His Mother was *Semiamira*, to whom he was so devoted, that he did nothing in the Government without her. She in the mean time lived in the manner of an impudent Courtezian, and pursued her lewdnesses of all sorts in the very Palace. For as it was under that Character, that formerly *Antoninus Caracallus* had had commerce with her, so the promiscuous Issue, her Son, might very well also be called *Varius*, if it had been only from thence, who after his Father was killed, fled, it is said, for fear of *Macrinus* into the Temple of the God *Heliogabalus*, as into an *Asylum*, and made his Priesthood there his Protection. But thus much as to his Name; that holy Name of *Antoninus*, so polluted by this Man, but which is, however, so venerated by you, Most Sacred *Constantine*, that your Majesty hath the greatest Honour in the World for the Emperors *Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Antoninus*; setting them before you, no less than you do *Constantius* and *Claudius*, for your Royal Imitation; whereby you indeed adopt the Virtues of the Antients to be your own, and certainly they very well suit with the happy Inclinations of your Majesty.

After then, *Varius Antoninus Heliogabalus* was in the possession of the Empire, he sent his Accounts of it to *Rome*, where all the Orders of the Nobility, Gentry and People being elevated at the Name of an *Antoninus*, which seem-

ed

ed in him to be restored, not as it was in *Antoninus Diadumenus* in Title only, but also in Blood, because he writ himself the Son of *Antoninus Caracallus*: There was great Joy made for him; and this was yet further increased by those good Apprehensions, which Men generally have of a New Prince, who succeeds after a Tyrant; and by that great Affection, that they are then prone to express, but which yet is not lasting, unless where it meets with an extraordinary deal of Virtue for its support, because many indifferent Princes have soon lost it again. So when the Letter of *Heliogabalus* was read in the Senate, they received it with as many Acclamations of Joy and Kindness to him, as on the other hand they inveighed against *Macrinus* and his Son. All were willing to declare him Emperor, and industrious to believe him a worthy *Antoninus*; as the wishes of Men are apt to impose upon their Credulity, and what they desire that it should be true, they love to make themselves believe that it is so. But he was no sooner come to Rome, to omit the things which he did in the Provinces, but he set up the Worship of his God *Heliogabalus*, which he had brought with him out of Syria. He built upon Mount *Palatine*, near the Palace, a Temple to him, into which he was altogether for removing the Image of the great Mother of the Gods, *Cybele*; the Vestal Fire, the *Palladium*, or Image of *Pallas*; the Sacred Shield, and all the Holy Utensils of the Romans; not being willing that any other God

Comes to
Rome.

should be worshipped at Rome but his own. He said, that he would command the Worship of the *Jews*, the *Samaritans*, and the *Christians*, to be thither also transferred; that the Mysteries of all Religions should be contained within the Temple, and applied to the Honour of *Heliogabalus*.

The first day afterwards that the Senate sat, he caused his Mother to be admitted as a Member of that Assembly, who was called in, and came and took her place by the Seats of the Consuls, and was present at the passing of a Decree of the Senate. Indeed, he is the only Person of all the Emperors, whose Reign hath given us a Senatrix; a Woman to come into the Senate, to act as a Man. He also created a little Senate of Women, which met on *Collis Quirinalis*; whose Decrees, assembled under the Direction of *Semiamira*, and the Laws that they made concerning the Ladies are very diverting. They made Laws, *What Cloaths every one should wear; who should give place to whom; who salute whom; who go in a Coach; who ride upon a Horse; who upon an Ass; who go in a Litter, drawn by Mules; who to be drawn by Oxen; who carried in a Chair, and whether the Chair should be of Leather, or inlaid with Bone, or Brass, or Ivory, or Damask with Silver; and who should wear Gold or Jewels at their Shoes.*

His Mother sits
with the
Senate.

Whilst he wintered in the City of *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, which was before his coming to Rome, he carried himself so lewdly there, being carnally enter'd by Men, and grunting at the

the Work, like a Sow that is brimmed, that the Soldiers soon repented themselves of having conspired against *Opilius Macrinus* to make this Person a Prince; and then turned their Thoughts upon *Alexander* a Cousin-German of *Heliogabalus*, whom the Senate had created *Cæsar* upon the Death of *Macrinus*. For who indeed could endure to see a Prince more than bestial, leaving no conceivability of his Body unpolluted by those he loved. And coming afterwards to *Rome*, he made it his great Business to be furnished with Men out of all Parts that were the best provided for his purpose. He had the Comedy of *Parrus* performed in his Apartments, in which himself acted the part of the *Venus*, and suddenly his Cloaths falling down to his Heels, and leaving his Body all naked, he put himself into a Posture fit for his Associates to make their lewd Approaches. He made himself to be drawn in the figure of a *Venus*, with a delicate Face, and all his Body smooth, and thought it the greatest Happiness of his Life to be tempting and agreeable to the Lusts of more and more Men.

His Bestiality.

His base Government.

Himself, his Servants, and his Pimps, one with another, made a common Sale of the Degree and Places of Honour, and the Places of Power and Command. He created any one indifferently a Senator for Money, without regard to Age, Estate, or Birth. The Military Offices of Captains, Tribunes and Generals, were sold, as also the Governments of the Provinces, and the Offices of the Household.

shold. Two Coach-men, whom he took out of the Cirque, that is, *Protogenes* and *Gordius*, he made the great Companions of his Life, and his Privadoes to every thing he did. He took several into the Court out of both the Theatre and the Amphitheatre, where they had been Players, Charioteers, or Gladiators, only because their Bodies promised him to the Eye, something filthy that pleased him. He loved a Youth called *Hierocles* so, that he used to kiss what it is immodest to name in him, and said, *That it was to celebrate a Game to the Goddess Flora*. He committed Incest upon a Vestal Nun. He profaned the most Holy Rites and Mysteries of the Romans, breaking into the Sacrifices of their Temples, and carrying all things away thence into that of his own God. He would have extinguished the perpetual Vestal Fire. Nor was he only this upon the Religions of the Romans, but all the World over, he desired to have no other God worshipped but *Heliogabalus*. He broke into the Sanctuary of the Temple of the Goddess *Vesta*, polluted as he was, with all kind of Filthiness, and his Company as bad and as vicious as he, to take from thence the inviolable Image of *Pallas*. He thought that he had really carried off the Jar which is consecrated to the Temple, and the Rites of the Goddess *Cybele*; but only the superior of the Virgins belonging to that Goddess, had shewn him a false one in the room of the true; and finding nothing in it that was extraordinary, he broke it in pieces. So he also seized upon an Image of

His Incest and Sacrilege.

of *Pallas*; which was adorned with Gold; but which he likewise mistook for the true *Palladium*, and he placed it in the Temple of his own God. He initiated himself in the Rites of the Goddess *Cybele*; and was washed in Bull's Blood; only to get an opportunity by the means to steal away the Image of that Goddess, and other Sacred Utensils that are kept altogether lockt up. He tossed his Head and his Hair about, as the Fanatick Priests of that Goddess do, amongst whom he officiated: every thing that those Priests do, so did he; till at length, he stole off the Venerable Image of the *Mother of the Gods*, and reposed it in the Sacristy of his own God. He Celebrated the Feasts of *Adonis*, with all the Mourning and the Tossing the Body, which is used in the worship of that God in *Syria*. He imitated *Venus*, weeping and bewailing his loss; which was but a presage from himself of his own approaching ruin. All the Gods, he said, were the Servants of his God; to whom some were his Chamberlains, some his Ushers, and others were destin'd to serve him in all sorts of Offices. He endeavoured to possess himself of the Statue of the Goddess *Diana*; being the same Sacred Statue which *Orestes* had stoln out of her Temple in *Scythia Taurica*, and had afterwards reposed it in another Temple Dedicated to her at the City of *Laudicea* in *Asia*. The same *Orestes* built a City of his own Name, *Orestea*, upon the Bank of the *Hebrus*, in the Country of *Thrace*; which the Emperor *Hadrian* ordered to be re-called

Hadrian

anople, from himself; about the time that he was in his Frenzy, when he commanded so many Senators to be killed: whom *Antoninus* on the contrary saving, and afterwards bringing them into the Senate, when every body had thought them dead, he very well deserved to be Entitled, as he was, the Pious *Antoninus*: And some allay it gave to that Frenzy of *Hadrians*, at that time to tell him; *That whilst his Majesty was giving his Name to a City, it was to be feared that some mad House should take it up.*

Antoninus Heliogabalus offered Sacrifices to his God, of young and pretty Boys, that were Gentlemens Sons, whom he Kidnapped for the purpose over all the Country of *Italy*, and whose Fathers and Mothers were yet living. The reason of his choice of such, as whose Fathers and Mothers were yet living, I cannot understand, unless it was this; to make the Trouble of their loss so much the more sensible as it reached to both their Parents, and that their deaths should be accompanied in the Ears of his God, with a more general Lamentation. He had all sorts of the Diviners, Magicians, and Priests of the East with him, daily employed in the bloody Works of his Religion; in which he encouraged them on; thanking the Gods, that he was so well supplied with the peculiar Friends, as he called them, and Servants of theirs: and then he pryed himself into the Entrails of the murdered Children; and discussed the Victims, according to the Rites of the Country, from whence this Service came.

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The Largess with which he Caresed the People, when he entred upon his Consulship, was not little pieces of Money (of Gold or Silver) cast amongst them, nor a Collation of Fruits, Wines, and the like; but he gave them Fat Oxen, Camels, and Asses, to divide amongst them; and Slaves to serve them: This, he said, was great, and becoming an Emperor, and for the Honour of *Heliogabalus* his God.

He was very severe upon the memory of *Opilius Macrinus*; but yet worse against his Son for assuming the name of *Antoninus*: he called him a Pretended, a Spurious *Antoninus*; and he could not endure to hear him well spoken of; nay he obliged some Persons, that writ his Life, to Slander him with things that were horrid and intolerable. He set up a Publick Bath in the Court, which he exposed to the free use of all the World; the design whereof was only to see, what Men were the best Provided for his use, and to take them to himself: for those were the Creatures, in the World, the most in Vogue with him, and great Care was used to find them out, about all the Town, insomuch as out of the very Water-men.

In the mean time, the Persons who discovered his Practises the most to the World, were such especially, as had born him Company in the Exercises of his Lusts, and had been wearied, with his Men, that were so Potent, and so filthily Hung. His death was a thing, begun first to be thought of amongst those of

on

own Family. Neither could the Soldiers endure to see such a Pest upon the Throne, and therefore they all turned their inclinations upon *Alexander*, his Cousin *German*, whom the Senate (as it was said) had Created *Cæsar* at the death of *Macrinus*. *Aurelius Zoticus Magirus* was a very great Favourite unto *Heliogabalus*. All the Principal Officers of the Court respected him, as if *Magirus* was the Husband, and *Heliogabalus* the Wife; *Magirus* the Master, and *Heliogabalus* the Mistress. But the Master did so abuse the Tye of the Familiarity which he had with this Mistress, that he made a Practise by it of really cheating, out of their Money all the World at once. Some he threatned; some he promised; took Money of all: and coming out from *Heliogabalus*, His way was, Sir, *I told the Emperor this of you; & heard him say this of you*, (to another.) *This will be done about you*, (to a third.) And yet all false; as all these sort of Men do, who when admitted to too great a Familiarity with Princes, make no scruple to Sacrifice the Reputation of them to their own advantages: Let the Princes themselves be bad or good, it is the same; for so long as either through their Folly, or their Innocence, they do not perceive the Cheat; it is Meat and Drink, and Honour, and Riches to such as pursue it. *Heliogabalus* perfectly Married this Man, and lay with him as his Bride; and his word was, *Vigorously, Magirus*: not bating him so much as the time that *Magirus* was sick of a Dose that had been palmed upon him by an angry Ri-

A a 2

val.

val. Then he askt the Philosophers, and the gravest Persons about him, whether they in their Youths had not done the same thing. Which he expressed in the lewdest words, for he never spared for those, and acted the Postures upon his Fingers, without any sense of Shame, to be seen and heard by all the Company.

His b-v-
rid In-
modesty.

He made his enfranchised Slaves the Presidents, Lieutenants, and Proconsuls of the Provinces. The Commands in the Army and all Places of Honour, he polluted with baseborn and profligate Men. When he kept the Feast of the Vintage, to which he had invited several of the Nobility and Gentry, and the Company being repos'd, began impudently to ask first the Gravest of them, one after another, *Was he ready for the Exercises of Venus?* They blushing at the Question, he cryed; *He blushes, that's enough, his silence gives consent*; and then he told them of his own Performances, and how he was ready to do all things for his part without seeking a Veil for his Modesty. The Graver Men blushing still, and saying nothing, because either their Age or their Honour refuted such Stuff, he proceeded to apply his Discourses to the young Fry, to whom he uttered all sorts of filthy Questions; who answering him again such things, as come from those of their Years: he was mightily diverted, and said, *This now is to be free, and this is the right way of keeping the Feast of the Vintage.* There were those in the Company that were lewd enough, and some too that were old, and in appearance

Philoso

Philosophers, with their Heads in Caps, who confessed that they did indeed love the *Female Part*, and what Men they had that had served them in the Faculty of Husbands. But I cannot tell whether they did not dissemble, to ingratiate themselves the more in the favour of *Heliogabalus*, by the Correspondence of their Vices unto his:

He preferred one Man to be a Captain of the Guards, who had been a Publick Stage-Dancer at Rome. He made *Gordius*, a Coachman, Captain of the Lieutenancy of the City: he made *Claudius*, a Barber, the Commissary of the Stores, and to other Places he promoted Men as they recommended themselves to him by the large size of their Secrets. He made a Mule-driver a Commissioner of the Tax, called *Vicesima*, together with a Postman, a Cook, and a Locksmith. When he came either to the Camp or the Senate, it was in the Company of his Mother, whose Authority kept him a little in Countenance, and who was the first Woman, as we have said, that ever had that access to the Senate, to give her Vote there. At his Banquets he particularly loved to place by himself, and to Favour, the Bardashes; and took a great delight to Handle them, and to Provoke their Lusts, though it was before all the Company.

Whilst these things passed, he conceived a great displeasure against *Alexander* his Cousin German, whom before he had Adopted; and yet it was only, because he would not be as lewd as he. He ordered him to be removed from

A a 3

him;

him; and repented that he had adopted him, and ordered the Senate to Depose him from the Dignity and Title of *Cæsar*. But as *Alexander* was a very excellent Youth, and acceptable to both the Senate and all the Country, and beloved by the Soldiers, as he approved himself worthy thereof afterwards in his Reign, the Senate when this motion was made to them, was very silent upon it. Then *Heliogabalus's* Fury carried him upon the worst of Wishes. He set Men expressly to Murder him. In order to which, he retired himself from the Palace, to the Gardens by the old Temple of *Hope*; as if he had designed that Place, in the way of an *Omen*, that he might succeed in his Hopes against this so promising, and so necessary a Youth; whom he left behind him, in the Palace, in Company with his Mother and his Grandmother; and had commanded that he should be killed there. At the same time he sent Orders to the Camp to abrogate, amongst them, his Title and Honour of *Cæsar*. He sent Persons to besmear with Dirt his Statues, which were in the Camp; and to deface the Inscriptions upon them, as it is done usually to the Statues of Traitors. He sent to others, that were his Attendants, to engage them by promises of Rewards and Honour, to kill him by what way soever they pleased; either in the Bath, or by Poison, or the Sword.

But the Counsels of the Wicked are of no effect against the Innocent. No Body by any endeavours, could be prevailed with, to the perpetration of a Fact so Villainous. On the contrary, all his Weapons recoiled against himself;

His Hate
to Alex-
ander Se-
verus.

himself; and those Persons, by whom he aimed to take away *Alexander's* Life, became the Masters of his own. All the Soldiers were in a Flame to see the Statues and the Titles of *Alexander* besmeared with Dirt. Some made towards the Palace, some towards the Gardens in which *Heliogabalus* was; directly to assert the Cause of *Alexander*, and to drive away this Impure Man, and in his Heart a Murderer, by violence from the Throne. Coming to the Palace, they first took a care of the preservation of the Person of *Alexander*, and his Mother, and Grandmother; and sent them to the Camp; whither *Semiamira* the Mother of *Heliogabalus*, followed them on Foot, in a great disquiet for her Son, and to see what she was able to effect in his Favour. From the Palace, they went to the House where *Heliogabalus* was. They found him employed about a Match for a Chariot-Race; but withal full of expectation of the News, when it should come, that his Cousin-German was killed. The sudden Noise of the Soldiers frightened him. He threw himself into a Corner, and by the help of a Curtain hanging over a Chamber-door, escaped out of their sight. So he dispatched one of the Captains of the Guards immediately to the Camp to appease the Soldiers there; and another to sweeten those, that were come into the House. *Antinuchianus* was he who was employed to the latter: who spoke to them, and upon their Oaths Conjured them to be satisfied, and intreated them so kindly, that in fine he prevailed with them (they not being very many in

number) to abandon their Enterprife for that time. As to the other Officer, who was sent to appease the Camp, the Soldiers there replied to him; that they were willing to forgive *Heliogabalus*; provided that he would remove the Impure Men, and the Charioteers, and Stage-Players from his Person, and would betake himself to Reason: particularly they desired the removal of such as had made use of their Ministry for a Cloak to Cheat all the World out of their Money. So *Hierocles*, *Gordius*, *Murissimus*, and two more of his Lewd Favourites; who as ill as he was, made him much worse, by the absolute power which they had over him, were removed. The Soldiers further desired, that the Captains of the Guards should take care not to suffer him to lead so ill a life again; and that *Alexander* should be preserved in safety from him, and not be visited by any neither of his Company; because no Taint of their filthiness or example should reach his imitation. But yet *Heliogabalus*, not only instantly redemanded *Hierocles*, who was one that was most extremely Lewd; but he daily carried on designs against the life of the young Prince. Upon the Calends of *January*, when they both were appointed Consuls together, he refused to appear with him in the Procession, according to Custom, to the Senate, and the Capitol: till at last his Grandmother, and his Mother told him, that the Soldiers were ready to Murder him, unless he agreed better with his Cousin German; and then, though it was twelve a Clock, first he

A Mutiny
of the
Soldiers
appeased.

put

put on his Robes, and marched to the Senate; whither his Mother repaired in a Chair at the same time: but he would by no means be persuaded to go from thence to the Capitol to finish the Ceremony, and to perform the accustomed Vows and Rites there. For all things were done there by the Governour of the City, as in the case of the absence of both the Consuls.

Nor did he still forbear to prosecute his design against the life of *Alexander*. But in the mean time fearing, that after he had killed him, the Senate would in return cast their thoughts upon another Emperor, he resolved to be before hand with them, and on a sudden he banished the Senate out of the City. All of them though their Chariots or Servants were wanting, and their Equipages not in a readiness, were commanded nevertheless immediately to be gone. So they went; some of them upon Carts, and others by any manner of Conveniences, that Chance offered to them. *Sabinus*, who had been a Consul, and one to whom *Ulpian* the Lawyer Dedicates his Books, tarrying a little behind the rest, he sent for a Centurion, and commanded him to kill him. But speaking it something low, and the Centurion being a little deaf, the Centurion thought that his command had been to drive him out of the Town by force: which he did, and the mistake saved *Sabinus* his life. At the same time he Banished *Ulpian*, for no other reason; but because he was an Honest Man, and likewise the Rhetorician *Silvinus*, who had been

The Senate banished.

Alexander's

Alexander's Master; and the latter he afterwards put to death: but *Ulpian* was spared.

But the Soldiers, and especially those of the Guards, knowing what *Rods* *Heliogabalus* was making for their Backs, and observing the grudge that he bore them, for their last attempt, in which they had rescued *Alexander* out of his Hands, resolved upon a Conspiracy with one another, for the deliverance of the State. Accordingly they fell first upon his Lewd Associates; whom they put to death in several ways; some by ripping them up, and taking out their Entrails; some by boring them through the Fundament; that their deaths and their lives should be alike. Next they broke by violence in upon himself; who fled for shelter into a House of Office. They killed him there; then they dragged him through the Streets. They added this Despite to his Body that they threw it into the Kennel; and the Kennel not being big enough for it, they fastned a weight to it, that it should not float and be afterwards found, and buried, and so cast it from the *Emilian* Bridge into the River of *Tyber*. But before they threw him into the *Tyber*, they had dragged him up and down the Cirque. His Name, that is, that of *Antoninus* was erased, and nothing but that of *Varinus Heliogabalus* was left to stand upon the Records, because he had so much affected, to retain nothing but the Name, to shew himself to be the Son of an *Antoninus*. They called him after his death, the *Tyberine*, Dragged, Impure *Heliogabalus*, and by many other such

His Associates and himself slain.

such Names, upon any occasion of remarking the Passages of his Reign. Of all the Princes, he was the only one that was both dragged and thrown into the Kennel, and thrown into the *Tyber* too. It was what befel him from the general hatred in which he died, and which Princes by his Example ought to take great heed how they incur; because, if so be that they live so, as not to merit the Love of either the Senate, People, or Soldiers; neither will they be thought to deserve the Honour to be buried. His publick Works were, he built a Temple to his God *Heliogabalus*, whom some interpret the Sun, some *Jupiter*. He repaired the Amphitheatre after a Fire. He carried on the Work of the Baths, that had been begun by his Father, but which had been left imperfect for want of some Galleries to them, which therefore this Prince enterprised; but neither were those brought unto their last perfection till the Reign of *Alexander Severus*.

His public Works.

He was the last of the Princes of the Name of *Antoninus*. And certainly the Life, the Manners; and the Lewdness of him are so odious, that as the Senate erased out of the publick Records his Name of *Antoninus*, my self should not give it him, but for the sake of distinction, and the Laws of History, which oblige me. His Mother *Semiamira* was killed with him; a Woman without Honour, and worthy of such a Son; upon whose account, it was before all things ordained by the Senate, after his Death; that no Woman for the future should ever be received

received a Member there again, and the Head of him by whom this had been done, contrary to the Sentiments of all the World, they devoted to Hell for it. Many were the obscenities of his Life, which I think not fit to mention. His Riot in some things, when a private Man, and in others when Emperor, and what concerns his Luxury in that kind, I may the better describe. For even in his private Life, he professed to imitate the Luxury of *Apicius*; and when Emperor, his Examples were *Nero*, *Orbo*, and *Vitellius*.

His Luxury in his House.

He was the first of all private Men, who covered his Bed with furniture of Cloth of Gold, which he did in virtue of an Act, that had admitted it of *Marcus Antoninus*, when that Emperor made an Auction of all the unnecessary moveables of his Household to raise Money for the *Marcomannick* War. He garnished his Entertainments throughout the Summer, with Glasses and things, all of the same colour, and the colour every day various. He was the first that furnished his Kitchen with Pots and Pans of Silver, whereof some were of a hundred pound weight, and ingraven with venereal Figures. He first brought up the Wines of the infusion of Mastick, Roses, and other things, which the Luxurious have at this day. For though the Wine of the infusion of Roses had been invented before, yet he rendered that still more fragrant by a mixture in it of the Pine. Neither do we read of so many several mixture of Wines before the time of *Heliogabalus*, every moment of whose Life was spent in quest

quest of new Pleasures. He is the first that made a sort of Saulages of Fish, such as Oysters, Muscles, Lobsters, Crabs, Shrimps. His Dining Rooms, Tables, Couches, and Galleries where he eat or walked, were strewed with Roses, Lilies, Violets, Hyacinths, Daffodils, and all sorts of Flowers. He went not into the Baths, but they were first perfumed with noble Oyntments, or Saffron. The Pallets, upon which he reposed himself at Table, were of the Skins of Hares, or the Feathers of Partridges, and he often changed his leaning Pillows for softness. Sometimes he vilified the Senate so, that he called them *Slaves of the long Robe*; and the People of Rome, the *poor Labourers of one Field*; and slighted the *Equestrian* Order, as worth nothing. He often took the Governor of the City, and the Captains of the Guards, to drink with him after Supper, and spared them not their measure. He had designed, if he had lived, to appoint a distinct Governour to every Region of the City, in all fourteen, which was to be a preferment for so many of his Pimps, the filthiest of Men, and of the basest profession of Life. He had Couches of Massy Silver, both for his Dining Rooms and his Chambers. He was served with Dishes frequently in imitation of the Luxury of *Apicius*, of the *Hoofs of Camels*, the *Combs of Cocks cut off from them alive*, and the *Tongues of Peacocks and Nightingals*; because he said, *These are good things against an Epilepsie*. He taught the Court the Dainties of the *Intrails of Barbells*, the *Brains of Red-Tails*, the

the Eggs of Partridges, the Brains of Thrushes, and the Heads of Parrets, Pheasants, and Peacocks. It is to be admired, how he gathered together such a quantity of the Fins of Barbels, that he had great Dishes and large Plates served of them, being things as rare as they are useless. And which is altogether astonishing, he fed his Dogs with the Livers of Geese.

Other of his immoderate Vanities.

Lions and Leopards, being first disarmed of their Claws and Teeth, and taught by Masters to be tame, and to know their Commands, he had a great delight in. And at the second or third Services, on a sudden, he called them into the Room to him, where the Company not knowing that they were disarmed, it was a mighty laughing matter to him to see what a vain Fright it gave them. He sent Raisons in the Sun to be put into the Mangers to his Horses. He fed his Lions and his other fierce Beasts, with Parrets and Pheasants. For ten days together, he had once every day served up to him thirty of the Meats that are made of the hinder Part of so many Sows newly farrowed. His Pease were garnished with Grains of Gold. His Lentils with precious Stones, which matched them. His Beans with Beads of Amber, and his Rice with Pearl. Pearl was sprinkled amongst his Fish and his Mushrooms, like so much white Pepper. He sometimes stifled some of his Company at Table, with the vast number of Violets, and other Flowers, made by a Contrivance to fall upon their Heads.

It is said, that he represented a Fight of Gallies

Gallies in the Amphitheatre, upon a Sea all of Wine, which was let in by the Pipes. At the same time he perfumed the Seats for the People, with sweet Oyntments. He ran a Race of four Chariots drawn by four Elephants a piece, upon the Vatican, being himself the Driver, and levelling the ground for the purpose; and another within the Circuit of his Palace, of as many Camels drawing the Chariots. He once ordered a great quantity of Serpents, to be gathered together for him; so when he had them, he let them fly suddenly amongst the Company that was assembled in the Cirque at a publick Shew, of whom many were bitten, and others put to the scamper to save themselves. He had some Tunicks so thick beset with Jewels, that he said, *He was even loaded with the weight of his finery.* He wore at his Shoes, Jewels of the Cut of the greatest Artists, which was but thought ridiculous; as if the fineness of the Stone, and the gravery, signified at the Foot any thing where it could not be distinguished. He dressed his Head with Jewels, to make him look more of the Countenance of a Lady. He made great Ponds of Sea-water in the inland Parts at a great distance from the Sea, and filled them with Fish from the Sea. He had Mountains of Snow in Summer preserved for him, which was fetched from all Parts. He never would eat Fish near the Sea; but in places at a very great distance from the Sea, he would be always served with the Curiosities of the Sea; and treated the very Rusticks there with the soft Roes of Lampries and Sturgeons.

His

His Fish was dressed with an Art, that when they were brought upon the Table, they looked as if they were alive, just taken out of the Water. He bathed and swam in Ponds of Aromatick Wine, which were filled in an instant for him, and sprinkled with the Flowers of Roses; himself and all the People drinking of the Wine of the Ponds, and his Seat in them perfumed with exquisite Nard. For his Lamps, he had of the Oyl of Balm. He never lay with the same Woman twice; unless it was his Wife. His House was a Bawdy-house for all his Company, Friends and Servants. His Suppers never cost less than one hundred thousand Sesterces; and sometimes reckoning all things, he ~~cost~~ ^{expended} at the rate of thrice that Expence. He ~~it~~ ^{did} the sumptuous Suppers both of *Apicius* and the Emperor *Vitellius*. His Fishing-Nets were drawn out of the Ponds, by a Yoke of Oxen. He tied some of his poor Retainers sometimes to a Wheel which went under Water; in which, giving them a good plunge, and then up again, he said, *Those were his Friends of the Race of Ixion*. He paid the Courts before the Palace, with *Lacedaemonian* and *Porphyry* Marble, which was also yet in being in our memory, and but lately taken up and changed. He had designed to give to the City a large Column, having an ascent within it to the top, where he intended to place the God *Heliogabalus*. But though he proposed to fetch the Stone from *Theban* in *Egypt*, he could not be provided with a Rock that was great enough for his Work.

He

He many times had an humor, when his Company was well in drink, to lock them up, and in the Night on a sudden to send in Lions, Leopards, and Bears (disarmed) into the Room to them; that when they awaked in the Morning, or which was worse, in the Night, and found themselves in the same Room with Lions, Bears and Panthers, they were sometimes struck dead with the fright. As to others of his Guests of an inferiour Condition, he placed them upon Sacks about the Table, filled only with Wind, which being let out suddenly, they were thrown down in an instant at the foot of the Table, with their Meat in their Mouths. When the Players upon the Stage had sometimes pretended to punish a Man for Adultery, for example thus and thus, in shew; he hath commanded the said Punishments to be literally executed. He was so kind to the Whores, that he often redeemed them at the Hands of all such as made a Traffick of them; and paid for their freedom, and then set them at Liberty. He had often Gladiators to fight before him, as he and his Company were at Table together. He caused a Banqueting-Room to be set up for him in the Amphitheatre, where, as he dined, he fed his Eyes with the Combats of Gladiators, and the Chase of Wild Beasts. He was the first of the *Romans* that ever wore a Garment of Velvet. He never put on the same Linen twice; he said, *It was for Beggars to wear Linen twice washed*. He appeared in publick after Supper sometimes in a *Dalmatick*, calling himself a *Fabius*.

B b

Fabius

Fabius and a *Scipio*, when he was in this effeminate Dress, only because those Persons had sometime worn it in their Youths, which were delicate to a Fault. He pickt up all the Women of Pleasure that he could find about the Cirque, the Play-house, the Race, the Baths, and wherever they were; and assembling them all together in some publick House, he made an Harangue to them in the Phrase of *my Fellow Soldiers*, as it was a General speaking to his Army, and then he treated upon the Questions with them concerning the several sorts of Postures and infamous Pleasures. Next he had the like Conference with all the Pimps and lascivious Catamites, old and young, that were to be gotten from all Parts. He dressed himself in the Habit of a Lady, being to meet these, with his Breasts bare; and having concluded his Speech to them, he promised them for their Encouragement, as if they were so many old Soldiers that had well served in his Cause, a Donative of three pieces of Gold each, desiring them to pray to the Gods, to make him happy in the good encrease of their Company.

He commanded his Servants upon a piece of Work which is sufficiently ridiculous, and yet he did it with promises to them of a Reward for their care and pains in it, which was this; that they should bring him a thousand pound weight of Spiders. He had gotten together, at length, by this means, no less than ten times that weight; from whence he said it was easie to make a Judgment of the Great

ness

ness of the City of *Rome*. He sent the Servants of his Kitchen to some with Vessels, supposed to be full of Provision that he had presented them with; but when they were opened, they were found full of Frogs, Scorpions, Serpents and Flies. Dining, or supping he had continually Chariot-Races run before the Rooms and Galleries, where he was; in which he obliged old Men, and some of the most honourable too, to mount the Box, for the greater diversion. He ordered ten thousand Mice, one thousand Weasels, and another thousand of Rats to be gathered together, and shewn to him at once. He often tantalized his poor Retainers, with Mock-Dinners, done all in Glasse, or Wax, or Ivory, or Earthen Ware; upon their Tables and their Napkins, they had Services curiously represented in Paintings, all which did not hinder them, but they might starve for Hunger, and yet none dared to complain of the excellency of the Feast, but washed, and went away, as if they had dined never so well. He commanded that out of the publick Stores of Corn, which *Trajan* and *Severus* had amassed for the Service of the People of *Rome*, for seven Years, at a certain Rate of so much a Year, there should the allowances of two Years, be given to the Whores, Pimps, and Catamites about the Town; the first Year, to go to as many of them as lived within; the second, to as many of them as lived without the Walls of the City.

He had sometimes four great Dogs to draw his Chariot, as well after he was Emperor as before, when he was at his private Seat in the Country. He appeared at other times in publick, drawn by four great Stags; at other times by Lions; and then he caused himself to be called the Mother of the Gods: Sometimes Tygers, and then he named himself *Bacchus*, whose Chariot is drawn by Tygers; and at the same time he habited himself as those Deities are represented, whom he imitated. He had at *Rome* of the little Dragons of *Egypt*, as also Sea-horses, a Crocodile, a Rhinocerot, and of all the strange Beasts of *Egypt*, that were capable to be transported. Ostriches were often a part of his Bill of Fare. He once entertained the principal Persons of the City, upon Seats all made of Saffron, which was wonderful; and to complement them, he said, *It was but Grass in comparison to what they deserved.* He passed the Actions of the Day in the Night, and those of the Night in the Day; esteeming this as necessary a part of Luxury, as any thing. In the Evening he rose, and received the Complements of the Court for that Day; when it was Morning, he went to Bed again. He daily presented his Favourites with something or other of importance. He suffered no one scarce to go from him, but he made him a Present, as if it was of a thing only that he had found, and that he did not value it so much, as to keep it himself.

His extreme Prodigality.

His Coaches and his Chariots were gilt, and all covered with Jewels; he scorned such as were

were but silver'd over, or done with Ivory or Brass. He sometimes caused his Chariot to be drawn by naked, young, and very handsome Girls; two, or three, or four, or more of a Front; and as they were all naked, so for the most part was he. He had also this Custom, to invite to his Banquets eight old Men, all with bald Heads; eight others blind of one Eye; eight others lame of the Gout; eight others that were Deaf; eight Blacks; eight others that were so fat, that their Table could scarce hold them; and then his Fancy was to make himself and the Court merry with them all round. All the silver Plate that was served at his Banquets, and all the drinking Cups, and Side-board Vessels, he gave away frankly amongst the Company, and did this often. Then as a matter of great importance, he proposed it to the Company, to invent every one some new Rules about Pickles, and Sawces, and fine Eating; they did so, and he whose Invention was pleasing to his Palate, received for it a great Reward in a Garment of Silk, which at that time was a Rarity, and held in great Honour. But he whose Invention had displeased him, he desired him to eat only always of that Dish, till he should find a better out. He was always placed himself in a Seat in the midst of Flowers, and precious Odours. He loved nothing but what he was told, was very dear; *Because*, he said, *the Greatness of the Price raises the Appetite.*

He was a perfect *Monsieur-Ragon* in his House, as also a Perfumer, a Vintner, and a Pimp,

B b 3

and

and caused himself to be drawn in Pictures accordingly. At one Supper he hath had the Heads of six hundred Ostriches, for the sake only of the Brains. Sometimes his Banquet was in this manner. He had two and twenty Services of all sorts of Viands, whose Names at each Service, which was made in the order of the Letters of the Alphabet, began all with one and the same Letter. Then betwixt every Service they washed, and after that, every Man betook himself to his Mistress; he and his Friends, and they were to swear, that it was not without an accomplish'd Pleasure. Another time, his Banquet was in this manner; he ordered each Service to be made ready at the House of a several Friend, and as one lived by the Capitol, another upon Mount *Palatine*, another at a third place, another upon Mount *Calvus*, and another on the other side of the *Tiber*; the Company all went to every one's House to eat each Service in order; and then washing at each Service and enjoying their Mistresses, the whole day was scarce time enough for them to finish one Feast. Some say, that he built Baths in several Places, and only washed once in them, and then immediately destroyed them, for fear of accustoming himself to any; and that he did the same with several Houses and Apartments that he built. But I am apt to think, that those things and many others, which exceed all belief, are rather imposed upon him by Persons who have been willing entirely to blacken his memory, only to make him so much the better foil for his Successour.

It is said, that he redeemed one Courtisan, who was very handsome, at the Price of a Hundred Thousand Sesterces, and afterwards honoured her, as much, as if she was a Virgin untouched. One asking him, whilst he was a private Man, being then so Extravagant, if he did not fear the becoming Poor; he answered, *What can I do better for my self, than to be my own Heir, and the Heir of my Wife?* However, he had Estates demised to him by a great many, in consideration of his Father. He said that he desired to have no Children, for fear, that it should make him a good Husband. Instead of Coals, he burnt Frankincense, Cinnamon, Cassia, and other *Indian Sweet-Woods* for his Fires, in his Dining Rooms. He never when a private Man, travelled with less than a Train of sixty Carriages; which made his Grandmother many times to say of him, that he would spend all; But when Emperor, he never went but with a Train of six hundred; saying, that the King of *Persia*, when he travels, employs Ten Thousand Camels; and *Nero* had been attended into the Country with Fifteen Hundred Chariots: The occasion of which great Train of *Heliogabalus*, was the multitude of his Pimps, Bawds, Whores, Bardasses, and his filthy Crew of Men and Women, that he had always with him. Bathing he was always accompanied with Women; whom he most officiously rubb'd and smooth'd, and took away their superfluous Hair, with a depilatory Unguent, made for that purpose; and which,

after them, he used to himself, and took off his Beard with it: and after this, he with a Rasour, with his own Hand shaved, what cannot modestly be spoken of; the Men also that he loved, and to whom he subjected his Body in the nature of a Mistress; for the filthy pleasures that he found in them. He strewed one whole Gallery belonging to the Baths, all over with the Dust of Gold and Silver; regretting that it could not be done with Amber too: and this he did often, whithersoever he stirred out on Foot, if it was but to his Horse, or to his Coach; as the Custom is, to do it with the finest Sand to the Emperors at this day.

He never wore the same Pair of Shoes twice. It is denied that he ever put on the same Rings twice. His best Robes he oftentimes tore and slashed in pieces. He commanded Ships to be sunk in the Port, that were come in from abroad, laden with Merchandises; saying that this was a mark of a great Spirit. His Closets were of Gold; and his Chamber Beds were of Alabaster and Myrrh. *Had I,* he said, *Ever an Heir, I would appoint him such a Governour, as should oblige him to do all the things that I have done, or shall do.* He had also this Custom with him; that one day, he would have nothing at his Table but Pheasants, and all his Services should be of the flesh of Pheasants dressed in several ways. Another day nothing but Pullets. Another day all of one sort of Fish. Another, of another. Another day all Pork. Another day all Oriches. Another day all Herbs; and

and so of Fruits; and milk Meats, and sweet Meats. He often said to his Company, that he had provided them Mistresses of extraordinary Beauty to lie with; as they would find when they went to their Beds. But he sent them to Bed in the dark, because they should not see their Faces, till the next Morning; and then, who were they, but old *Negroe Women*? He put the same Trick upon them, with *Negroe Boys*. He laughed so loud in Publick, that sometimes in the Play-house, no body was heard but only he. He Sung, he Danced to the sound of the Flute, he sounded the Trumpet, he played upon the Shepherds Pipe, and touch'd very well the Organ. He hath gone about in one day to all the Whores of the Cirque, the Play-house, the Amphitheatre, and all parts of the City disguised; and giving them, every one, some pieces of Gold in their Hand; without effecting any with them: says he, *Antoninus gives you this, but tell no body.*

He invented certain new ways for his Lusts, in which he out-did the monstrous Postures of all former times, and all the Conjunctions of *Tiberius, Caligula* and *Nero*. His Fortune was *His death* foretold him by the Priests of *Syria*, that as he foretold, would be a great Profaner of the means that serve to Generation; so he should one day come to dye by his own Hands. He believed it, and provided himself therefore for it. For he had provided himself silken Cords, if necessity was, to Hang himself. He had provided himself Swords of Gold, if necessity was, to Stab himself. He had provided himself Poy.

Poisons, which he carried about him in Emeralds, Jacynths, and other Pretious Stones, if any thing ill happened, that he could no otherwise avoid, to Poison himself. He had built a very high Tower, with steps to it of Gold, enriched with pretious Stones, from whence to throw himself down headlong: because *he would have his death*, he said, to be, *as his life was, sumptuous; there should be a lively Image of Luxury in it; and it should be said, that no body had dyed so, as he.* But all this signified nothing. For he was killed by a Rabble of Soldiers; and dragged most nastily through the Streets; and drawn through the Kennel, and at last thrown into the River of Tyber; with whom ended the Princes of the name of *Antoninus*. A name, to which if his Birth, as it was Spurious, was any Title; yet his Life was the last Disgrace to it, in the sight of all the World.

He is killed by the Rabble.

Your most Sacred Majesty, O *Constantine*, will perhaps think it strange, with others; that this Pest, which I have given this account of, was suffered to Reign so long, as almost three whole years; and that none appeared in the meantime to rescue out of his Hands the Honour of the Roman Empire: because in the Reigns of *Nero*, *Caligula*, *Vitellius*, and the rest of the Princes of this stamp, there never wanted a Man to murder a Tyrant. But above all things, Pardon me if I have been offensive to your modesty in any of the Passages of so dissolute a Life: I have willingly suppressed a great many other of his Lewdnesses, because I could

I could not name them for shame: and as for those, that I have named, as they are what I have found amongst divers Writers, so I have wrapped them up in as clean a Napkin as I could; remembring very well, what your Majesty is used to say; *That to be an Emperor is a brook of mere Fortune*; which raises sometimes very Indifferent, and sometimes the Worst of Men to be so: and your Majesty does very graciously to add to that, *That it lies upon the Persons themselves, whom Fortune hath reduced under that necessity of an Empire, to make themselves worthy of the Place, where they are.*

Thus much concerning therefore *Varus Antoninus Heliogabalus*. It is what I have collected indifferently out of the Greek and Latin Historians. Your Majesties Commands to me, to present you with this Life in its place, after the others which are antecedent to it, and which your Majesty hath accepted, was an Authority abundant to me to supersede all those thoughts that had otherwise made me unwilling, and possessed me with a Reluctancy to meddle in a thing of this Nature. I shall now proceed to the Lives of those that follow. The first of which is, that most excellent Prince, *Alexander Severus*; who was one of thirteen years Reign. Then there will be *Aurelian*, who was another excellent Prince; and *Claudius*, of whom, being the Author of your Majesty's Race, I should be afraid to write the real Truth to you, lest those who have not all the respect that they ought, for the praises which are due to great Souls,

Souls, should pretend that I Flatter, if I did not know, that I should be fully justified by others in all that I have to say. To these is to be added *Dioclesian*, the Father of an Age of Gold; and *Maximian*, the Father of an Iron Age, as they commonly call them; with all the rest, to the Person of your Majesty; whose Reign, I would say, Sir, yours, will be a Subject to employ the Eloquentest Pens, and happy are they to whom Nature is so kind, to have enabled them with gifts for so grand a Work. Nor yet are we to omit *Licinius*, or *Marcus Aurelius Severus*, or *Maxentius*; whose Rights are all devolved upon your Majesty; and from whose Virtues we ought not to derogate: For though it is the method of the Generality of Writers to take away from the unsuccessful and the beaten Side, yet I shall think this an unfit thing to be done, when I consider, that when I shall have faithfully said all the good of them, that I can find in our Memoirs to be never so true, yet it will all but make so much the greater Accession to your Glory.

THE

A. Christi
Cxxxiii.

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR

Aurelius Alexander Severus.

Addressed to the

EMPEROR
Constantine the Great.

By ÆLIUS LAMPRIDIUS.

AFTER that Pest of an Emperor, *Varius Heliogabalus* was killed, who had really nothing of a true *Antoninus* in him; and therefore as the Senate, by their Authority, degraded him from that name, and erased it out of the Records, so neither am I very

His Ex-
traction.

Honours
done to
him.

very willing to give it him. *Aurelius Alexander Severus* his Cousin-German, who was Born at the City of *Arca Casarea* in *Phœnicia* in *Syria*, being the Son of *Varius Marcellus*, by *Mamma*, the Sister of *Semiramira*, the Mother of *Heliogabalus*, received the Empire to the general Relief and Comfort of Mankind. He had some years before been Created *Cæsar* by the Senate, at the time of the death of *Opilius Macrinus*; and now the Senate both made him Emperor, and gave him the Title of the Father of the Country, and invested him with the Tribunitian and Proconsular Powers; and with the right of a fifth Reference, all in one and the same day. And for fear that such an accumulation of Honours should seem to be Precipitate, I will here in the first place mention the Reason, as well why he suffered it on his part, as why the Senate had thought fit to do it on theirs; because certainly otherwise, it was neither for the Gravity of the Senate to confer all those things at once; nor for the Reputation of a good Prince so to accept them. The Army had several times been guilty of a Practice of making whom they pleased Emperors in a hurry, and changing them as easily, when they had done; saying, in the defence of themselves, that they did not know that the Senate had on their part nominated any Person at all to the Empire. For thus they had set up *Pescennius Niger*, *Clodius Albinus*, and *Avidius Cassius*; as heretofore they did *Julius Vindex*, and *Lucius Antoninus*. *Severus* was himself set up by them, in one place, about the same time that *Niger* was in ano-

another, and *Albinus* in another; and yet then the Senate had actually appointed *Didius Fulvianus* to succeed after *Pertinax*. And this thing had occasioned Civil-Wars in the Empire; in which Countrymen against Countrymen fighting, what were they but Murderers one of another? Upon this account therefore it was that all expedition was used to invest *Alexander Severus* with all the Honours of the Crown immediately, and at once, which he should otherwise have received successively and in the course of many years. And this was yet further promoted, by the very great inclination which both the Senate and the People had towards him, after that Pest, who had not only dishonoured the name of the *Antoninusses*, but was a shame to all the *Roman* Empire. So all the marks of Power, and the Titles of Honour, belonging to the Crown, were given him with a forwardness, in which every one appeared to have an Emulation to excel. He was the first of all the Emperors that ever received so many Royalties all at one time: and indeed his Quality, as he had been already for some years a *Cæsar*, spoke for him; but yet the honesty of his Life and Manners did it much more; and it had gained him besides a great esteem, that *Heliogabalus* had attempted to kill him, but could not, because of the Opposition to it of the Soldiers and the Senate. And then that which Crowns all, is; he approved himself worthy of that Care that the Senate had taken of his Preservation, worthy of the Affections of the Soldiers, and worthy

worthy of the Sentiments all good Men had to prefer him, as they did, to the Empire.

His Mother being called *Mammaea*, as I said, he is mentioned by a great many by the name of *Alexander Mammæus*, from her. This

His Education and Masters.

Alexander from a Child, was so instructed in the knowledge of the good Arts concerning the things, as well Civil as Military, that he willingly suffered not one day to pass, in which he did not exercise himself in the one or the other. His first Masters, in his Infancy, for the Elements, were *Valerius Cordus*, *Titus Veturius*, and *Aurelius Philippus*, a Servant of his Fathers, who hath since writ his life. His Master in the Grammar, was *Neon*; in Rhetorick, *Serapion*; and in Philosophy, *Stylion*; that is, this was in his own Country, and for the *Græcian* Learning. At *Rome*, for the Latin, his Master in the Grammar was *Scavrinus*, the Son of the famous Doctor of that name; in Rhetorick, *Julius Frontinus*, *Babius Macrinus*, and *Julius Granianus*; of the latter of which, there are Declamations now extant. But in the *Latin* Learning, his Proficiency was not over-great; as it sufficiently appears by his Speeches which he made to the Senate; and those others that he made to the Soldiers and to the People. Nor did he very much love the Latin Eloquence. But the learned Men in it, he had a great esteem for, and apprehended their Pens; for he was not willing that they should give him an ill report in their Writings; therefore he thought them worthy to be By him upon all occasions; and with

with every thing that he did, publicly or privately, if they had not been present at it, he acquainted them himself, and desired them to be informed carefully of the truth of all things, and accordingly to represent them to the World:

He renounced the Title of *Dominus*, that His Majesty and Moderation. Lord; and ordered that they should write Letters to him, as to a private Person, referring only the name of Emperor. He refused the Jewels, to his Shoes and his Cloaths, which had been worn by *Heliogabalus*. He went in a White Vestment, as he is commonly Drawn; and plain, not Embroidered nor Fringed with Gold; and of the Common Stuffs. He carried himself so frankly with his Friends, that he often obliged them to sit down by him; and went to their Houses to their Entertainments without Ceremony; and received them again continually to his own Table without a formal Invitation. He was to be waited upon, with as easie Access as a Senator: whereas before in some other Reigns, a Prince would not suffer himself to be seen. He was Handsome, as to his Person, and well made, as we see him at this day in his Pictures and Statues. He had a Cavalier Meen and Stature, his Strength answerable; and he both knew his Vigour, and took care to preserve it. Some called him the Pious *Alexander*, he was so amiable, at least as a good and useful Prince, all the Earth esteemed him. He drew a Lot at the Temple of *Fortune*, at the City of *Palestrina*, in the

the time that *Heliogabalus* waited for his Life, out of *Virgil*; which was this, *Æn.* 6.

— *Siqua fata aspera rumpas,*
Tu Marcellus eris. —

Which was as much as to signifie; *That if he but escaped the present Danger, that he was in, he would be a glorious Emperor.*

Occasion
of his
Name.

The occasion of his Name of *Alexander* was from hence. In his Native City of *Arca Cæsarea* in *Phœnicia*, there was a Temple Dedicated to *Alexander the Great*, whither upon the Festival of that Prince, according to the Custom of the Country, his Father, and *Mammæa* his Mother, went to assist at the usual Solemnities. But by accident his Mother fell into Labour, and was delivered of him in this Temple; so she called him *Alexander*: and the day of the Birth of *Alexander* the Son of *Mammæa*, is the same with the day of the Death of *Alexander the Great*. The Senate offered him, the name of *Antoninus*. But he refused it; although he had an Affinity, as well as *Heliogabalus*, to the Emperor *Antoninus Caracallus*; and an Affinity, which was so much better than his; as it was without the stain of his Bastardise: For the Emperor *Septimius Severus* had Married a Noble Lady out of the East, whose Horoscope, as he had heard it was; *That she should be the Wife of a Prince*; though he was then but in a private Condition: Which Lady's Sister's Daughters, were one of them the Mother of this *Alexander*, and the

the other the Mother of *Varius Heliogabalus*. So the two Sons were truly Cousin-Germans to one another, and equal upon that Foot in their Relation to *Antoninus Caracallus*. But it was not only the name of *Antoninus* which he refused; but the Senate by a Decree presented him the Title of *Alexander the Great*, and he refused that also.

Now it will not be amiss here to subjoyn his Speech to the Senate, in which he excuses his Acceptation of the one and the other Name. Only in the first place I will report the Senate's Acclamations upon this occasion, out of the Records of the City, as I find them upon the Day, but one, before the Nones of *March*; when the Senate being assembled in the Temple of *Concord*, and *Alexander* at their repeated request dispensing at last with himself to repair to them, though he knew that their Business was to treat of the Honours which they designed to give him, they cried as he entred thus;

*The Gods save our Innocent Augustus. The Acclama-
Gods save the Emperor Alexander. The Gods tions of
have given you to us. The Gods preserve you, the Se-
The Gods have delivered you out of the Hands nate.
of the Impure. The Gods Eternalize your Reign.
You suffered a great deal under the Impure Ty-
rant, Impure and Obscene as he was, you always
regretted to see him. The Gods have Rooted him
up. The Gods preserve your Majesty. That Infam-
ous Emperor hath justly been Condemned. Under
your Reign we are happy. The State is happy to
be*

be subjected to you. The Infamous Emperor hath been dragged for an Example. That Luxurious Prince is justly punished. The Profaner of all Honour hath been justly Punished. The Immortal Gods give a long Life to your Majesty. The Judgments of the Gods appear in your Elevation.

Here Alexander gave them thanks; and then they went on again.

Antoninus Alexander, the Gods save you. Antoninus Aurelius, the Gods preserve you. Antoninus the Pious, the Gods preserve you. We beseech your Majesty to take the name of Antoninus. To do that Honour to the good Emperors of that Name, to be called an Antoninus. Purifie the Name of the Antoninusses. What Heliogabalus hath Deformed, let your Majesty Purifie. Re-establish the Honour of the Name of the Antoninusses. Let the blood of the Antoninusses know it self again. Antoninus Marcus hath been injured. Let your Majesty Avenge him. Avenge the injury done to Verus Antoninus. Avenge the injury done to Antoninus Caracallus; whose Fortitude at least was admirable. Worse than ever was Commodus, was Heliogabalus only; who really was no Emperor, nor an Antoninus, nor a Citizen, nor a Senator, nor a Gentleman, nor a Roman. Heal his and Life attend your Majesty. The Lives of the Antoninusses attend Alexander, and let him Prosper. Let him be called an Antoninus, and let him Prosper. Let Antoninus Consecrate

gain

gain the Temples of the Antoninusses. Let Antoninus surmount the Parthians and Persians. Let a Sacred Person receive a Sacred Name. The Gods preserve you. In you, Antoninus, we have all things: with you, Antoninus, we have all things:

After these Acclamations, the Emperor took the Liberty to speak thus to them.

Fathers of the Senate,

This is not the first of my Obligations to you. I am to thank you for the Honour of my Name of Cæsar, which you gave me so long since, and for my Life which you also have preserved. I thank you, as for the Empire, so for the Style of Augustus, which you now give me; and for the Pontifical, the Tribunitian, and the Proconsular Powers; all which by altogether a new Example, you have liberally conferred upon me in one day.

The Senate reply'd, and cry'd;

As your Majesty hath accepted these things, so accept the Name of Antoninus. Let not the Senate, let not the Princes the Antoninusses be unworthy to receive this favour of your Majesty. The Gods save the Emperor Antoninus. The Gods preserve you. Let a Coin be made in the Name of Antoninus. Let Antoninus Consecrate again the Temples of the Antoninusses.

The Emperor resumed his Discourse, and said;

C c 3

Fathers

Fathers of the Senate, I earnestly desire you not to engage me to be called to the necessity of satisfying so great a Name as that is, when my Own, which I have from my Birth, and which is but a Foreign one, I find is too Burdensome to me. For so it is with these Great Names, they are Burdens; and not to answer them, it is as ill as if the Name of Cicero should be born by a Mute, or the Name of Varro, by a Blockhead, or that of the Pious Metellus by a Villain. And that the Gods may avert so ill an Omen, who is there that can be pleased to see, that a Name from whence great Actions are expected, is not sustained in its Grandeur, by him that bears it; if he is in a Station so to do.

Here the Senate interrupted him, with the like Acclamations as before; and then he went on.

You know, Gentlemen, to what a height of Glory, or rather to what a Divinity the Name of Antoninus hath been carried in the Persons of four Princes; whose Piety, whose Learning, whose Innocence, and whose Fortitude, if we consider them severally; What could be more Religious than Antoninus Pius? What more knowing than Marcus Antoninus? What more sincerer than Verus Antoninus? And what more Brave and Valorous than Antoninus Caracallus? I am not willing to mention Commodus Antoninus upon this occasion to you; except it is to say that he was so much the worse, because with that ill life of his, he yet continued in the use of the
Name

Name of Antoninus. Antoninus Diadumenus, had not time, nor Age to shew himself: an Art of his Father, had put that Name upon him.

Here the Senate broke out into the like Acclamations as before: and then he said,

But especially you may easily remember, Gentlemen, How things lately went, when the Filibust not only of all Men, but Brutes, took it upon him to bear the Name of Antoninus; who at the same time in Impurity and Luxury outdid Nero, Vitellius, Commodus, and all their wicked Confederates. You remember, what Sighs passed at that time, in all Companies of the People and the Gentry: and how they all cryed with one Voice, that this Wretch is not fit to be at all called an Antoninus. This Pest violates that Holy Name.

Here the Senate replied in these Acclamations.

The Gods Protect us from all the like evils again. We fear them not under your Reign. We are secure under the Government of your Majesty. Your Majesty is above all Vice. Your Majesty hath surmounted, hath vanquished the Temptation of all such Crimes and Disgraces. You are an Honour to the Name of Antoninus. We are certain of this; we are well persuaded of it; we presume upon it, without the fear of ever repenting ourselves: we have approved you from your Youth, and this day, we are confirmed in our Sentiments.

The Emperor replied again and said,

*Refuses
the Name
Antoninus.*

It is not, Fathers of the Senate, that I apprehend my falling at any time into such Vices, that I desire to decline a Name, which is to all so Venerable; nor yet can I distrust the Merits of my past Life so, as to be ashamed to take it upon me. But it is in Truth, because in the first place, I do not delight to assume what is the Name of a strange Family; and next, because I see very well, that it is to impose too great a burden upon me.

Here the Senate repeated their Acclamations as before. He went on,

For with as much reason as I should take the Name of Antoninus, I might take that of Trajan too: I might as well take that of Titus: I might as well take that of Vespasian.

The Senate answered him to this.

Your Majesty is an Augustus, and accepts that Name; so be you also an Antoninus.

The Emperor said,

I see very well, now, Fathers of the Senate, what it is that moves you to press this Name upon us. You think, that we may as well be called Antonini, although it is the Name of another's Family, as all we who succeed to the Empire are entitled in our Stiles Augusti: which we are, because we have an hereditary Right to be so, as being

being as it were by Adoption, the Sons of the first Augustus, who was the Founder of the Empire. The Antoninusses themselves were called Augusti. Now Antoninus Pius adopted Marcus and Verus, to be his Sons and Successors. This Adoption made it a Right to them, to take his Name, which became also hereditary to Commodus, by reason that he was the Son of Marcus; but without this Right, it was a Trick of his Father, which put the Name upon Diadumenus. It was affected in the Person of Caracallus, and it was profaned to the last degree by Heliogabalus.

Here the Senate cried,

The Gods save the Emperor Alexander, our Augustus. We congratulate your Modesty, your Prudence, your Innocence, your Integrity. This shows us what will be the excellency of your Reign. We are ravish'd at it. Your Majesty will direct the Senate hereafter to make a Choice of the best Princes. Your Majesty will justify the Judgments of the Senate. The Gods save Alexander, our Augustus. Let Alexander our Augustus, consecrate the Temples of the Antoninusses. Our Cæsar, our Augustus, our Emperor, the Gods save you. Conquer, Prosper, and Reign many Years.

The Emperor resumed himself again, and said,

I understand then, I have obtained from you, Fathers of the Senate, what I desired. I take this very obligingly, and I give you, and owe you

you infinite Thanks. It shall be my endeavour, that my own Name, which I bring with me, the first of any upon the Throne of Rome, may become such as not to be unworthy to be coveted by others after me, and to be recommended by the good Opinions of this most Pious Senate.

Here the Senate cried,

Alexander the Great, the Gods save you. Tho' your Majesty refused the Name of Antoninus, receive the Title of the Great. The Gods save Alexander the Great. They repeated this often.

The Emperor said,

and the Appellation of Great.

You have offered to me, Gentlemen, in this, a thing of a greater difficulty to do, than it was to assume the Name of Antoninus; to which if I had consented, it might have been attributed to either my Affinity to the Princes of that Name, or to a mutual Love of the same Name, upon the same Throne. But why me, to take your Title of Great? What have I yet done, that is so? If Alexander and Pompey were so called, yet it was after the great Exploits of the one, and the great Triumphs of the other. Therefore speak no more of this, my honoured Fathers, and rather than suggest to me the Title of the Great, believe me to be one of yourselves, and you certainly are a magnificent Assembly.

After this, they repeated the Acclamation, *The Gods save Aurelius Alexander our Augustus,* and so ended this matter. There

There were several other things done in the Senate, that day. But when the House had risen, the Emperor returned as it were in Triumph home, with much more Honour upon him by refusing, than if he had accepted of those supposed Names. His Firmness to himself in it, and the entire Gravity of his behaviour gave him a Reputation, which every body was sensible of, to observe, that the whole Senate together was not able to over-persuade one young Man. He discovered the same Vigour of mind in his Affairs with the Soldiers, and a wonderful and singular Constancy in correcting their Insolencies; so that although he could not be persuaded by all the solicitations of the Senate, to receive either the Name of *Antoninus*, or of *Alexander the Great*; yet *Why call'd* the Soldiers fixed upon him that of *Alexander Severus*; and this not only conciliated him a great Respect in his own time, but it will much redound to his Glory to all Posterity; considering that it is derived purely from his own Bosom, and it is what his intrinsic Merit and Courage, directed them to give him. He did not stick indeed to cashier whole Legions at a time, for daring to mutiny; nor to animadvert very severely upon the Soldiers, that had committed any thing which but seemed to be unjust, wherein he exceeded the Exactness and Boldness of all the Princes his predecessors, since the formation of the Empire under *Julius Caesar*.

There were some Omens which from his Birth had presignified his future Reign, which were

Omens of
his future
Reign.

were these. First, the day of his Birth was the same with the day of the Death of *Alexander the Great*; in whose Temple his Mother was delivered of him, and whose Name he therefore took from thence. Then the same day that he was born, a Pigeon's Egg of the colour of Purple, was taken, and by a good Woman presented to his Mother; from whence the Soothsayers said, *That he would one day, and it would be quickly too, be an Emperor, but not that he would reign long.* In the mean time, whilst his Mother was delivered of him in the Temple, a Picture of the Emperor *Trajan*, which was hanging over the head of her Bed at home, fell down into the Bed. His Nurse was of the Name of *Olympias*; and the Mother of *Alexander the Great* was of the same. His Foster-Father was a Country-man, of the Name of *Philip*, and the Father of *Alexander the Great* was the same. Upon the day that he was born, they say, there appeared a Star of the first magnitude in the Heavens, all the day long over the City of *Arca Cæsarea*; and the Sun was crowned with a bright Circle about it, whilst it pointed upon his Father's House. A Laurel in his Father's Garden which was set by the side of a Peach, in one year had over-topped the Peach. The Peach being *malum Persicum*; this, those who pretended to Augury, said, was an Omen that he should one day Conquer the *Persians*. The Night before his Mother was delivered of him, she dreamt she should be brought to Bed of a little purple-coloured Dragon; and his Father had dreamt

dreamt at the same time that he was carried up to the Heavens upon the Wings of the Image of *Victory*, which is in the House of the Senate at *Rome*. He consulted, when he was a Youth, with a Soothsayer about his Fortune in the way of drawing Lots. The first Lot which he drew said, *That the Empire of the Heavens, the Earth, and the Sea, awaited him*; by which it was easie to understand, that he should one day be Deified. The second said, *That the Empire paramount, awaited him*; which was plainly no other, than the Empire of *Rome*. Another Lot that he drew, was these Verses of *Virgil*, *Æn.* 6.

*Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra.
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hæ tibi erunt Artes, patique imponere morem:
Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbis.*

That is, *That his Arts should be Government, and the giving of Laws of War and Peace; and that he should be the Minister of Mercy and Justice to the People.* There were several other signs of his future Grandeur besides all these. He had a Fire and a Vivacity in his Eyes extraordinary. He looked one down with it, you could not hold your Eyes against his long. His Mind discovered a Power of Divination in it very frequently, so that he spoke of things to come, as really they did. He had a Memory so happy, that none but *Achilius*, hath said, that he was once prompted or assisted in any thing.

Coming

Reforms
the Go-
vernment.

Coming very young to the Empire, he acted altogether in all things with the Advice of his Mother, as if she had reigned in Conjunction with him. And indeed she was a good and pious Lady, but covetous, and loved to amass Money to a fault. He began his Reign with a general purgation of all the Magistrates and Officers of the promotion of the impure *Helio-gabalus*; being Persons whom that Prince had preferred to the greatest Dignities out of the very Lees of Mankind. He clear'd the State of them. He purged the Senate and the Order of the Gentry of them. He purged the Tribes of the City. He turned out all obscene and infamous Persons from all Places in the Court, in which last, he made such a Reform, that retain'd not a Mouth, but what was necessary. Because an Emperor, he said, *was an ill Steward of the People; who out of their Bowels feeds a Company of unnecessary Mouths, that are useless to the State.* He looked carefully after the Magazines of Provisions, and the administration thereof to the Soldiers; out of whose allowances, if the Tribunes had made any unlawful Gain to themselves, he punished it with Death. As for Causes and Matters of Law, he ordered them first to be well considered in all their Circumstances by his Ministers, and his Council Learned in the Law, whereof *Ulpian* was the Chief; and when they had done, he directed them to make a Report of their Judgments to him.

He moderated an infinite number of Laws concerning the Rights of the People, and those

of

of the Exchequer. In which cases he always communicated them with twenty great Lawyers, besides others who were wise and eloquent Men, to the number of no less than fifty generally; so that there were as many Votes to a Constitution of his, as to an Act of the Senate. These Persons spoke admirably well in his Councils; every one's suffrage was asked, which they writ down one after another; time being allowed them first to examine things very well, and to weigh what they had to say, because no one should complain that he had been obliged to give his Judgment upon such Matters of Importance, without a due premeditation. Then he had this Custom, that if it was a thing of Right to be treated upon, he called only the Learned and the Eloquent Doctors to speak to it. But if it was a Military Affair, he sent for the old Officers and Soldiers, Men skilled in War and Encampments, and the Situation of places; and together with those he particularly advised with such as understood that History; of whom he enquired, what had at any time been done in the like rencounters, by the ancient Emperors, or other great Captains, whether at home or abroad. If at any time he happened to see a Man who lay under the Character of having robbed the Province under his Government, he was ready with his Fingers as it were (says *Encolpius*, who was one that was very familiar with him) to pull out his Eyes, he had such a hatred to that baseness. To which *Septimius* adds, that altho' they

they had not been as yet convicted, yet he had such an aversion to them, for the Scandal only, that if he saw them by any sudden Accident, the Commotion he was in, would set him vomiting, and all his Face on a Fire, and he would not be able to speak for some time. And certainly, as one called *Septimius Arabinus*, who had been tried for this, but acquitted in the Reign of *Heliogabalus*, came one day in Company with some of the Senators to salute him, he no sooner saw him, but he cried; *O ye Supreme Powers! O Jupiter! O ye immortal Gods! Is Arabinus alive, and a Senator? It may be, he hopes for the same favour from me, that he had from Heliogabalus. But I am sorry he takes me to be such a Fool.*

The Complement in saluting him was very plain, and by his own Name, *Hail Alexander*. If any one had pretended to do, or say any thing that was sweeter than the Custom was to be, he was sent away as a Flatterer, if the place permitted it; or he was laugh't at sufficiently in case that his Condition did not make him subject to a greater Affront. He ordered to all the Senators, as they had saluted him, Chairs to sit down. But he declared to admit none to pay their Reverences to him in this kind, but Persons of Honesty and good Repute; forbidding all such as knew themselves to be otherwise, by the common Crier, to come near him; for if he once discovered them, it should cost them their Lives. He refused to be adored as *Heliogabalus* was, after the manner of the Kings of *Persia*. The most

most corrupt Magistrates, he said, always complain the most of Poverty, thinking by that means to conceal the Crimes of their Briberies and ill Lives. This he said often, and it was his real Sentiment. To which he added a known Observation upon this Subject, *That he who takes away a great deal, and gives but a little to Vouchers to speak for him, will however always be safe.*

He chose himself one Captain of the Guards, *His Defence to the Senate* and appointed a Governour of the City of Rome entirely by the Advice of the Senate. He made a second Captain of the Guards, of one who had retired out of the way, purposely to avoid it; saying, *The unwillingness of a Man to accept of Commands in the State, was the best Recommendation to them.* He never created a Senator without the Concurrence to it of all the Members of that House that were present; whose Votes were asked round, after Testimonies given of the Life and Manners of the Party to be chosen, by grave Persons; who if they falsified, were to be degraded, and cast into the lowest Class of all the People; and sometimes condemned, as in Cases of Perjury, to lose their Estates, and be banished for ever without Mercy. He created no Men Senators, but upon great Recommendations; saying, *That a Man ought to be very considerable, to be so advanced; and he never* neither advanced the Sons of infranchised Servants, to be Gentlemen; because he said, *The Order of the Gentry was the Seminary of the Senate.*

His excellent Temper.

He was a Prince of that great Temper, that he never suffered his Servants to part with him when once they were placed. He was so courteous and so gracious to every body, that he visited when sick, his Friends; of whatever Condition they were. He desired every one to speak their Sentiments freely to him, and he hearkened to what they said patiently; and ordered things according to their Advices, as much as in Justice it was possible. And if any thing by them had not been done so well as it ought, he convinced them of it, but it was without haughtiness and without bitterness. He obliged them all to sit down upon Chairs by him, and informed himself always about the absent. In fine, his Mother *Maimia*, and *Memmia* his Wife, who was the Daughter of *Sulpitius*, of the Consular Order, and the Grand-Daughter of *Catulus*, objected to him his too great Civility, and told him, *It weakened his Sovereign Power, and rendered it despicable*; to which he answered, *That on the contrary it was the way to live long, and with safety*. He passed no day without doing something that was sweet, obliging and pious; but yet with that measure, as not to exhaust the publick Coffers. Rarely any Estates were confiscated into the Exchequer in his Time. He remitted the Tribute to several Cities, towards their publick Buildings. He lent Money out of the Exchequer at four in the hundred. And to a great many poor, he lent them Money without use, to purchase themselves Grounds, under the condition of paying the Debt

Debt only in the Product. He added to his Captains of the Guards the Senatorial Dignity, which had seldom or never at all been done before in other times; because it was inconsistent then, to be a Captain of the Guards, and a Senator, as *Marius Maximus* hath often observed. But *Alexander Severus* was willing that his Captains of the Guards should be Senators for this reason, because no body should have the Power to judge a Senator, but who was himself a Senator. He had the Muster-Rolls of his Armies in all Parts, always in his Cabinet by him; and when he was alone, he was reviewing their Accounts, Numbers, Actions, Officers, Stations, and Appointments; so that where-ever they were, he had a perfect knowledge of them, and upon occasion, he mentioned a great many of their Names. He kept a Register of all such as merited to be considered for their Services. He refreshed his Memory of things, by looking into his own Memoirs, in which he set down the dates, and who, and what every one was, and upon whose recommendation promoted. He assisted the Convoys of the annual Provision of Corn for the People of Rome in that manner; that whereas *Heliogabalus* had dissipated the Stores which were amassed in the Granaries, he re-established them again at his proper Charge and Expence.

He encouraged the Merchants to come to Rome to Traffick, by allowing to them great Immunities. The quantity of the Oyl, which the Emperor *Severus* had gained to the City,

D d 2

but

His Care of his Sol-diers.

but which *Heliogabalus* had diminished, by putting the Stores into the hands of Men, corrupted with all sorts of Vice, he intirely re-established. He set up a great many Mechanick Works at *Rome*. He tolerated the *Jews*, and the *Christians*. He deferred so much to the Chief Priests, and to the *Quindecimviri*, and the Augurs, in Sacred Things, that after some Causes of that kind had been heard and determined by himself, he hath suffered those Persons to re-examin them, and to decide them otherwise. Such of the Presidents of the Provinces, as he found that he should truly esteem, being Men of Integrity and Honour, and whose Praises, were not directed by a Spirit of Faction, he always took in the Coach with him abroad, and made them Rich Presents, saying, *That as much as others who are corrupt in their Governments ought to be turned out and beggered; these deserve to be purchased and enriched.* The People of *Rome* petitioning him to lower the Prices of Provisions, when they were one time at an excessive height; he asked what sort of Provisions particularly they were, that they thought too dear. They answered, Beef and Pork. Now he did not think fit to fix a cheaper Price upon them immediately, according to the Letter of their desire; but instead of that, he ordered, that no body should kill a Sow, Pig, Cow or Heifer, under such an Age prefixt: And by this means, that which before was eight Pence a Pound, was at length brought down to two Pence.

He

He hearkened to the Complaints of the Soldiers against their Tribunes, in that manner, that if he found the Tribunes in a Crime, he punished them according to the Quality of it, without Favour. He made enquiry about all sorts of Persons by his secret-service Men, whom he continually employed, to others unknown. He kept his Slaves always in the Cloaths of Slaves, his enfranchised Men in the Habits of Free men. He suffer'd no Eunuchs to be in any Places about himself, but left them to serve his Wife in the quality of her Slaves. He reduced them to a certain Number, and suffered them to have to do with nothing in the Court, but the Baths of the Ladies; whereas *Heliogabalus*, who was the Slave of these Slaves, had preferred many of them to great Offices. He took from them even their ancient Privileges; saying, *They were a third Species of humane kind that ought not to be seen or employed amongst Men, and scarcely neither amongst Women of Honour.* One of them particularly who had pretended to have an Interest in him, and had received of a Gentleman a hundred pieces of Gold to assist him in something, he crucified for an Example upon the High-way.

He changed several Prætorian Provinces into the nature of Præsidial Provinces, and disposed of the Proconsular Provinces according to the will of the Senate. He forbade the use of mixt Baths at *Rome* of both Sexes together, as they had been forbidden formerly under the Reigns of other pious Princes, till only *Heliogabalus*

D d 3

gabalus

gabalus had revived them. He suffered not the Tax upon the Pimps, Whores, and Burdashes to be returned into his own Coffers, but he assigned it towards the Reparation of the Theatre, the Cirque, and the Amphitheatre. He had sometime had the Thoughts of making a Law against the Burdashes, as the Emperor *Philip* afterwards did. But he was afraid that it would only occasion more lewdnesses to be coveted in private, because Mankind run with a greater gust upon some things when they are denied them; and the prohibition encreases the desire to obtain. He imposed a Tax upon the *Drapers, Glass-makers, Tanners, Locksmiths, Silversmiths, Goldsmiths*, and several other Crafts, out of which he ordered the Baths to be fitted and maintained for the publick use of the People. He furnished the same Baths with Wood and Oyl, for the Lamps in the Night, whereas before they were not used to be opened till Nine in the Morning, and at Sun-set were shut up again.

It is not altogether true, what some Persons have writ, that his Reign was without Blood. For as the Soldiers had given him the Name of *Severus*; he made it appear in the Corrections that he exacted, that he had not that Name for nothing. He repaired the Works of the antient Emperors, and added many new ones to them of his own. Amongst which are the Baths of his Name, hard by those of *Nero*, which are supplied by an Aqueduct that carries also his Name at this day. He added thereunto a Plantation of a Grove, in the place

His public Works.

place of a private House adjoining, which he bought, and afterwards expressly pulled it down for this purpose. He finished the Galleries to the Baths of *Antoninus Caracallus*, and adorned that whole Work. He first brought up the *Alexandrian* Work of Building and Paving with two sorts of Marble together, the *Porphyry* and the *Lacedæmonian*; with which he adorned the Court. He set up several Colossuses in the City, fashioned by the hand of the most excellent Artists that he could procure from all Parts. He made a great many Medals with impresses of his Portraiture, some of fine Brass, but the most of Gold. He forbid Women of an ill Repute, of what Quality soever, to come to visit his Mother or his Wife. He made many Harangues to the People, in places about the City, as heretofore the Tribunes and the antient Consuls did. He thrice gave the People a Largess, and thrice the Soldiers a Bounty; and to the Bread and the Corn which he gave to the People in their Largesses, he added Portions of Flesh.

He brought down the Use of Money to four in the hundred, at the hands of the Money-changers, and the Usurers themselves. As for the Senators in this case, he first of all had ordered that no Senators should take Use, unless it was some Present in the way of acknowledgment, for having assisted a poor Friend in his Necessity. But afterwards he allowed them to take a moiety of the Use, which was paid to the Usurers; but then nothing in the way of a Present at all. He translated the

He reforms the Interest of Money.

Other of
his pub-
lic Works.

Statues of the great Men, from all parts of the City, into the *Forum of Trajan*. *Paulus* and *Ulpian* were in singular esteem with him, and the Captains of his Guards; the latter had been always his Counsellor, and both of them Assessors to *Papinian*. He had built a Royal Structure of his Name, betwixt the Field of *Mars* and the Bars of *Agrippa*, being one hundred Foot in breadth, and one thousand in length, and supported all by Columns; but however, he could not perfect it, because he was prevented by his Death. He beautified extremely the Temples of the *Egyptian* Deities, *Isis* and *Serapis*, furnishing them with Images, and Vessels of the Marble of *Delos*, and with all the things belonging to the mystical Ceremonies of that Worship. He was entirely affectionate and pious towards his Mother *Mammaea*; insomuch, that he gave her Name to some Buildings which he added to the Palace at *Rome*; as also to a Royal Mansion, and to a Pond which he made at *Baia*, where they do still retain it at this day. In the same place he built other magnificent Structures, and made Ponds of a prodigious greatness (by letting in the Sea, when he pleased) in honour of his other relations. The Bridges of *Trajan* he repaired almost in all places where they were; some he built New himself, but for those that he had repaired, he still continued upon them the Name of *Trajan*.

He was sometime thinking to appoint unto every degree of Men, from Slaves to the highest Magistrates and Officers of all sorts, a particular Habit,

Habit, whereby they should be distinguish'd; which he said, would be a Bridle, especially upon all the Slaves, and would keep them also from mixing and confounding themselves with the Free-People; but *Ulpian* and *Paulus* did not approve of this, because, they said, it would be an occasion of a great deal of Mischief, should Men be easily disposed to quarrel. So then he judged it was enough, that the Order of the Gentry should be distinguished from that of the Senators or Nobility, by the quality of their Gowns; the latter having their Gowns purpled with Knaps or Studs of purple of a larger size, and the others with less. He permitted the Senators to wear within the City, against the Cold and the Rain, the *Pænula*, that is, a Hanging Coat, which otherwise is a Vestment only proper for the Road; but however, he forbade the Dames to use the like sort of Wear, that is, Mantles within the City; but upon the Road, they might do, as they pleased.

He had a greater Command of the Eloquence of the *Greek* Tongue, than of the *Latin*; and he made no bad Verse. He loved Musick, and was skill'd in the knowledge of *Astrology*, which was taught and publickly professed at *Rome* by his Command. He was also very well versed in the Science of the Soothsayers, both as to the Entrails of the Sacrifices, and as to the Flights and Notes of Birds; insomuch, that he outdid in these, the *Biscayners* of *Spain*, and the *Augurs* of *Pannonia*. He was a Geometrician; he painted admirably, he sung very well; but yet never but in the hearing of his own Domesticks,

His Attainments
in Arts.

meticks. He writ the Lives of the good Princes his predecessors in Verse; he played well upon the Harp, Flute, and Organ; he sounded well upon the Trumpet, only he did not make this to appear after he was Emperor. He was the best at the Exercises of the Body of any of his time; those of Arms he performed perfectly well; and how great a Captain he was, his Wars leave us no room to doubt, in which he acquitted himself so happily, and reaped so much Glory. He was only Thrice pleased to accept the Consulate, and then he always substituted others to his place with the first opportunity. He was a most severe Judge against Thieves and Robbers; with all the rigour imaginable, he condemned them, and said, *That they were ordinarily the occasion of all the Crimes that were daily committed, and that they were the only Plagues and Enemies of the State.* A certain Clerk once having given in a false breviate to the Council, he ordered him to be cut into the Sinews of his Fingers, so, as never to be able to write again, and then to be banished for ever. He set up Colossuses, and Statues, some on foot, and some on Horseback, to the honour of the deified Emperors in the *Forum of Nerva*, with Inscriptions upon Columns of Brass containing all their memorable Actions, after the Example of the Marble Statues of the great Men, and the Elogiums of their Lives, which *Augustus* set up in the *Forum* that bears his Name. He desired to appear to derive the Origine of his Blood from the *Romans*; for he was ashamed

shamed to be called a *Syrian*; and was much affronted by that Name, by the People of *Antioch*, *Egypt*, and *Alexandria*, when once they called him, not only a *Syrian*, but a High-Priest, and a Ruler of the Synagogue, as if he was a *Jew* too.

Before I give an account of his Arms and his Military Expeditions, I will here premise a few things touching his particular Life, and his domestic Affairs. He had in his private Oratory within the Court; that is, there were indeed two Oratories there which he used, but this was the chief, and the holiest, the Images of the several deified Emperors of the best Note, and the greatest Virtue, together with which he had the Images of other pious Souls, whom he respected as Gods; and amongst the rest, *Apollonius Thyanæus*; and as a Writer of those times also says, *CHRIST*, *Abraham*, *Orpheus*, and such others, as likewise the Images of his own Ancestors. Hither therefore in the morning early, if he had the leisure, he came to perform his Devotions. But else, if he did not do this, he either took the Air in his Coach, or went a Fishing, or Hunting, or Walking, according to the quality of the place. After this, if he had time, he bestowed himself for a good hour, to the care of the publick Affairs, which indeed required so much the less of his attention, as both the Military and the Civil Affairs were treated amongst his Councillors, who were Men Holy and Faithful, and were never to be corrupted for Money; so that their Resolutions finally passed, unless

His domestic Department.

unless he had offered something himself that was New. But yet if necessity so required, he was set down to Business in a morning before it was day, and continued in it many hours, and never thought the time tedious, nor retired either more to appearance, pleased or displeased, than he came; his Countenance being always equal, and being of a Soul equally contented with every thing that passed. He was certainly one of a great Prudence, which was not to be imposed upon in any thing; for though it were attempted with never so good a Grace, he discovered it, and obliged the Author to repent of his Labour.

After his application to the publick Business, whatever it was, Military or Civil, he employed the greatest part of his leisure to Reading. He read the *Greek* Books, and amongst the rest, particularly those of the Commonwealth of *Plato*. When he read in *Latin*, he delighted in nothing more, than the *Offices* of *Cicero*, and his Books upon the same Subject of a Commonwealth. Sometimes he read the Oration and the Poets, and amongst others particularly, *Serenus Sammonicus*, who was one that he had personally known, and had much loved. He was much pleased with the Verse of *Horace*. He read very much also the Life of *Alexander the Great*, whom he endeavoured to imitate; but in whom, he condemned his Drinking, and his Cruelty towards his Friends; if yet those Imputations upon him are true, because there are good Authors that do defend him, as to the one and the other, to whom

whom this Prince gave a great Credit. After Reading, he moderately employed himself in Exercises of the Body, as Wrestling, Tennis, Running, or Fencing. Then he was anointed, and afterwards put himself into the Bath, which was seldom or never a Bath of warm Water, but of the natural Waters of cold Baths, where he continued about an hour, Fasting, he drank about a Pint and a half of cold Spring-Water. Then when he had done with the Bath, he took a Breakfast upon Bread and Milk, and Eggs and Wine. After this, when the hour of Dinner was come, he dined. Sometimes he deferred to eat till Supper, but for the most part he dined. And he was often served with the *Ooglio*, which was the great Dish of *Hadrian*; and which *Marius Maximus* hath mentioned in his account of the Life of that Prince.

In the Afternoon, he bestowed himself constantly to the reading and signing of Letters and Orders to one part or other, in which he was attended by his Secretaries, and the Masters of the Requests; whom, if they could not conveniently stand by reason of their indisposition, he permitted to sit down, whilst the Clerks read over to him the things that they had writ, to which he added with his own hand what he thought convenient, and changed some Terms for others, that he thought were more elegant and more just. After these were dispatched, he admitted the Company of all his Friends together, and spoke to them all, but he saw none of them ever alone, but his Captain of the Guards, and particularly *Ulpian*, whom

whom he had always had near him, to give him Light in the knowledge that he professed of the things that concern Law and Justice. If he admitted any other privately to him, yet it was by the introduction of *Ulpian*. *Virgil*, he said, was the *Plato* of the Poets. He had the Images of him and *Cicero*, in his second or lesser Oratory, together with that of *Achilles* and others of other great Men. But for that of *Alexander the Great*, he had consecrated him amongst the Gods of his chief Oratory, and the best Persons, whom he more especially honoured there. He never did an Injury to any of his Friends, nor to any of the Officers of State, or Servants of his Household. He always deferred the Judgment of particular Affairs to the Captains of the Guards. And a Captain of the Guards, he said, who hath done any thing to deserve to lose his place, ought rather to be secured and arraigned, than to be dismissed. If at any time he discharged an Officer, he ordered it to be accompanied with a Complement, *That the State thanked him for his Service*. At the same time he failed not to gratify him in that manner, that he might live afterwards a private Life with Credit. He furnished him with Grounds, Oxen, Horses, Corn, Iron, Materials to build himself a House, and Marble to adorn it, and Labourers to assist him; Silver or Gold he seldom gave to any, unless it was to the Soldiers, saying, *It would be a Crime in him, who was the publick Steward of the People, to employ that in superfluities, or upon the Pleasures of himself or others, which the* Provinces

Provinces had contributed to serve the Necessities of the State.

He remitted the City of *Rome* the Duties which upon certain accounts they were to pay into the Exchequer, and particularly the Duty which they were to pay to him, according to Custom, upon the occasion of his elevation to the Empire. He constituted fourteen Censors to the several Quarters of the City, out of the Persons of the Consular Order, whom, together with the Governour of the City, he ordered to take the Cognizance of the Civil Causes, in such sort, that all of them, or the greater part, should be present, when any thing was to be done. He distributed all the Vintners, Victuallers, Regraters, Hosiers, and generally the Persons of all Crafts, into Companies and Corporations; to whom he appointed Governours and Officers to judge in the Disputes that might arise amongst them in the Matter of their several Crafts and Professions. He never gave to the Players those Gratuities which other Emperors have done. He made a difficulty to pay them their Salaries, and he took away from them the rich Cloaths which had been given them by *Heliogabalus*. His band of Archers or Pensioners, who were a Guard used for Pomp and Shew, more than for Service, he cloathed, not with rich, but yet proper and convenient Habits, without superfluity; nor were his Standards or other Royal Habiliments rich; saying, *It was not for a Prince to seek his esteem in fine Cloaths, but to recommend his Reign by Actions of Virtue and Bravery.*

As

As for himself, he wore the coarse shagged Coats of the Emperor *Septimius Severus*, and Waistcoats all plain, with no other embroidery of Gold at them, and only a single Border of purple.

Moderation of his public Entertainments.

In his publick Entertainments, he knew not what it was to be served in Vessels of Gold. His Cups were ordinary, but always very neat. All the Silver-service of his Table, never exceeded the quantity of two hundred Pound in weight. The Dwarfs of either Sex; the Jesters, the Singers, the Actors, the Mimicks, that had before retained to the Court, he gave away amongst the People. And for such of them as were of no use, he ordered them to be sent to places, where they were maintained at the publick Expence, because they should not be troublesome in the way of Beggars. The Eunuchs whom *Heliogabalus* had made his great Companions in Lewdness, and had promoted them to high Offices, he distributed amongst his Ministers, with this Order, that if for the future they did not return to good Manners, it should be lawful for them to put them to death without attending the Authority of the Magistrate. Women of a Licentious Life, of whom he had heard that the number was prodigious, he ordered to be sold, and the Burdashes banished, with whom that Pest *Heliogabalus* had taken his infamous, and abominable Pleasures. Not a Servant in his time at a publick Banquet appeared in a Coat embroidered with Gold. To his private Table, he admitted either *Ulpian*, or some other Learned Men,

whose

whose Conversation, he said, was not only a Pleasure to him, but it was Food to his Mind. At other times, when he eat alone, he had a Book with him upon the Table, where he read, and generally it was some *Greek* Book, though he read also in the *Latin* Poets. His publick Banquets were performed with the same simplicity as his private Repasts; and no difference but in the greater Number of the Tables, and the Company; which sometime being excessive, it rather offended him; saying, *It was like Dining in a Play-house, or in the Cirque.*

He took no pleasure to hear the Orators recite Panegyricks, or the Poets Verses in his own Praise; saying as *Pescennius Niger* had done, *That it was an idle thing.* But Orations or Verses upon the Praise of the great Men amongst the Antients, he heard freely, and was very well pleased, when either they had *Alexander the Great* for their subject, or some of the excellent Emperors his Predecessors, or of the virtuous Personages of *Rome* in the antient times. He often went to hear the Rhetoricians, and the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets in the publick Schools upon such Subjects. He loved to hear also the eloquent Pleadings of the Advocates at Law, whether before himself, or before the Governour of the City. It was very agreeable to him to preside at the publick Games; particularly those that are in the Honour of *Alexander the Great*. He desired to be retired ordinarily after Dinner, and in the hour of his Levee. He never saw Persons alone, as I have said, and it was for this reason, because

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ishment.

he had found, that they, to whom he had sometime granted that favour, had misrepresented their Conversation with him to the World. Particularly *Vetronius Turinus*, was one, who had very much abused the Familiarity, which he had treated him with. He dishonour'd the Empire of *Alexander*, as of a Man, that was so stupid and so impertinent, that he governed him which way he pleased, and made him believe whatever he would; and this he pretended to make all the World believe, in order only to advance the Credit of his Interest, and so to Cheat them by the means out of their Money. But at last *Alexander* surpris'd him with this Artifice. He sent a Person to address himself to him publicly for some thing; but afterwards to take him aside, and to pray him to speak secretly in his favour: who promised him that he would; and afterwards assuring him, that he had done his Business to the Emperor, when really he had not spoken one word to him about it, and acting the same false part over again a second time, and all the while exacting and receiving great recompences for his Services. The Emperor, who was made acquainted with all that had passed, caus'd him to be accused and prosecuted; and proving to him before all the World, upon Evidence, what Sums he had received, and what empty Promises, and false Reports he had made to his Client to Cheat him out of the same, he Condemned him to dye, and the manner of his Execution to be thus; that he should be tied to a Stake, and there

there be quite smoaked to death with green Wood and Stubble; the Common Cryer in the mean time Proclaiming his Words were Smoak, and so he dies with Smoak. For this was not the only Fact of the kind that he had committed. The Emperor for fear of appearing Cruel, had made a particular scrutiny into his Life before he Condemned him; and found that he often had received Money of both sides in Causes, whereof he undertook the Protection; and had sold the Events of things, in which he had had no part, and taken Money of all, who had been admitted to the Offices of Prætors, or other considerable Charges in the State.

With a great Retinue did this Emperor often go to the Publick Shews; but he was extremely sparing of his Liberality to the Actors, and said, *That those Publick Charioteers, and Huntsmen of the Cirque, and the Players of the Stage, ought to be so entertained, as we do the Servants, Huntsmen, Coachmen, and Jesters of our private Families.* In his Repasts he was neither Sumptuous, nor too Frugal: his Table was neither splendid nor mean; but very proper without any superfluity. His Carpets, sometimes trimmed with Studs of Purple or Scarlet; but never of Cloth of Gold; as *Heliogabalus* had used; and as some say before him, it had been used by the Emperor *Hadrian*. In a word, his Table was served always with great moderation. He indulged himself the most in Fruit. He eat very heartily, and so did he also drink; but without excess. He washed always in cold Water, and

His Moderation in his Living and Diet.

in the Summer he drank of the Wine of the infusion of Roses; which was the only thing that he had retained, of all the fine Wines and Methods of the invention of *Heliogabalus*.

It is observable, that he was every day served at his Table with a Hare. Now there is an usual saying with some, that *Eating of Hare will make one Fair for seven days following*; as it is signified in that Epigram of *Martial* which he writes to a Lady, whom he calls *Gellia*; who, always, (he says) when she sent him a Hare, told him, how Fair it would make him for so many days. To which he replies very severely again upon her; *That if it was true, what she said, certainly she had never eaten of a Hare in her life.* (Lib. 5. Ep. 30.) So from this vulgar conceit, a Poet in the time of *Alexander Severus* took occasion to say, in two or three Verses, *That as he was a Syrian born, it would be a Miracle to see him so Fair and so Handsome as he was, if he did not eat Venison and Hare continually to make him so.* The Emperor being told of this by some of his Friends, it is said, That he returned this answer; *That so sorry a Poet was welcome to think him Handsome from any thing. But he only wish'd him to eat upon nothing but Hare, till it had done as much for him; and then he would envy no body.*

After the last service, he drank once to the Health of his Friends, and the honour of the memory of *Alexander the Great*. Women he used moderately; and as for the dishonest Amours of the other Sex, he was so free from them, that as I have already said, he was some

time

time thinking to intirely prohibit them by a Law. He established publick Magazines in all the Quarters of the City of *Rome*; whither those, who had not Conveniencies of their own to lodge their Provisions, might carry them, and have them lodged there with safety. He added Publick Baths to all the Quarters of the City, where before they were wanting; many of which retain his name at this day. He built very good Houses to give them to his Friends; especially such as had lived always without reproach. He moderated the publick Impositions, so that he brought them down to the thirtieth part of what they were under *Heliogabalus*. To which purpose he founded a new Coin of the value of the third part of an *Aureus*, that is a Crown of Gold; and could he have moderated the Impositions still more, he would have founded another new Coin of a Quarter Crown: but when he found that the publick Necessities of the State could not admit a Fall so low, he let that matter alone. The large Gold Coins of the value of two, three, four, ten, fifty, and some a hundred *Aurei* a piece, which *Heliogabalus* had founded, he ordered to be suppressed, and melted as Coins which particularly had this inconvenience with them, they put the Emperor upon occasions of lavishing away more money than otherwise he would. Because when his money is in lesser pieces, he can moderate his Bounty better as he pleases.

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He seldom wore Silks, and Velvets never; nor allowed them to any in their Salaries; nor gave them in Presents. He envied the Riches of none. He aided the Poor; especially Gentlemen that he saw were really decayed, and yet had not brought their misfortune upon themselves by their Luxury, he always befriended as much as he could: giving them Grounds, Servants, Cattle, and Utensils for Tillage. He viewed all the Habits himself that he gave away to others, and often weighed his Gold and his Silver. He gave to the Soldiers Shoes, Boots, Breeches, Coats and Cloaks. The *Alexandrian* Purple which is so exquisite, is so called at this day from him; because it was his Dier that invented it. Not that *Alexander* used it neither at all himself; but it was a fine Wear for the Ladies, and he obliged them to pay well for it. He often used a Cloak of Scarlet; but yet in *Rome*, and in the Cities of *Italy*, he was always in a Gown. He never put on the *Prætecta*, nor the *Toga Pista*, that is, Robes of State so called, but when he was Consul; and then they were the common Robes which are preserved for the purpose in the Temple of *Jupiter*. Only, when he Sacrificed in the quality of the Sovereign Pontiff, then he put on also the *Prætecta*. He loved plain Linen, without Embroidery, with either Purple or Gold. For the Purple, he said, did but make it rough; whereas the excellency of Linen is its smoothness: and the Gold made it worse, that is stiff. His Stockings were always either Linen, or Woollen;

Woollen; and his Breeches White, not Scarlet; contrary to the Custom of the Emperors before him, whose Mode had been Scarlet.

The Jewels and the Precious Stones that he had, he sold; and put the money into the Treasury; saying, it was not for Men, to wear Jewels. He obliged the Princesses Royal to content themselves with one String of Pearl; some Pendants for the Ears, one Necklace of Pearl, one Coronet, when they assisted at the Sacrifices, or Sacrificed themselves; one Gown, Embroider'd with Gold, and one Petticoat with not above six Ounces of Gold. He did himself the Office of a Censor, upon the Manners of the Age. The Great Men imitated him, and the Ladies of Quality followed the example of his Wife. He diminished the number of the Officers of his Household: in which he made such a Reform, that he retained no more Servants in any of the Offices than necessity required. And therefore because his Servants were few, and his whole Service of Silver that he had, was not above two hundred pound weight, when ever he made any publick Banquet, he borrowed both Plate and Servants of his Friends. He never admitted the Diversions of the Stage-Players at his Banquets. He diverted himself the most in the Aviaries, that he had built in the Court. Where he had Peacocks, Fealants, Pullers, Ducks, Partridges, and Pidgeons. Of the latter particularly, it is said, that he had to the number of twenty thousand. And because their Feeding should not be a burden upon

the Publick Stores, he had Servants that maintain'd them out of the Profit that arose from the Eggs, and the young that they produced.

He often Bathed, both in his own Baths, and in those of the Antients, in Company with the People, especially in the Summer, returning from thence to the Palace in his bathing Habit, with only a Scarlet Cloak thrown over him, to mark his Dignity. His Running Footmen were always some of his Slaves: saying, a Freeman ought never to Run, but in the Sacred Games. His Cooks, Fishermen, Fullers, and Bagnio-men, were always also Slaves; into whose places, as they fell, he bought others. There were in all seven Physicians to the Court under his Reign: the chief of whom received a more extraordinary allowance. When he appointed any Persons to the Presidentships of the Provinces, he furnished them according to the Antient Custom, as *Cicero* calls it in his time, with Money and Necessaries, that is, a President of a Province received in Silver twenty pound weight, eight Mules, a couple of Horses, two Gowns, one wearing Suit, one bathing Suit, a hundred pieces of Gold, one Cook, one Coachman; and if he had never a Wife, he was allowed one Concubine: but then at his return he was obliged to restore again all the Mules and the Horses; and the Coachman and the Cook, retaining the rest, if he had comported himself well. But if ill, he was obliged to restore fourfold; besides the Consequence of being Condemned for Embezzling

His Ordering of his Servants and great Officers.

ling the Publick Goods and Money, and for cheating the State; and in Actions also of Recovery, on the part of the particular Persons, by him unjustly used.

The Laws, that he made, are infinite. He permitted all the Senators to have their Chariots, and their Coaches at *Rome*, silvered over; believing it to be for the Honour of the *Roman* Name, that the Senators of so great a City should appear abroad in such Equipages. The Consuls, the whole year round, whether the two first appointed upon the Calends of *January*, whose names were entred upon the Records; or the others, the secondary ones, who were appointed every two Months afterwards, were all Nominated and Created by him, with the Advice of the Senate. He regulated their Expenses; and revived and Re-established the days for their Elections, every two Months, in due Order. He ordered that the Quæstors, at their entrance into their Offices, should make the accustomed Presents to the People, at their own Expence; and that after their Quæstorships, they should be raised to be Prætors, and in Consequence to go to Administer the Government of the Provinces. He suffered the Officers who had the Guard of the Coffers of the Treasury, to be furnished with Money to make their Publick Shews to the People out of the said Coffers: but this was to be done however with great management. He had it sometime in his thoughts, so to dispose those Publick Shews throughout the whole year, that the People should be entertained with them once

His Re-
gard to
Christ.

once in every thirty days. But why he did not do it, is a thing that remains under the obscurity of silence. Upon the seventh day of the Week, if he was in Town, he went always for his Devotions to the Capitol. At other times he went often to the other Temples. He was willing to have built a Temple unto Christ; and had a design to receive him into the number of the Gods, as it was also sometime in the thoughts of *Hadrian*, it is said, to do; who had expressly order'd, in all Cities, Temples to be built without Images; which at this day being left unfinished and unconsecrated are called the Temples of *Hadrian*: who had however disposed them for this purpose: but then he was hindred from proceeding any further by those who having consulted the Affairs of Religion had found, that all the World would turn Christian, if this thing was once suffered, and the other Temples would be deserted.

He made very pleasant Railleries; and was of an agreeable Conversation: and he was kind and gracious in his Entertainments; in which it was permitted to ask him, whatever one would. He was intent upon the amassing of Money, Prudent in preserving it; and Ingenious to find it where it was; but however without doing a prejudice to any. He would not be said to be a *Syrian*; but boasted himself to be Originally a *Roman*, by those from whom he had the Honour to Descend; and whose Genealogy he drew, in which he shews, that his Family was Descended from the *Marcelli*.

To

To the Rhetoricians, Grammarians, Physicians, Soothsayers, Astrologers, Geometricians, and Architects, he appointed Salaries, and Publick Schools to Teach in, and sent them Scholars, that is, Children of a free condition, but of little or no Fortunes; for whose Education he allowed them himself. He deferred a great deal also in the Provinces to the Advocates at Law, and where he hath found, that they have Pleaded Gratis, which a great many did, he encouraged them, and gratified them. He confirmed the Laws from year to year, and carefully kept them in his own Person. He went often to take the Divertisement of the Stage, and had designed to repair the Theatre of *Marcellus*. To several Cities, that had been defaced by Earthquakes, he allowed Money out of the Taxes towards the Rebuilding of their Publick and Private Edifices. He never employed but very little Silver upon the Temples, and not one Leaf of Gold; having always in his Mouth that Verse of *Persius*,

— In Sacris quid facit Aurum?

That is, What should Gold do in sacred matters?

I come now to speak of his Expeditions of War; which I shall do in their order: And in the first place I shall observe what his Custom was, as to these, for things, that were to be held in silence, and others that he discover'd. He never discovered the secret Design; but yet the day that he was to march upon, was two Months before Proclaimed in a

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Publick Edict in these words; *Upon such a Day, and such an hour I shall depart from this City; and by the help of the Gods I shall march the first day to such a place; and so he told his several Stations and Encampments in order; and marked the places, where he was to receive in Provisions, as far as till he arrived upon the Frontiers of the Country of the Barbarians: for from thence all things were hushed, and all marched without the Barbarians being able to know the design of the Roman Army.* It is certain, that he never was deceived in any design that he proposed; because his Counsels were never sold by his Courtiers; as all things under *Heliogabalus* had been by the Eunuchs; who are a sort of Creatures that will be always Prying into all the Secrets of the Court, to the end to appear to be the only Persons from whom nothing is hid; that they may obtain by that means what they desire; whether it is to satisfy their Vanity, or their Avarice. In the mean time, in his Choice of Persons to be either Governors, or Procurators, or Controllers, or other great Officers in the Province, he first proposed their names to the People; and desired them, that if they knew any Crime of which they suspected and charged any of those Persons to be guilty, he should be put to justify himself by certain Proofs; or otherwise answer for it, with his Head. For it was not a thing fit, he said, *That the Christians and the Jews should do this for the recommendation of their Priests, that are proposed to be Ordained; and that it should not be done as to*

*His
Choice of
Publick
Officers.*

the Governours of Provinces, unto whom are committed the Fortunes and the Lives of so many Men.

He appointed Salaries to those that are called *Assessours*; attending upon the Governors of the Provinces: but yet he often said, *That such Persons especially ought to be promoted to the Government of the Provinces, who know how to Govern by themselves, and not by Assessours: adding, that the Men of the Sword have their Administrations proper to them; and the Men of Letters theirs; and so every one ought to act according to the knowledge that he hath.* Treasure that had been hidden and was found, he gave away amongst such as had found it: only if it was very much, he added some of his Courtiers to them. He took their names down in Writing, and refreshed his memory there-with upon any occasion, to whom he ever gave any thing: and if he knew some, that had askt him nothing, or very little, whereby to augment their Fortunes, he spoke to them and said, *What is the matter, that you ask me for nothing? Do you intend to make me your Debtour? Ask me, for fear I should be reduced to be a private Man again, and then you should complain of me.* What he bestowed by way of Gifts, were Estates of Malefactors Condemned, excepting the Gold, Silver, and Jewels; for all that was remitted into the Coffers of the *Exchequer*. Then he disposed of the Offices in the Army, and the Governments of the Provinces, and other Civil Offices in the Provinces: where he changed his Receivers from time

*His prudent
Liberality.*

time to time. Not one of them accomplish'd a full year; indeed he hated them, though they might be Men of Honesty too; because, he said, *They were Necessary Evils*. As for the Presidents, Proconsuls, and Generals, he never made those by Favour, or with the single design to enrich them: but he made them either by the Judgment of the Senate, or the best of his own.

*His Care
of his Sol-
diers.*

He disposed his Armies in the time of an Expedition, so that they received their Provisions in the places where they rendezvouz'd; without carrying with them Subsistence for more than seventeen days; unless it was in the Country of the Enemy, and there he also assisted them with Mules and Camels; saying, *That he desired to look more after his Men, than himself; because the Publick Safety was in them*. He visited them (when Sick) in their Tents; even those of the lowest Ranks; and caused them to be carried upon Waggons, and to be supplied with all sorts of Necessaries. But if they were too Sick to Travel, he recommended them to the care of the good Housekeepers, and the virtuous Women in the Cities and the Villages, where he passed; to whom he paid the Charges of their looking after, whether they recovered or died.

*Story of
Camillus.*

Ovinus Camillus, a Senatour of an Antient Family, had once the Vanity, being conceited on that account, to think of Revolting, and setting up himself to be Emperor. Which being Discovered, and certainly Proved to *Alexander Severus*, he sent for him to the Court.

Telling

Telling him, *That he gave him Thanks, that he was so willing to take upon him the Care of the Empire; how contrary soever it was to the Sentiments of others, that yet were good Men*. So he took him with him to the Senate, and called him his Colleague. In the mean time *Camillus* was in the greatest Confusion and Remorse of Conscience. He received him afterwards into the Court; and admitted him to his Table, and Habited him with the same Imperial Ornaments, or better than his own. Then the War against the *Persians* being declared, he asked him if he would go to it and bear him Company. They began their march together on Foot; *Severus*, earnestly inviting him to bear the Fatigue with Patience. But after five Miles walking, *Camillus* tired; and then *Severus* ordered him a Horse. After two days more march, he was tired again with his Horse; and then *Severus* put him upon a Carriage; but yet neither did this make him easie: but whether it was with Fear, or that he truly desired no more of the Glory that attended those Travels; he Abdicated the Empire with all his Heart, and would rather have died than continued in it. Then *Severus* dismissed him, and sent him under a Guard, whom he desired to take a care of him, Home, to his own House in the Country in safety; where he afterwards lived a long time; but was at last killed by the Soldiers, but yet without the Command of the Emperor, who had altogether gained his Heart, and had treated him with so much Humanity. I know very well,

well, that this hath been thought amongst the Vulgar to have been the Action of the Emperor Trajan. But since neither *Marinus Maximus* hath taken any notice of it, nor *Fabius Marcellinus*, nor *Aurelius Verus*, nor *Statius Valens*, who have all of them written the Life of that Prince: And on the contrary, since *Septimius*, *Acholius*, and *Encolpius*, who have written the Life of *Alexander Severus*, and all others that speak of him, have remarked this Action to be his; I hope that the Authority upon which I also do so, will appear to be of more Weight and Credit; than vulgar Fame, and any common Rumour of the People.

He never suffered Offices, to which belong'd Power of Life and Death, to be sold: saying, *He that Buys, must necessarily Sell again in his turn. But I will have no Merchandise made of the Powers of that Nature; should I suffer them, it would not be in my power to Condemn them. For I should be ashamed to punish a Man that Sells as he Buys, to make up his Accounts.* He made Ordinances touching the College of the Chief Priests, the Commission of the *Quindecimviri*, or fifteen Priests for Religious Affairs, and the College of the Augurs; which merited to be received in the Senate. The *Christians* having gotten into the Possession of a certain Publick Place for the Exercise of their Religion, and on the contrary the Company of the Cooks and Victuallers claiming the same, and pretending that it of right belonged to them; he decided the matter betwixt them by his Rescript in these words; *It is better rather than to*

He favours the Christians.

leave

leave a place to the Cooks, to give it to Men that will Honour God in it, let it be in any manner whatsoever.

With these great Qualities therefore both for Peace and War, this Emperor entred upon an Expedition against *Persia*; in which he Comported himself with that Discipline, and that consideration for the Dignity of the Empire, that it was said, they were more like so many Senators, than Soldiers that he brought with him. Where-ever the Legions marched, the Tribunes, the Centurions, the Soldiers were so quiet, so modest, and so belov'd for their Discretion; and then the Presence of their Prince was accompanied with so many excellent Qualities; that the People of the Provinces considered him as a God. And certainly the Soldiers loved him, as if he was their Brother or their Son; and infinitely respected him as their Parent. They were handsomely Cloathed, and nobly Armed: their Cavalry well mounted, and compleatly Furnished and Caparisoned: so that to see the Army of *Alexander Severus*, it was enough to give one an Idea of the Grandeur of the Roman Empire. He particularly, with all his Power, endeavoured to appear worthy of the name that he carried, and which is more, to surpass the *Macedonian* of the same: and said, *That there ought to be a great difference betwixt Alexander of Rome, and Alexander of Macedon.* He had Companies in his Army, as that *Macedonian* had, that were armed with Shields of Silver, and Shields of Gold. He made a *Phalanx*, consisting

The Manner of his Persian Expedition.

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sisting of thirty thousand Men, whom he called by the name of his *Phalangiers*; by whose means he did a great many Noble Exploits in *Persia*. This *Phalanx* was composed of Six Legions, who were all equally well armed, and for their great Services judged worthy to be all at double Pay after the end of the War of *Persia*.

The Royal Presents, which were made him, he bestowed upon the Temples; but Jewels he sold: because he thought it was an Effeminate thing to keep Jewels; which are neither fit to be given amongst the Soldiers, nor to be worn by a Man of Bravery. An Embassador having presented his Wife, the Empress, by him, with two *Unions* of a great Weight, and an extraordinary Size, he ordered them to be sold; but there was no body to be found to come up to the Price. And for fear that they should draw from the Empress herself, an ill Example, if she used a thing that was not to be Purchased, he Dedicated them to serve for Pendants to the Ears of a Statue of *Venus*. His Protector in his Minority was *Ulpian*; to whom his Mother *Mammaea* was at first averse; but afterwards she thanked him, when she saw that her Son had attained to be so great an Emperor, by following especially his Counsels, in the Government of himself and the State. And yet *Ulpian* laboured under the ill will of the Soldiers; and but that the Emperor defended him, certainly they would often have murdered him in his Presence. In all his Marches, and all his Expeditions, he

dined

dined and supped in Publick, with his Tents open for all the Soldiers to see him, which pleased them well. He eat the common Ammunition Bread, and made the Round in every Quarter, and suffered no one whatsoever to be absent from his Colours. If in Marching any one had but stepped aside to take the least thing from the Inhabitants of the Country, where-ever it was, he was either beaten with Rods in his presence, or condemned in a Mule; or if his Quality had set him above this, he reprimanded him himself publickly, to make him ashamed, and said, *Would you be willing that this should have been done upon your own Estate, which you do to another's?* It was a great Expression with him at all times, *Do not that to another, which you would not that another should do to you*; whether he had heard it from the *Jews* or from the Christians, he retained it well, and it was altogether conformable to his Sentiments. Therefore he ordered it to be proclaimed by the common Cryer, when he corrected any Person. He loved it so, that he made Inscriptions of it upon his own Palace, and upon the publick Works.

Having been told once that a poor old Woman had been outrageously injured by a Soldier, who was by Trade a Carpenter, he not only cashiered him the Army, but gave him to be the Woman's Slave, to maintain her ever after, by his Labour. And though the Soldiers complained of this, he persuaded them all to support with patience such an Example of Mi-

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linary

His strict Discipline

litary Discipline, and at the same time he made them to fear him. His Reign was without Blood in this Sense, that he spilt not the Blood of any one of the Senators, as the Grecian Historian *Herodian* hath observed; but yet he shewed a great deal of sharpness, and of severity in his Reign; and especially, he was so rigorous upon the Soldiers, that he often discarded entire Legions of them at a time; never fearing the Mutineers of his Army, because he knew that they could say nothing against his Life, nor could reproach him, that the Tribunes or the Captains under his Authority, had ever retained any thing of their Pay from them. *And when a Soldier is well clothed and armed, his Belly full, and something in his Purse, then, he said, it is that he the most fears you; for it is Necessity that reduces Soldiers to all sorts of Despair.* In fine, he ordered the Officers of the Army to be waited upon by none but Soldiers, whose Number was limited; that is, he ordered, that there should be four Soldiers to march always before a Tribune, six before a Commander, and ten before a General.

An instance of his steady Severity.

Now to the end to shew you his Severity, and how he carried himself in his Affairs with his Soldiers, it will be convenient to give you one of of his Harangues that he made to them. When he was come to the City of *Antioch*, and had been told one day, that some of the Soldiers had put themselves into the Baths there with the Women of Pleasure, he ordered them all to be taken, and laid in Irons. This be-
ing

ing known to the Legion unto which those Soldiers belonged, they were all immediately in a Mutiny. He called a Council of War, and the Prisoners being all brought before him, and all the other Soldiers standing round about him in their Arms, he spoke thus;

My Fellow Soldiers,

I Hope, you will be easily persuaded to disallow with me, the things that have been committed by some of your Comrades. For the Discipline of our Ancestors is what must necessarily take place here, if we would preserve the State. For when once that Discipline is lost, then adieu to the Glory of the Roman Name, and the Roman Empire. Nor is it to be suffered, that Men should take the same Liberties in my Reign, which lately they did under the Debaucheries which were committed in the time of the impure *Heliogabalus*. Shall the Roman Soldiers, your Comrades, and my Fellow-Companions in Arms and War, Drink, Bath, Whore, and live in all the soft and luxurious ways of the Greeks, and shall I endure this long, and those there, shall I not punish them?

With this the Tumult increased, and they set up a Clamour against him. But he went on and said;

Nay, keep your Clamours to terrifie your Enemy in the Field, and bestow them not in vain upon your Emperor. Certainly your Masters who first taught you Arms, have told you, that you are to cry out so against the Sarmatians, the Germans,

the Persians your Enemies, and not against him who out of the Contributions of the Provinces feeds you, and gives you Cloaths, and gives you your Pay. Forbear then that savage Noise, which is only fit for Battel, lest in a word, and in a breath, this day I break you all, and send you home to your Houses, scarcely with the Name of Romans: For how deserve ye, to be of the number of the least of the Common People of Rome, unless you acknowledge the Right of the Laws of the Roman Empire.

Here they began to grow worse, and to menace him with their Swords. He went on;

Threaten your Enemy, and turn your Arms against those, if you are so Valiant; me you do not affright with it: and should you kill here a single Man, the Empire, the Senate will not be wanting to me, the People of Rome will revenge me.

They still murmuring not the less for this, he cried with a loud voice, *I disband you, be gone, and lay down your Arms.*

After these words, they all laying down their Arms, and discharging themselves of their Military Accoutrements, by a wonderful Example, retired every one, not to the Camp, but up and down to the Inns, which was the first time that he made it appear what his Severity could do. In fine, his Guards that had attended upon his Person, took up the Standards that the others had laid down,

down, and carried them to the Camp, and their Arms were gathered up by the People, and brought to the Palace. But however, this Legion which he had thus cashier'd, in thirty days afterwards, upon Intercession made for them, before he set forward to engage the Persians, he restored again to the same Rank which they had held before in the Army; and the Bravery which they in particular shewed upon that occasion, in which they did Wonders, was the great thing that gained him the Victory: Some of the Officers, in the mean time, he had not spared to punish with death, because it had been by their negligence, that the Soldiers had been so debauched with the Pleasures of Daphne, and because they had not taken the Care that was sufficient to have hindred this Sedition of the Army.

He marched from the City of *Antioch* to give Battle to the Persians, well provided, and with great magnificence. *Artaxerxes*, the most Potent King of Persia, came against him with seven hundred Elephants, one thousand and eight hundred armed Chariots, and a Body of Horse of many thousands. But the Victory was on the side of the Roman Emperor, who in the Fight visited the one and the other Wing, and encouraged the Soldiers, and was often within Perils himself, and signalized his Valour with his own hand. After which, he returned again to *Antioch*, and made his Army rich with the Booty that they took, and the Depredations that he permitted the Tribunes, the Captains, and the Soldiers to make upon

He defeats the Persians.

the Provinces of the Enemy. The Persians then first began to submit to the Dominion of the Romans. But because the Kings of Persia think it an Indignity for those that belong to them to be made Slaves, he sent their Ransoms, and the Prisoners were restored, and the Money given either to such as had taken them Prisoners, or else put into the Treasury.

*He tri-
umphs.*

After this noble Expedition he came to Rome, where he received the honour of a Triumph, performed with great Magnificence, and then he made this Speech to the Senate upon the occasion; which I have taken out of the Journal of the Senate, upon the seventh day of the Kalends of October.

Fathers of the Senate,

WE have vanquished the Persians, and we have no need of any great Eloquence to recount the particulars to you. You may please only to know, what their Arms were, and how well provided they came. They came with seven Hundred Elephants, and this is the first time that we have ever seen in the Field so great a Number; and these carried Towers upon their backs full of Archers, and Loads of Arrows. Three Hundred of these we took, Two Hundred more were killed upon the place and Eighteen we have brought hither with us. Then they had Eighteen Hundred Chariots, armed with cutting Scythes. We could have brought with us of those Chariots Two Hundred, whereof the Beasts were killed. But however, we thought fit to forbear that, be-
cause

cause it is an easie thing to make them ourselves. We have cut in pieces an Army of a hundred and twenty thousand Horse; and ten thousand Compleat Cuirassiers, with whose Spoils we have armed our Men. We took a great number of the Persians Prisoners, whom we have sold. The Country of Melopotamia, betwixt the two Rivers of Tigris and Euphrates, which had been so neglected by my Impure Prodecessour, Helio-gabalus, we have Re-conquered and received into our Obedience. We have put the most Potent King Artaxerxes, as he is entituled; but who is so in effect, as well as by Name, to flight. The Country of Persia beheld him flying; and in the same place, where the Romans heretofore in the defeat of Crassus lost their Banners, the Persians now have left us theirs. You see, Fathers of the Senate, what we have Achieved; the Subject needs no Eloquence to adorn it. The Army is come home Rich. None think their Pains too great, that Conquer. It is for you to appoint Publick Thanksgivings to be made upon this occasion; to the end that we may not seem ungrateful to the Gods for the success of our Arms.

The Acclamations of the Senate followed.

The Gods preserve our Emperor, Alexander, Conquerour of the Persians. We Congratulate your Majesty, your most great Victory; your Majesty hath merited most truly the Name of Conqueror of the Persians and Parthians. The Gods save you. We behold your Trophies. We see your Victory. All thanks to our young Emperor; the
Father

Father of his Country; our Sovereign Pontiff. By you we will hope for Victory over the Germans. By you we will hope for Victory from all Parts. Your Majesty takes the way to Conquer. You Command the Soldiers. The Senate is enriched. The Army is enriched. The People of Rome are enriched by your Majesty.

Then the Senate Adjourning, he went from thence to the Capitol: where having performed the Sacred Ceremonies, and Dedicated to the Temple of Jupiter some Armour of the Persians to be hung up there, he spoke to this purpose to the People.

Citizens and Commons of Rome,

I Have overcome the Persians, and my Army is returned Rich home with the Booty that I have made. We promise to give you a Large sum, and to Morrow we will give you the Games in the Cirque, on the occasion of our Conquests.

This is the account of this Expedition, I have found upon the Annals, and the Works of many Historians: And as for some say, on the contrary, That He was betrayed by a Slave, and instead of Conquering Artaxerxes, fled, for fear of being Conquered himself; or particularly what Herodian says, That Artaxerxes lost his Army by Famine, Cold, and Sickness; in which Opinion he is very singular, I leave them to be contradicted by the Judgments of all such as have

have Read, and are best acquainted with this History.

After all these things, full of Glory, accompanied by the Senate, the Order of the Gentry, and all the People, through Crowds of Women and Children on all sides, and above all the Soldiers Wives; contemplating his Presence and his Meen, and observing him as he passed with admiration. He marched from the Capitol to the Palace, on Foot; followed by a Triumphal Chariot, drawn by four Elephants. He was so born up in the Hands of all People; that he scarce finished this Space in four Hours, and from all sides they cried, how happy is Rome in such a Prince. The following day, was spent in the Games of the Cirque, and the Diversions of the Stage. And then he gave the Poor a Large sum; and Established Pensions for the maintenance of the Children of the Poor, according to an Example of Antoninus Pius; and in the Honour of his Mother Mammæa, those Children were called the Children of Mammæa.

The Affairs of the Province of Mauritania His Successes in Tingitana in Barbary had been in the mean time very successful under Furius Celsus; as were those of the Province of Illyricum under Varius Macrinus, his Kinsman; and those of Armenia under Junius Palmatus: so that from all places they sent him Letters, Crowned with Lawrels; which being publickly Read to the Senate and the People, he found himself adorned and saluted by all the Titles that could appertain to him. Therefore as for Men

Men that had behaved themselves so well in the Provinces, committed unto their Government, and yet had never been Consuls, he appointed them the Honour of wearing the same Marks and Ornaments, as those that had. He put them into Estates, if they were Poor and advanced in years; and gave them Places in the College of the Priests. He gave the Captives that he had made of divers Nations, amongst his Friends; unless they were of Royal Blood, or of more than Ordinary Quality; and then he Deputed them to the Services of War, but in no great Posts. The Lands of the Enemy, which were Conquered upon the Frontiers, were given by his consent amongst the Officers and Soldiers; under a Condition that their Heirs after them should be obliged to take to Arms; and that those Lands should never come to Persons of another Condition; because he said, that the thoughts that they were to defend their own Estates, would make them fight more freely. He furnished them with Cattle and Servants, necessary for Tillage; lest either through the want of Hands, or the Old Age of the Possessors, the said Places should come to be abandoned again; which he thought would be a thing very shameful.

After these things, forasmuch as he lived in a great love and esteem of the Senate and the People, they were unwilling to let him go to the War against the *Germans*, although they all hoped for Victory from his Arms. *Gallia* was at this time incessantly ravaged by
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the Incurfions of that People: which was a matter of great trouble to the State, and to himself; and that which yet encreased their resentments, was, that after the reduction of the Country of *Mesopotamia*, and the defeat of the Forces of so great a People as the *Persians*, the Nation of the *Germans* should now menace the Heads of the State, which yet had been always subject to Emperors, that had not Reigned with so much Glory. So he enterprised this Voyage by great Marches, and all the Soldiery were very much pleased with it. But yet meeting again in *Gallia* with some Mutinous Legions, which he rejected; and the *Gauls* being of a Temper to be hot and fierce, and often troublesome to their Emperors, they could not find themselves disposed to support a Treatment which was so severe, especially after so soft a Reign as that of *Hellogabalus*; And whether that it was they, or *Maximin* that had set Assassines upon him, he was killed at a Village called *Cecil*, in the Province of *Bretagn*; not by a consent of all, but by a party of Soldiers, who took their opportunity to do it, when he had few Persons about him. At the same time they inveigh'd outrageously against him and against his Mother; as a Covetous Woman, earnest to amass Riches; and by whose Counsel he had acted in all things. He Reigned thirteen years and nine days; and had lived twenty nine years, three months and seven days. And his Mother *Mammæa* was killed with him.

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Omens of his Death. The Signs that fore-ran his death, were these. Upon the Anniversary of his Birthday, as he assisted at the Sacrifice, the Beast, which was the Victim, betook itself to its feet, and would have escaped in its blood: and rushing into the Company, where the Emperor was, it left some of its blood upon his Robes. A large and old Laurel, at a certain place where he passed to the War, dyed on a sudden. Three Figtrees, to which his Tent had been fastened, and which were of those sort, that they call the *Alexandrian Figs*, dyed also on a sudden. A Woman, that was a *Druid* cried after him in her Language, You may go; but never hope for Victory, nor trust to your Army. He began an Harangue, that he made to his Soldiers, before he went to seek the Enemy, with these fatal words; *The Emperor Heliogabalus having been killed.* But all these things however he mightily despised; and putting himself upon his March to meet the Enemy, he was killed at the Place above-mentioned.

He had Dined that day, as it was his Custom to do, Publickly, and had eaten of the common Bread, and Provisions of the Army; nor, when his Tent was searched and ransacked, was there any thing extraordinary found in it. After Dinner, as he had reposed himself to Sleep a little, which was about the hour of One, a Spy of the Conspirators, that belonged to the Guards, had entred into his Tent, and had found him awake; but every body else asleep: and the Emperor seeing him, said;

said; *What is the matter, my Friend: any News of the Enemy?* The Man withdrew to his Confederates, and spurred them on to the Enterprize, by the excellency of the Opportunity, which offered itself. So a great number of them immediately broke in, and cutting off every one they found, they came to the Emperor, and struck him several times through the Body; of which he died instantly. Some say, that there was not a word spoken; but only the Soldiers cried to him, Away with you! Be gone.

Maximin, who succeeded him, and who carried on the War against the Enemy served himself, for that purpose, of all the Military Preparations of this Prince. Amongst the rest, especially of all the Auxiliaries of the *Armenians, Mesopotamians, Parthians*, and others out of the East; because being excellent Archers, none were of greater use against the *Germans*, than they.

His contempt of Death had shown itself not only in that fierceness, with which he had always humbled the Soldiers; but also in this. That when *Thrasylulus* an Astrologer, who was his particular Favourite, had told him; that his Fate was to dye by the *Sword of the Barbarians*, he was glad of it, in the Opinion which he had, that he was like to dye in the Field of Battel; which he thought a death worthy of an Emperor. Then he argued upon it, and observed, *what excellent Men in all times, have died Violent Deaths*, in which number he recounted the *Great Alexander* of his own name;

name; Pompey, Julius Caesar, Demosthenes, Cicero, and other famous Personages; so that he desired no greater Honour than to die in the Field of Battel. He believed that it would make him comparable to the Gods. But he mistook the Prediction, for he died not in the Field of Battel; although it was in the time of a War; and yet died by the Sword of a Barbarian. For that Spy, who had first broken into his Tent, was a German, and one that killed him.

The rest of the Army were sensibly touched at his death, and revenged it upon the Authors of it: and the People of Rome, all the Senate, and all the Provinces never resented any thing worse. Nor were they less astonished, when they heard that he was succeeded in the Empire by Maximin, and his Son. Wherein all the World judged very well the hard necessity of his Destiny; because they saw a Man raised to his place, who was of no Birth nor Breeding, and whose gross Rusticity gave them an occasion to apprehend all things. The Senate Consecrated him a God; and a Monument was Erected to his Memory in Gallia, whilst his Body was interred in a most Noble Sepulchre at Rome. His Priests were appointed, as likewise his Festival; which is at this day Celebrated with great Devotion. But some pretend to say, that the occasion of his Murther was; because by his Mother's advice he was for quitting the War against the Germans, and for returning, out of Vanity, with her again into the East. But to say the truth,

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I take this to be nothing but a Fiction of the Creatures of Maximin; to the end, that it should not be thought that so very good an Emperor had been killed by their Friend, contrary to the Laws of God and Man.

Hitherto the Empire of the People of Rome, hath had for the most part Princes, whose Reigns have been in their duration something considerable. But after Alexander Severus arose many, who as they had hastily rushed in, so they were as hastily, one after another, driven away from the Throne again. For some Reigned half a year: some a year: others perhaps reached to two years: but three is the most, till we come to those Princes who far extended the bounds of the Empire; I would say Aurelian, and those that follow; of whose Lives, as much as we can find to be said hereafter; we shall not fail to write and publish it.

That which is Condemned in Alexander Severus, is; that he denied his Native Country, and would not at all pass for a Syrian; that he loved Money; was extremely Suspicious; invented many new Taxes; desired to appear as another Alexander the Great; was too severe upon the Soldiers; and was too inquisitive into the Affairs of particular Persons. But as for those who deny, that he had not been Created a Caesar by the Senate, but by the Soldiers; or that he was the Cousin German of Heliogabalus; they are greatly mistaken; and to see their error, let them peruse, as we have done,

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the Historians of his time ; especially *Acholius*, who is very particular upon him.

Your Majesty, O most Sacred Constantine, is pleased many times to ask ; from whence it comes, that a Stranger and a Syrian did make such an excellent Prince ; when such a great number of others of *Roman* Blood, and out of the Provinces of the Empire, that have Reigned, have been Wicked, Impure, Cruel, Abject, Unjust and Dissolute. I humbly desire therefore your Majesty to observe, as to this ; that according to the Sentiments of good Men, Nature which is the Common Mother of us all, is sufficient to Act in this sort, and so he might be Born a good Prince. But besides, he had an Example immediately before his Eyes, of a very ill Prince that was killed, and after his Death dishonoured ; and the fear which is suggested by such a Fate, could not but have an influence upon him, to make him better. But because these Reasons are a little remote, and too general, and I am sensible, that I ought to suggest the Truth to Your Majesty, I shall refer my self to your Royal Goodness, and your Clemency, in declaring what at least I have read upon this Subject. Your Majesty remembers very well, what no doubt you have seen in *Marius Maximus* ; that a State in which the Prince is himself bad, but his Counsellours good, is in a better Condition, and in much greater Safety, than when the Prince is good, but his Counsellours are bad. For certainly one ill Genius may very well be Amended and Corrected by many, that are good.

good. But a great many, that are all bad, will never be Corrected by one, let him be never so good. And this is what was once said by *Homullus*, unto the Emperor *Trajan* ; where he compared the Examples of *Claudius* and *Domitian*, with one another. *Domitian*, he said, was a very ill Prince, but yet he had Counsellours that were good. *Claudius* was not so ill a Prince as *Domitian* ; but his Counsellours were bad. But yet *Claudius* was of the two the most hated in his time. And certainly it is always better to suffer under the weight of one that is bad, than under many.

But to return to my purpose. It is true, that *Alexander Severus* was a very excellent Person himself ; and was also directed by the good Counsels always of his Mother, who was a very excellent Woman ; which last thing alone is certainly a great Argument of his goodness. But besides all this ; he was served by Counsellors who were Holy and Venerable Personages : without Malice, without Faction, without Knavery, without inclination to Evil, without Animosity against the Virtuous ; without Dissoluteness, without Cruelty, without design of Surprising, or Mocking, or making a Property of their Prince. But full of Integrity, Venerable, Continent, Religious, lovers of their Prince ; they exposed nothing that he did ; nor suffered it in others : they made a secret Gain to themselves in nothing ; they falsified nothing ; they Dissembled nothing ; they never betrayed him ; and they loved, and advanced his Reputation. Add to this another thing, that

Character
of his
Counsellors.

he Banished the Eunuchs from his Counsels, and his Service; as being the only Creatures who ruin Princes. For it is they, that have put them upon the living after the Examples of Foreign Nations; and the Mode especially of the Kings of *Persia*; that sow Divisions betwixt the best Prince and his People; that are Spyes from side to side; and report an answer contrariwise often, than it is given, and keep their Prince lock'd up, and carry all things so secretly, that he knows nothing. For being but Slaves bought with a Price, how should we expect better from them? No, said *Alexander Severus*, *My Captains, Consuls, and Senators, shall never lye at the mercy of Slaves, that are bought and sold.*

I am sensible, *Great Sir*, of the danger which there is in speaking these things before an Emperor, who should repose himself in such hands as these, and should be the Slave of these Slaves. But our Felicity is, that as soon as Your Majesty had well understood, what Mischiefs these Pests do bring along with them, and how they Circumvent the Princes whom they serve; You, out of your Royal Care to the Interests of the State, have reduced them to that pass, that you suffer them not to continue within your Household; not so much as to be your Menial Servants.

Another eminent thing; which Contributed to the Felicity of *Alexander Severus*, is this; that he saw no one at the Court alone, unless it was his Captain of the Guards, and particularly *Ulpian*. For otherwise he had al-

ways

ways Company present; to the end, to give to no Person whatsoever an opportunity of representing their Conversation with him falsely to others, nor of speaking ill of others to him. Especially he did this after the Correction, that he took of *Turinus*; who had often vaunted of speaking things to him, which he never did; and of receiving answers from him, which he never gave him; and this, only to squeeze Money, and enrich himself by that means out of the Pockets of his Clients; though at the same time he made a Cully and a Fool of his Master.

To all which we must add, that if *Alexander Severus* had found, that either his Counsellors or his very Relations had done ill, he punished them; or if the Obligations of his former Friendship with, or his nearer Alliance to them, did not suffer him to punish them; yet he sent them from him; and said, *The whole State is dearer to me than these.*

Now if your Majesty pleaseth to know by Name, what Men they were, whom he called to his Counsels, this is a List of some of them.

Fabius Sabinus, the Son of another famous *Sabinus*; a Person of sublime Virtue; and the *Cato* of his time. *A List of his Counsellors.*

Domitius Ulpian, a most Eminent Professor of the Law.

Antoninus Gordianus, the Son of the Emperor *Gordianus*, and afterwards Emperor himself, a Person of great merit.

G g 3

Julius

Julius Paulus, a most excellent Professor of the Law.

Claudius Venatus, an Oratour of a profound and diffused Eloquence.

Pomponius, an Eminent Professor of the Law.

Alphennus.

Florentinus.

Callistratus.

Venuleius.

Martianus.

Proculus.

Africanus.

Martianus.

Hermogenes.

Triphonius.

Celsus.

Modestinus.

All Professors of the Law, and sometime the Scholars of the most Renowned *Papinian*. They all were the Familiar Friends of this Prince; as both *Acbolius* and *Marius Maximus* assure us.

Cassius Severus, his Kinsman, a very learned Person.

Ælius Serenianus, the most Holy Person of his time.

Quintilius Marcellus, than whom all History does not afford a better Person.

All these therefore, and others, to them suitable, being his Counsellors, and unanimously Conspiring to the good of the State, what could there be done or imagined to hurt it? It is true, that in the beginning of his Reign, for some days a multitude of ill Persons, of whom the Court was full at the death of *Helioabalus*, had neglected no means to engage his Affections in their own favour. But his early Prudence discovered them: He

nips

nips them in the *Bud*, and drove them all from him; and then formed himself a Council of such Holy and Upright Members, that They very much guided him, who was otherwise a Stranger, and a *Syrian*, to be that good Prince that he was. Whereas, on the contrary, those ill Princes, whom your Majesty hath observed to have been *Romans*, labouring under the misfortune of ill Councils also, that made them yet worse; we Have them delivered down to us, heavy laden with a Burden of Vices, of those of their Counsellours, and those of their own.

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Maximian, } *By J. Bernard.*
Constantius Chlorus, }
Galerius. }

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Continuation of These Lives from *Constantine* the Great inclusively down to *Augustulus*, under whom that mighty Empire received its Period, is now in Hand, and will be finished with all Convenient Expedition.

ERRATA in Vol. I.

PAG. 2. line 28. for Tirenta read Fronto. p. 20. l. 7. r. in spilling their Blood. Over. l. 8. r. di Roma, he. p. 81. in the marg. dele his Wife. p. 87. l. 21. r. Cities, Temples also. He. p. 96. in the marg. r. Honour done to his Wife. p. 125. l. 23. dele Tho'. p. 147. l. 32. for Coach r. Couch. p. 147. l. 8. dele without Orders, and r. unlawfully. p. 164. l. 4. for virilis r. virisq; p. 222. l. 27. for this r. their. p. 252. l. 11. after him add; p. 280. l. 15. for on r. or. p. 285. l. 17. r. apply to himself. p. 330. l. 9. dele about the Emperors. p. 339. l. 24. dele when. l. 25. r. when he said they had deserved. p. 366. l. 15. r. he began.

ERRATA in Vol. II.

PAG. 2. line 30. for Bells read Belts. p. 6. l. 18. r. gave him. p. 18. l. 17. for see r. secure. p. 22. l. 33. r. Towns. p. 28. l. 5. r. Palace. p. 84. l. 33. r. the Aqueducts. p. 89. l. 26. r. the Senate's own Power. p. 107. l. 11. r. devoted, Sir, p. 116. l. 9. r. a sudden. p. 126. l. 6. for Pomillions r. Pavilions. l. 16. r. of a God. p. 134. l. 7. dele all. p. 136. l. 19. r. and in consort. p. 177. l. 20. r. no small Miracle. p. 299. l. 11. r. that you have taken. p. 303. l. 16. r. there were three.

Vol. II.

A. Christi
CCXXXVI.

THE Life and Reign OF THE EMPEROR Maximin the First.

Address'd to the EMPEROR
Constantine the Great,

BY
JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

VOL. II.

MAXIMIN the First was a Barbarian Born, of a Village of the Province of Romania, that is, the Ancient Thrace. His Father's Name was Mecca, his Mother's Hababa: The one a Goth, the other an Alan. Under the Reign of the Emperor Septimius Severus, he became

became first a Soldier. Under the Reign of the Emperor *Alexander Severus* he Rife and Flourish'd; insomuch that he succeeded him in the Empire; and being unwilling, after he was Emperor, to have it known, that his Father and his Mother were both *Barbarians*, he ordered the Names of them, which he had discovered at the beginning, to be as much as was possible, suppress'd again, and conceal'd from the World.

He was a Shepherd in the beginning of his Youth; and as he grew, he sometimes even then, was the Champion of the Village of which he was. His First Service as a Soldier, was amongst the Horse, because of his great size and strength of Body, which fitted him more especially and cut him out for a Trooper. He acquitted himself in that Quality to admiration. He was of a Manly Look, Rough-hewn, Fierce, Proud, apt to Contemn; which yet did not hinder him from being oftentimes just in what he did. The Occasion which introduc'd him into the Knowledge of the Emperor *Septimius Severus*, was this: That Prince, upon the Birth of *Geta* his younger Son, appointed a Divertisement of some Games and Exercises to be performed by the Soldiers, and propos'd Prizes for the Conquerors, in pieces of Silver of fine Bracelets, Collars, and little Bells. *Maximin* was as yet a Youth, and could scarce speak the Latin Tongue. However he took the Courage upon him, in Words which were partly Latin and partly *Thracian*, publickly to beg leave of the Emperor, that he

he might try his Skill against some who appeared in the Lists, and who were Men of a more than ordinary Account amongst the Soldiers. *Severus* admiring him for his Size, match'd him, being a *Barbarian*, not with the Soldiers, but some of the stoutest Slaves and Drudges of the Camp; of whom he overcame sixteen one after another: for which he received as many *Premiums*, proportionable to the meanness of the Combat, that is, they were of an inferiour Value to those that were appointed for the Soldiers; and withal he was ordered to be taken into the Army. Another day as *Severus* went to the Camp, he observed *Maximin* in the Crowd Dancing and Leaping after the *Barbarian* way. *Severus* ordered a Tribune to Reform him, according to the Discipline of the *Romans*. *Maximin* understanding that the Emperor had spoken of him, and being proud to be taken Notice of, advanced to the side of the Emperors Horse, and began to Run by him as he Rid. *Severus*, to try his Running, gave a loose to his Horse, and took several Rounds, till fatigued by reason of his Age, and seeing *Maximin* still keep close by him, *You Thracian*, says he to him, can you Wrestle as well as you Run? Sir, says *Maximin*, as much as you please. After this *Severus* dismounted, and ordered some of the freshest and the strongest Soldiers to be pickt out, to Wrestle with him: *Maximin* overthrew seven of these one after another, without Breathing; for which he received the before-mention'd Prizes in Silver, and *Severus* besides,

His Pre-
ferment.

besides, did him the particular Honour to present him with a Collar of Gold, and he placed him in his *Guards du Corps*, because he should be always by him. This made *Maximin* a Remarkable Man, and acquired him a great Esteem. The Tribunes loved him. His Fellow-Soldiers admired him. He obtained of the Emperor any thing that he desired; who preferred him above the rest of the Soldiers, though he was as yet a Youth. He excelled all in the Height and Vastness of his Body, with which he had at the same time a good Meen; and in the largeness of his Eyes, which were no less Bright and Handsome. It is certain, that *Maximin* often drank Eight *Amphors* of Wine in a day; and eat either Forty, or as *Aelius Cardus* says, Sixty pound of Flesh. But he kept himself wholly from Herbs, and rarely eat any Cold Meats, unless it was, when he was under a necessity of drinking. He often preserved his Sweat, and received it into Cups, or a little Vessel for the purpose; so that he could shew you, two or three Quarts of his Sweat at a time.

Under the Reign of *Antoninus Caracallus*, he long Commanded as a Centurion, and conducted Parties, and served several other Occasions of the Army. He hated the succeeding Reign of *Opilius Macrinus*; because that Prince had been the Author of the Murder of *Antoninus Caracallus*, who was the Son of *Severus*, who was *Maximin's* first Master. In this Reign therefore he quitted the Army, and bought himself an Estate in a Village of *Romania*,

mania, where he was born. There he continually entertain'd a Commerce with the *Goths*. The *Goths* loved him entirely, as if he was their own Fellow-Citizen: The *Alans* did the same, and brought him, whenever they approached to the Banks of the River, Presents, which he returned in others to them again. But when *Opilius Macrinus*, together with his Son, was killed, and *Maximin* found that *Heliogabalus* was preferred to the Empire, as the Reputed Son of *Antoninus Caracallus*, *Maximin*, who was then of a mature Age, waited upon him with a Complement, That as he had had the Honour of the good Opinion of his Grandfather the Emperor *Severus*, so he wish'd, he might be so happy as to have his.

Heliogabalus rallied with him in his Impure way, and said, *Maximin*, *Thou hast Tyred thy Sixteen or Twenty, or sometimes Thirty Lusty Soldiers I hear, in Playing and Wrestling with them; How many Times canst thou Perform with a Woman; I warrant thee, thou canst do that Thirty times too.* *Maximin*, not satisfied with this sort of Reception, would have retired himself into the Country again, but that the Friends of *Heliogabalus* detained him, and thought it a Scandal to let the Bravest Man of the Age go off so, who was another *Hercules*, another *Achilles*, another *Ajax*, as the People called him. They did him the Honour to Create him a Tribune; but yet he never attended upon the Person of that most Impure Prince, nor came to salute him in all the three Years of his Reign; but was always either moving from place

place to place upon one specious Occasion or other, or he pretended himself Sick, that he could not wait upon the Court.

And by
Alexander
Severus.

After *Heliogabalus* was killed, and that *Maximin* had an Account, that *Alexander Severus* the Son of *Mammaea*, was advanced to the Empire, he came to *Rome*; where he was received by the New Prince with all the Joy and all the Satisfaction in the World. Inſomuch that he ſpoke to the Senate of him in theſe Words: *Gentlemen, Maximin the Tribune is come to me, who could not reconcile himſelf to the Service of that Impure Beaſt my Predeceſſor. I have given him a Robe Embroidered with Studs of Gold. His Merit recommended him to my Father the Emperor Septimius Severus, and you know the Reputation that he hath attained to ſince. Immediately he gave the Command of the Fourth Legion, which was one that himſelf had raiſed, and conſiſted all of young Soldiers; and at the ſame time he expreſſed himſelf thus:*

My very dear and entirely Beloved Maximin, I have not thought fit to Trouble you with the Command of a Legion of Old Soldiers for this reaſon; becauſe I queſtion, whether the Vices of ſuch, being confirmed in them under the Command of others, are capable of your Amendment. I give you a Legion of Novices, whom you may bring up your ſelf to your own hand. Mould them, Form them as you pleaſe. It will be a great Service to the State and to me, to teach them their Arms ſo, that they may produce many Maximins, that is, many ſuch good Soldiers as you.

No

No ſooner had *Maximin* received this Legion, but he began to Exerciſe them. Every fifth Day he did the ſame; and repreſented with them Fights and the Taking of Towns. He inſpected their Swords, Javelins, Targets, Helmets, Cloaths, and all their Arms and Equipages perpetually, to their very Shoes. He was as a Father to them. And when ſome of the other Tribunes pretended to blame him, ſaying; *Why ſhould you take ſo much Pains, who are in a Poſt to be preferred to be a General when you pleaſe?* Says he, *The Greater I ever am, the more Pains I ſhall take ſtill.* He Wreſtled with his Men himſelf, and Threw half a dozen or more of them one after another, though perhaps he was an Old Man grown to them then: This created him much Envy. One Tribune particularly, who was Prouder and more Angry than the reſt, and of a large Size, and known Gallantry, ſaid to him; *What great Matter is it for a Tribune to Throw his own Soldiers?* Says *Maximin*, *Shall you and I try them our Strength together?* The other conſented: But *Maximin* gave him ſuch a Thruf with his open Hand on his Breaf as he came, that he fell flat upon his Back; and *Maximin* cryed, *Come on any other Tribune that will.* *Albius Cordus* tells us, that *Maximin* was ſuch a Vaſt Man, that he was Eight Foot and almoſt a half High. His Hand ſo big, that his Wife's Bracelet for her Arm made him but a Ring for his Thumb. Theſe other things are commonly reported of him, That he could draw a Chariot after him by his Arms, and move a loaded

Hamighty
Strength.

B 4

loaded Litter himself; That if he gave a Horse a Blow on the Mouth with his Fist, he struck out his Teeth; and if he Kicked him, he broke his Legs. Hard Stones he squeezed into pieces betwixt his Fingers: The younger Trees he tore up. Some have call'd him a second *Milo*, a *Hercules*, and an *Antæus*, for his Strength and Vastness.

He is
made a
General.

These things therefore rendring him so Conspicuous, the Emperor *Alexander Severus*, who was a great Judge of Persons of Merit, preferred him to the General Command of his Army, with the universal Satisfaction of all the Tribunes, Officers, and Men. This was afterwards Fatal to that Prince. All that Army which was grown in a manner unserviceable, under the Reign of *Heliogabalus*, *Maximin* brought to be Disciplined to his own mind. So that when *Alexander Severus* was in *Gallia*, Encamped not far from some Town there, whether it was that *Maximin* set the Soldiers upon him, as some say; or whether it was, the disaffected Tribunes amongst the *Gauls*, whom *Alexander Severus* Disbanded (for he Disbanded whole Legions there, with the same severity as before he had done in the *East*) I know not; but a Party of Soldiers broke in on a sudden upon him, and killed both him and his Mother; and *Maximin* was immediately proclaimed Emperor. The Age of *Alexander Severus*, who was otherwise an excellent Prince, was one thing that might be liable to create in some measure a Contempt of him.

Maximin,

Maximin, who never was any thing but a Soldier, and had not yet been a Senator, was Proclaimed Emperor by the Army, without any Decree of the Senate; and his Son (of whom hereafter) was given him to be his Colleague. Now *Maximin* was always so Wife, that he not only Commanded his Soldiers by his Authority, but he made them love him very much, by the Rewards and Advantages that he gave them. He never injured them in their Pay. He never Mustered Smiths or any sort of Artisans as others do in his Army. He often took them to Hunt with him. But together with these Vertues, he was so Cruel, that he was called by all the Names of *His Cruel-*
a Cyclops, *a Busiris*, *a Sciron*, *a Phalaris*, *a Ty-*
phon, and *a Gyges*. The Senate dreaded him so, that their Wives and Children made Prayers in the Temples, in publick and in private, that he might never see the City of *Rome*. They had heard, how in his method of Reforming the Discipline of the Army, some he Crucified, some he stuffed into the Bodies of Beasts newly killed, some he cast alive to Wild Beasts, some he Cudgel'd to death, and all this without distinction of the Quality of the Person. They feared, he would pretend to Reform the State the same way: which yet is not a Course for a Prince to take, who designs to be Loved. But it was *Maximin's* Persuasion, that the Empire was not to be held by him without Cruelty. He suspected, that the Nobility would condemn his Low and *Barbarian* Birth. He remembred, that he had been
•sighted

He is pro-
claim'd
Emperor.

His Cruel-

slighted at Rome formerly, even by the Servants of some of the Nobility, who would not admit him to see them. And as the Conscience of an Ignoble Mind is of strange Effect, he thought, that as many as were privy to his Base Original, would use him accordingly still. All such therefore he Killed, and amongst those, some that had been his Friends, and had given him often several things in Charity and Pity to the poor Condition he was in, at his first coming to Rome. Never was any thing on the Earth crueller than he. He thought himself almost Immortal; he scarce thought he could be Killed; he confided so much upon his Strength and the Magnitude of his Body, and his Parts. But, as an Epigram said, which was made upon him in relation to this, *He that cannot be killed by one, is to be killed by many; As Great as an Elephant is, an Elephant is to be Killed; As Strong as a Lion is, a Lion is to be Killed; As Strong as a Tyger is, a Tyger is to be Killed; So he that does not fear to be killed by One Man, let him have a care however of a Number.* This Epigram was repeated by a Mimick in his presence from the Stage. But being repeated in Greek, which was a Language which he who was a Thracian and a Barbarian did not understand, and not being told the true meaning of it, it pass'd upon him. He retained no Persons of the Nobility about him. He Reigned like another *Spartacus* of an *Athenion*, with a Court, as it were of Mob. All the Ministers of *Alexander Severus* he put to Death after several ways. He envied the Design

Designs of that Prince, and his Disposition of things; and the Suspicion which he had of every one who had served or loved him, provoked *Maximin* to be more and more Cruel.

This being his way, to Live and Reign like a Fury, he was made yet far more Cruel and Inhumane by a Conspiracy against him of one *Magnus* a Consul, who with a number of Soldiers and Centurions, had laid a design to Kill him, and to Translate the Empire upon himself. The Manner that they pretended to take to do it was this: *Maximin* having made a Bridge to pass the River into Germany, the Conspirators who were to accompany him, after he was Landed, were to break the Bridge and Kill him, and cry, he was killed by an Ambuscade of the Enemy. In the meantime *Magnus* should take upon him the Empire. It is true, *Maximin*, as he perfectly understood the matter of War, was fond of that War against the Germans: He knew his being a good Soldier was the occasion that he was made Emperor; and he was ambitious to keep up the Reputation which he had, and to outshine particularly the Glory of the late Prince, whom he had Murdered. He kept his Men daily to their Exercises, when he was Emperor, as he did when he was a Tribune: He put himself in Arms at the Head of them, and with his Hand, and the movements of his Body, taught them a great many things. But whether or no, that Plot of *Magnus* to Kill him, was real, or whether it was a Fiction of *Maximin's* own, for an opportunity to increase the matter of his Cruelty,

A Conspiracy against him

Cruelty, I cannot say. However it was, he put to Death above four thousand Men upon it, and was not satisfied neither with all that Blood. He put them all to Death without Informer, without Accuser appearing against them, without Tryal, without any Defence of themselves; and all their Estates he Confiscated.

The Emperor *Alexander Severus* had taken into his Army a Body of Auxiliaries of *Parthians*, *Mesopotamians*, and others out of the *East*, who being excellent Archers, he judged would be of great Use in the War against the *Germans*. These Archers upon the Death of that Prince, whom they very much loved, Revolted from *Maximin*, because they would not be persuaded, but that *Maximin* had been the Author of this Murder. They set up *Titus Quartinus*, who was a Captain of their own, to be their General and their Emperor. They put upon him the Purple, and adorned him with all the State of a Person in such a Place. *Titus* complied with them in it, but it was against his Will: But being afterwards killed in his Tent as he lay asleep by one of his own Men called *Macedon*, who envied him only because he was Preferred before him, and his Head being brought to *Maximin*, this Defection ceased; and *Maximin* at first gave Thanks to *Macedon* for the Service which he had done him; but afterwards he hated him as a Traytor, and put him to Death. Still this Defection served to increase the Tyranny of *Maximin*; as a Beast when he is Wounded, frets and

The Revolt of the Auxiliaries.

and rages so much the more for it. He pass'd into *Germany* with all his Army: The *Moors*, *Parthians*, *Mesopotamians*, and all those that *Alexander Severus* had mustered out of the Countries of the *East*, marched with him; For being Light, and the best Archers, none were of greater Use against the *Germans* than they. The Preparations of *Alexander Severus* for this War had been great: But yet *Maximin* added such things to them, as rendered them much more Puissant and more Formidable.

He pass'd the *Rhine*, and entring into *Germany*, he Burnt the Villages of the Enemy for three or four hundred Miles about. He drove their Cattel, killed great numbers of the *Barbarians*, took innumerable others Prisoners, and made his Army Rich with Plunder. He had certainly reduced all the Country of *Germany* under the Obedience of the *Romans*, but that the *Germans* betook themselves to Swim the Rivers and the Lakes, and to seek their shelter in the Woods. He did a great deal with his own Hand: He had indeed been cut off in a Lake, in which his Horse stuck fast, and the Enemy surrounded him, but that his Men came timely up to his Rescue. It was a piece of his *Barbarian* Temerity to think, that an Emperor ought always to Fight with his own Hand. He maintain'd a sort of a Naval Fight in the Lake, and killed several. So *Germany* being conquer'd, he wrote an Account of it to the Senate and People of *Rome*, to this Purpose:

His Expedition against the Germans.

It is impossible, Fathers of the Senate, to express all that we have done: For 400 Miles about we have Burnt the Villages of the Germans, driven away their Cattel, taken Prisoners, and slain all that opposed us. We maintained a Fight in a Lake. We had penetrated their Woods, but that the depth of their Lakes permitted us no passage over to them.

Together with this, he ordered Pictures of this War, as it was, to be drawn and laid before the Senate, that they might read, as well as hear his Exploits. Which Pictures after his death the Senate commanded to be taken down and burnt. Indeed he hated the Senate in his heart, because he imagined that they despised him. In all his other Engagements, which were many, he came off always Conqueror, and took great Booties, and many Prisoners. He says in another Letter which he sent to the Senate, thus:

In so short a time, Fathers of the Senate, I have Fought more Battels than any of the Antients ever did. I have brought away as much Booty from the Enemy's Country, into our own, as exceeds all manner of Expectation; And so many Captives, that the Dominions of the Empire are scarce sufficient to hold them.

Hedesigns upon Sclavonia. From Germany he came to the City *Sirmium* in *Sclavonia*, intending to make War upon the *Sarmatæ*; and very ambitious he was to reduce the Northern Parts as far as to the Ocean, unto the Obedience of the *Roman Empire*. Which if he had lived, he would have done, says *Herodian*, who favours him, out of

a Prejudice, it is to be thought, to *Alexander Severus*. But when the People of *Rome* were no longer able to support his Cruelty, because he revived the Practices of the Informers and false Accusers, Counterfeited Plots to kill the Innocent, Condemned all that came before him without Mercy, made Beggars of the richest Men, and raised himself Money upon others Ruins; put to Death divers who had been Consuls, and Great Commanders without cause; sent for them from the utmost Bounds of the Empire, in a Barbarous manner, to appear before him; kept others in Prison, and omitted nothing in fine, that seemed to flatter his Cruel Inclinations, they resolved to Revolt. And not the *Romans* only, but the Forces that were in *Africa*; because he was so Cruel upon the Soldiers, Conspired in their Opinions with the *Romans*, and made a great and a sudden Revolt, in which they set up *Gordianus* to be Emperor, who was the Proconsul of *Africa*, and a Person of much Worth, in this manner:

A universal Revolt.

There was a Receiver of the Exchequer in *Libya*, who in favour of *Maximin*, to raise him the more Money, grievously Exacted upon every body; till the People of the Country, and some of the Soldiers fell upon him and killed him, in spite of the Opposition of his Party which defended him, and which stood up for the Honour and the Interests of *Maximin*. The Proconsul of *Africa* at this time, was *Gordianus*; a Man advanced in Years, but of very great Worth and Virtue, which made him to be beloved;

loved; and one who had been put into that Command by the Emperor *Alexander Severus*, with the Concurrence of the Senate. Now the Party that had killed that Receiver of the Exchequer to *Maximin*, could not think themselves in safety after what they had done, unless they proceeded to some further Measures, which might give a New Turn to the Face of Affairs. So they came to *Gordianus* to constitute him Emperor. He threw himself upon the ground, and refused it with all the Aversion and Earnestness in the World. They drew their Swords upon him, and presented all their Arms against him to kill him, unless he complied with them, upon the place; and not only him, but his Son after him, and all his House. Then he Consented. He accepted the Purple, and was Proclaimed, he and his Son together as his Colleague, at the Town of *Thysdrus*. From thence he came to *Carthage*, attended with a Body of Guards, and all the Pomp of a Prince. He sent an Account from *Carthage* of what had passed to *Rome*, to the Senate; who received his Letters with Joy, and acknowledg'd and Proclaim'd him and his Son Emperors of *Rome*.

All the Delators that had Pimp'd to *Maximin*, and all his Friends, particularly *Vitalianus* the Captain of the Guards, were hereupon put to death, and *Sabinus* the Governour of the City of *Rome*, was knocked on the head in the Streets. The Senate at the same time, openly and publickly declared *Maximin* and his Son Enemies: They sent Letters into all the Provinces, to call upon them to Assist to the Com-

mon

Gordian
forc'd to
accept the
Empire.

mon Safety and the Publick Liberty: Which Letters were generally received well; some few Towns continued in their Fidelity to *Maximin*, and betrayed the Orders and Persons that were sent to them. In all others, the Friends, Magistrates, Commanders, Tribunes and Soldiers of *Maximin*, followed the Fate of his other Friends at *Rome*. The Senate's Letter to the Provinces was this:

To all Proconsuls, Presidents, Lieutenants, Commanders, Tribunes, Magistrates, and to all Cities, Free Towns, Towns, Villages, and Castles; The Senate and People of *Rome*, whose Deliverance from the Tyranny of the most Cruel *Maximin* is Commenced by the Princes the Gordiani, wish Health and the same Safety with themselves. By the Favour of the Gods, we have obtained *Gordianus*, a Person of the greatest Merit and Virtue, a Senator, and a Proconsul, to be our Sovereign. We have Proclaimed him. And not him alone, but his Son in Conjunction with him, who is a Noble Youth, for the greater Security of the State. It is for you to Concur with Us, to the Common Good and Safety; to oppose in the meantime the wicked Designs of those that threaten us; and as for *Maximin* and his Friends, where ever they are, to pursue them to Death. We have adjudged him an Enemy, together with his Son.

Now the Act of the Senate for Constituting the two Gordiani, the Father and the Son, Emperors, passed in this manner: On the 6th. of the Calends of *June*, the Senate being Assembled in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Junius Jullianus* the Consul, read the Letter of Gordian.

C

nms

nus to them, which he had received out of Africa. The Letter was this.

Fathers of the Senate, It was altogether against my Will, that the People of this Country, and the Army to whom the preservation of it is committed, have called me to the Empire. But with an eye to you, I content my self to sustain that Necessity. It is for you to consider what you will do. For till I receive the Judgment of the Senate, I shall be uncertain and full of doubt, what course to take.

As soon as this Letter was read, the Senate Answered it in these Acclamations.

The Gods preserve our Augustus, and our Emperor Gordianus. The Gods give a happy Reign to your Majesty, who hath Delivered us. May your Majesty, who is our Deliverer, Reign in safety. The State is see in you. We give you all possible Thanks.

Then the Consul moved the Senate, and said: Fathers of the Senate, what is your Judgment as to the Maximins? They cried, Enemies, Enemies. The Consul moved the Senate again, and said, What is your Judgment as to the Friends and Adherents of Maximin? They cried, Enemies, Enemies! whoever kills them, shall receive a Præmium.

Then these Acclamations followed: Let the Enemy of the Senate be Crucified. Let the Enemies of the Senate in all Parts be destroyed. Let the Enemies of the Senate be burnt Alive. The Gods save our two Emperors the Gordiani! May you both Live; May you both Reign together in Happiness! We Decree the Prætorship to Gordianus the Third, the Grandson. We promise a Consul-

ship

ship to the Grandson of Gordianus. Let the Grandson of Gordianus receive the Title of Cæsar. Let Gordianus the Third, enter upon the Office of a Prætor.

When this Ordinance of the Senate was brought to Maximin, he, who was naturally fierce, broke out into such a rage and passion, you would think him more like a Lion than a Man. He beat himself against the Wall, and sometimes threw himself upon the ground. He roared extravagantly, and drew his Sword, as if he would kill the Senate: he tore in pieces his Royal Cloaths, and struck at such as were next him; and if his own Son had not retired out of his way, they say, he would have pull'd out his Eyes. The reason of his Passion against his Son was this: He had ordered him at their first entrance to the Empire, to go and live at Rome; which his Son out of his too great love to his Father, having neglected, Maximin thought, that if but his Son had been at Rome, the Senate would never have dared to attempt this Revolt. Whilst he was in this extream Passion, his Friends carried him to his Bed. The next day, because he could not otherwise contain himself, nor lay aside the thoughts of his Resentments, they set him to drown them in Wine; which he did. The day after he assembled a Council of his Friends, to consider what was best to be done. They said little; some of them in their hearts applauded the Act of the Senate. From this Council, he went to his Army; whom he harangued in a Speech, which was full of Passion against Gordianus.

Rage of Maximin upon the News.

dianus and the Africans that had set him up, and especially against the Senate; and then he exhorts them to Revenge their common Injuries. The Speech was this:

His Speech
to the Ar-
my.

My Fellow-Soldiers, I am to tell you a Thing, which you will not think to be any News to you, you know the Country so well, which is this; The Africans have revolted and broken their Faith with me. I would fain know, when did they ever keep it with any? Gordianus a feeble Old Man, with one Foot in the Grave, hath taken upon him the Empire. And our Holy Fathers of the Senate, have made his Son Emperor, with him. Those most Holy Fathers of the Senate! who, as they once Murdered the Thrice Noble Julius Cæsar, so now they have adjudged me an Enemy, at the same time that I am Fighting for them, and Conquering for them. Nor is it Me only, whom they have adjudged so, but You and all that are with me. Therefore if you are Men, and Men of Bravery and Courage, let us march against the Senate and against the Africans, and you shall have all their Estates amongst you.

Having said this, he gave them a great Bounty, and began to March them towards Rome. In the mean time Gordianus in Africa having displaced Capellianus from the Government of the Province of Mauritania, because he was a Friend of Maximin, Capellianus had put himself upon his defence, and gathered together a Body of Men against him. Gordianus the Father sent his Son Gordianus to meet and Fight Capellianus. They Engaged one another with great obstinacy. Gordianus was killed and lost the

Vol. II. Emperor Maximin the First.

21

the Battle: which his Father much lamenting, and knowing that Maximin was very strong, and that on the contrary the Africans were a People not sufficient for him to trust to, and full of Treachery, he, rather than to fall into the hands of Maximin, put an end to his own days, and Strangled himself. Young Gordianus slain.
Old Gordianus kills himself.

Capellianus made good use of this Victory. He slew and proscribed all he found of the Party of Gordianus; he spared none, as if he acted with the very Soul of Maximin in him. He subverted whole Cities, plundered the Temples, distributed the Booty of the Temples amongst his Soldiers. He cut in pieces Poor and Rich together; ingratiating himself much with the Soldiers, that in case Maximin should dye, himself might have a fair hit for the Empire.

When the News of this was brought to Rome, the Senate being more in fear than ever upon it, of the Cruelty of Maximin, which upon so much provocation given, he had Reason, as much as it was his Nature, to exert, they set up Pupienus Maximus and Clodius Albinus to be Emperors, together with Gordianus the Third, a Youth, who was the Grandson of Gordianus the First. So they had three Emperors to support them against Maximin, at once. The first had been the Governour of the City of Rome; had passed through many high Offices with reputation, and was one of great Worth and Note, but not of Birth. As he was of the severer Life, so was he the most Prudent and most Valorous of all the three:

C 3

and

and therefore both the Senate and *Balbinus*, his Brother, who was a more easie Man, committed the War against *Maximin* to him. He went, *Balbinus* tarried at *Rome*; where there arose intestine Broils and domestick Seditions in a manner that was more violent, than *Balbinus* was able to suppress; till the Soldiers of the Guards cut in pieces several of the People. *Gallicanus* and *Mecenas* were particularly killed in this Fray, and a great part of the City was burnt.

Maximin was well refreshed, to hear of the death of *Gordianus* and his Son, and of the Victory of *Capellianus*. But when again he received the further News of the Act of the Senate for the constituting *Maximus*, *Balbinus*, and *Gordianus* Emperors, he concluded that the Hatred of the Senate to him was Perpetual, and that they did all really make him a publick Enemy; so he was the more violent to advance his Expedition into *Italy*: He crossed the *Alps*, and came to *Hemona*, a City which anciently stood in the way to *Aquileia*. Some say he found this City empty, and deserted, which he was pleased to see, as if it was, that they had all ceded to the Power of his Arm. However it was, when he came to Encamp on the Plain, he could not find Provisions to recruit his Army. For the People of the Country, according to the Advices that were sent them, had every where driven their Cattel and their Provisions, and retired within the Town, on purpose that *Maximin* and his Army should perish for want of Provisions.

This

This incensed his Army against him. They did not think to be starved in *Italy*, but to be mightily refreshed after their Journey over the *Alps*. They began first to murmur within themselves, then to speak some things openly, which he pretending to revenge upon them, they Mutined still more; but deferred to discover it, till a convenient time, which presented it self not long after. He advanced to the City of *Aquileia*; who shut their Gates against him, and were resolved to defend themselves, under the Conduct of *Menophilus* and *Crispinus*, two Officers of the Order of the Consuls, who were sent to them from the Senate. He offered them Propositions, whereon to Surrender: To which the People had well nigh consented, but that *Menophilus* and his Partner withstood them, and said, That they were assured of Conquering *Maximin*; because *Apollo*, the Tutelar God of the Place, had discovered as much to them by his Soothsayers. Hence the Party of *Maximin*, after they were defeated, took occasion to say, That it was *Apollo* who fought against them; and the Victory which was obtained, was not a Victory of *Maximus*, nor of the Senate, but it was a Victory of the Gods. At least they pretended to say this for themselves, because they were ashamed indeed, that so weak and so ill-provided a Place had held it out against so strong an Army. *Maximin* passed the River upon a Bridge of Boats, and began to lay close Siege to it. This Service was hot on both sides. *Maximin* and his Son went round the Walls,

Maximus
besieges
Aquileia

C 4

as

as near as possible, and sometimes encouraged on their Men, sometimes made Overtures to those in the Town. But all did them no great good. Both his Son and he had many Reproaches thrown upon them, because of the Beauty of the one, and the Cruelty of the other. At length thinking that it was the Laziness of his Officers, which was the cause that the Siege was protracted, he put some of those to death, at a time when he the least should have done it; because it made his Army the more dissatisfied with him. In the meantime his Army was in a great want of Provisions: For the Senate had sent Orders to all the Provinces, and to the Governours of the Ports, that they should suffer no Convoys to pass to him: They had also sent Prætors and Quæstors to all Towns to keep strong Guards, and to dispose all manner of things, to his prejudice. So that he who was the Besieger, suffered the distress of Persons besieged. And it was said, that all the World conspired to hate him. His Soldiers seeing this, and fearing what might be the Consequences of it, whose Wives and Children were assembled together upon the Mountain *Albano* not far off, they took their opportunity, when they were at leisure from Action, and whilst *Maximin* and his Son were reposed in their Tent about Noon, to fall upon them, and kill them. Their Heads they fix'd upon Spears, and shew'd them to the Garrison of *Aquileia*. The Statues and Images that were of *Maximin* in the Camp, were immediately defaced and taken down; the

Both the
Maximins
sain.

the Captain of the Guards to him killed, with others of his particular Friends, and the Heads of both the Father and the Son were sent to Rome.

This was the End of the two *Maximins*. An End, just upon the Father, who deserved it for his Cruelty, as much as it was severe upon the Son, who was a good Prince. All the Provinces received the News with great joy. But the Barbarians regreted his loss. His Army submitted: whereof such as were declared publick Enemies, were put to death; the rest were received by the Town of *Aquileia*: A great Convoy of Provisions was sent to them into their Camp, which was almost starving; and the next day they all took the Oath of Fidelity to *Maximus*, *Balbinus*, and *Gordianus*; Adored before their Images, and acknowledged the two late *Gordians* as Gods, who had lost their Lives in the Cause against *Maximin*. Three
new Em-
perors.

It is not easie to express the great Joy that appeared, as the Head of *Maximin* was carried through the Country of *Italy* to Rome. Every body was glad to run to meet it. The Emperor *Maximus* was then at *Ravenna*; where he had raised himself some Auxiliary Troops of the *Germans*, and was making Preparations for the War. But as soon as he received the News, that the *Maximins* were both killed, and that their Army had yielded, and sworn Fidelity to him and his Colleagues, he dismissed those Troops, and immediately writ Letters of the Victory to Rome: where it produced such an Universal Joy, that every body repaired to the
Altars,

Altars, Temples, the Chappels and the Religious Houses, to give Thanks unto the Gods for it. The Emperor *Balbinus*, who was by nature a Timorous Man, and who trembled when he but heard the Name of *Maximin*, offered a Sacrifice of an hundred Beasts, and ordered the same to be repeated through all the Cities of *Italy*. Then *Maximus* returned to *Rome*: Coming to the Senate, he Congratulated to them the Success of his Expedition, and made a Speech. After which he, *Balbinus*, and *Gordianus*, went together to the Court, attended with all the usual Acclamations of Joy and Victory.

It is fit to know, what a Decree the Senate passed upon this, and what a Day it was with the People at *Rome*, when the News arrived of the Death of *Maximin*. The Express sent with it from *Aquileia*, took his way by *Ravenna* to deliver it first to the Emperor *Maximus*, and yet he made such haste by change of Horses, that he reached *Rome* in four days, which was never known done before. The two Emperors *Balbinus* and *Gordianus*, with all the People, were then assembled in the Theatre, at the Publick Divertisements. Immediately as the Express came into the Theatre, before he could have the time to say any thing, all the People cried out with great Joy, *Maximin* is Killed; which was a grateful Hearing to the Emperors. So the Company rose, and every one went strait to the Temples and the Chappels, to return their Thanks to the Gods. From thence the Emperors went to the Senate, which Assembled

bled upon this Occasion, as likewise did the People; and after the Emperor *Balbinus* had read to the Senate the Letter which was arrived from *Maximus*, the Senate passed this Decree, as follows.

The Gods Pursue the Enemies of the People of Rome. We return our Thanks to thee for the same, O most Excellent Jupiter, and to Thee, O Holy Apollo! We Thank the Emperor Maximus. We Thank Your Majesties here present, Balbinus and Gordianus. We Decree Temples to the Honour of the Emperors the Gordiani, deceased. The Name of Maximin, as it hath already been erased out of the Publick Monuments, so now let it be erased out of our Thoughts, and be forgotten for ever: Let the Head of the Publick Enemy be thrown into the River, and no Man Bury his Body. He that threatned the Senate with Death and Bonds, is Killed as he deserved. We give our Thanks for it to your most Sacred Majesties, Maximus, Balbinus and Gordianus. The Gods Preserve you. We all wish you Victory over your Enemies. We all desire the Return and Presence of Maximus. The Gods Save Your Majesty Balbinus. Your Majesties will be pleased to be the Consuls this Year.

After this, *Cupidius Celerinus* said thus.

Having Erased the Name of the Maximins, and Deified the Emperors the Gordiani, we on the other hand Decree Triumphal Statues, with Elephants, to our present Princes Maximus, Balbinus,

The Life and Reign of the Vol. II.
*binus, and Gordianus: We Decree them Tri-
 umphal Chariots, Statues on Horseback, and Tro-
 phies, upon the Subject of this Victory.*

Then the Senate Adjourn'd. The Empe-
 rors retired to the Palaces, and Publick Sa-
 crifices were appointed throughout all the City
 of Rome,

THE
Life and Reign
 OF THE
EMPEROR
Maximin the Second.
 TO THE
EMPEROR
Constantine the Great,
 BY
JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

THE

MAXIMIN the Second, or the
 Younger, and the Son of the fore-
 going, was a Youth of that extra-
 ordinary Beauty, that generally the
 Ladies of Wit were in Love with him: some
 of them even wished themselves a part in his
 Caresses, and to have Children by him. He
 was

His Learning and Masters.

was so Tall, that had he lived, it is probable, he would have reach'd the height of his Father. But he dyed in the Flower of his Youth, in his one and twentieth Year, or, as some say, in his eighteenth. He had learn'd the Greek and Latin Languages to a Perfection. In the Greek his Master was *Fabius*, who hath several Epigrams in the Greek, yet extant; and particularly some that he made upon the Picture of his Scholar. In the Latin he had the Grammarian *Philemon*, *Modestinus* the Lawyer, and *Tullius* the Orator. The Father of which last was he, who hath written a Chorography of the Provinces of the Roman Empire, and was called the *Ape of his Age*; because he Imitated all things. He had a Greek Rhetorician called *Eugenius*, who was Famous in his time. *Junia Fadilla*, a Daughter of the Family of the Princes, the *Antonini*, was Contracted to him; who afterwards was Married to *Toxotius*, a Senator of the same Family, who dyed after his Prætorship, and hath written some Poems, which we have at this day. The Presents which were given to her by *Maximin* when he Contracted her, are particularly recounted by *Ælius Cordus*. A Locket of nine great Pearls, a Head set with eleven Emeralds, a Bracelet of four Jacynths, Garments of Cloth of Gold, and all the Ornaments of Princely Attire, which were fit for a New Spouse.

As this *Maximin* was very Beautiful, so he carried a Pride to the highest degree: he kept himself Sitting, when his Father, as Cruel as he was, many times rose to Persons of Honour, that

that came to wait upon him. He was of a gay Humour, Drank little, but loved good Eating, especially of the wild Creatures of the Field; the Wild Boar, Duck, Crane, and the like, were his constant Dishes. Those of the Party of the Emperors *Maximus*, *Balbinus*, and *Gordianus*, and particularly the Senators, were willing to slander him because of his great Beauty: Pretending, that it was impossible, that so charming a Gift of the Gods could be kept uncorrupt. So also, when he went about the Walls of *Aquileia*, in Company with his Father, to persuade that City to a Surrender. All that they pretended to object against him, was, the matter of *Uncleaness*, because of his tempting Beauty, which however was very far from him. He was so Proper in his Cloaths, that no Lady in the World could be more. He was extremely Obsequious to such as were of his Father's Friends; that is, so far as to give them what was in his power, and make them Largeesses. But when they paid their Reverences to him, he received them in a manner, which was again as high. He gave them his Hand to kiss; he suffered them to kiss his Knees, and sometimes his Feet: which his Father would never do; who said, *The Gods forbid, that any free-born Man should lay his Lips to my Feet*. Having mention'd his Father, I desire to insert one pleasant Passage of him. He was, as I have observed before in his Life, Eight Foot and almost a half high. Therefore his Shoe, or Royal Buskin, was given by some, to

to be seen publicly, in a Religious House in a Grove, which is betwixt the City *Aquileia*, and a place called *Arzia*: which Shoe, it is certain, is bigger by a Foot, than the Measure of any other Man: And hence it is become a Proverb to say of one, who is of an extraordinary Height, without much Wit, *Caliga Maximini*. i. e. *He is the Print of Maximin; He treads in his Shoe.* But I return to speak of the Son.

The Emperor *Alexander Severus* in a Letter to his Mother *Mammæa*, appears to have had some thoughts of Matching this *Maximin* to his own Sister *Theoclia*. The Letter was this.

Madam,

I Would propose to you, to Marry your Daughter *Theoclia* to the younger *Maximin*, did not his Father, who is a Commander in our Forces, and I assure you a very good one, retain something in him, that savours of the Barbarian. I fear my Sister, who is so acquainted with all the Politeness of the Grecian Education, will not endure a Father in Law of that Nature. Otherwise, as for the Youth himself, he is Beautiful and Ingenious, and seems to be bred, and polished to the Mode of the Grecians too: This is what I think. You may please to consider with your self, whether you will rather choose to have to be your Son-in-Law Him, or *Messala*; who is of an Honourable Family, and a very Powerful Orator, a Learned Man, and who, if I mistake not, would make a good Soldier, if he was put to the War.

Thus

Thus that Prince speaks of the Younger *Maximin*. I have little more to add concerning him, besides a Letter of his Father's, expressing the Reasons of his creating him Emperor in conjunction with himself.

I, says he, have permitted my Son *Maximin* to be made Emperor together with me, both out of the Affection which a Father owes to a Son, and also because the People of Rome and that Antient Senate may see, and swear, That they never had a more Beautiful Prince in their lives.

His Coat of Mail was all of Gold, after the Example of the *Ptolomies* of Egypt. He had another all of Silver: His Shield was of Gold, enriched with Precious Stones, and his Javelin of Gold; he had Swords of Silver, and others of Gold. He neglected nothing that could serve to assist his Beauty. His Helmets were set with Jewels and Embossed. As for what concerns his Pleasures and his Amours, with which *Ælius Cordus* asperges him, I must refer the Reader, if he desires to know them, rather to that Author, than delay my prosecution of the Lives of the other Princes that follow, in obedience to the Commands which I have received.

The Omens of his Reign were these: A His Ad-
Serpent came and twined it self about his vance-
Head as he slept. A Vine which he Planted, ment fort-
produced at the end of the Year large Grapes, shew'd:
of the colour of Purple, and grew to a won-
derful greatness. His Shield burnt by being
exposed to the Sun. His Javelin was cleft
D perfectly

perfectly in two from the top to the bottom, by Lightning. Which the Soothsayers remark'd as an Omen, that there should arise Two Emperors upon the Throne of the same House and the same Names, but that they should not long Reign. When he was under his Master that taught him Grammar, a Lady his Relation presented him with a *Homer* in Purple, written in Characters of Gold. Being invited, when a little Youth, by the Emperor *Alexander Severus* to Supper, out of respect to his Father, and wanting the proper Vest to sit down in, that Prince furnish'd him with one of his own. As a Chariot of the Emperor *Antoninus Caracallus* passed the Streets empty, immediately he leapt into it, and sat himself down, and was with much ado, prevailed to come out again. *Caracallus* was told of it, and withal desired to have a care of such an Auspicious Boy. Nay, says *Caracallus*, *He is a great way off of being my Successor*: For at that time he was too inferior for that Matter, by his Quality, as well as his Years.

Presages
of his
Death.

The Omens of his Death were these: As he and his Father were on their March against the Emperors *Maximus*, *Balbinus*, and *Gordianus*, a Woman met them with her Hair all disheveled, and in a mournful figure, crying, *The Maximins, the Maximins, the Maximins*; as if she meant to say, *Help*: But she could speak no more, and dyed. The second days March, at Night, above a dozen Dogs set up a most miserable Howling about his Tent, and in the morning were found dead. Five hundred Wolves

Wolves together, entred into the City of *Hemona* after him: that is, the same, which upon his arrival was deserted by all its People. But it would take me up too much time to recite all the things of this nature. He who is so over-curious to desire to know them, I would wish him only to read *Ælius Cordus*, who lets nothing escape him, even to a Fable. There are no Sepulchres of the *Maximins* extant. Their Bodies were thrown into a River, and their Heads burnt in the *Field of Mars*, with great Insults and Rejoycings of the People.

I am not however to omit an Observation of *Ælius Sabinus*. He says, The Younger *Maximin* had a Face so fine and so well made, that after his Head was cut off, as much as it was macerated, blackened and besmeared with Gore, any one might see, that it was the Face of one, who had been an extraordinary beautiful Person: and therefore when the Head of the Father was carried about upon a Spear, and great Joy made to see it; People were almost as much on the contrary troubled, to see the Head of the Son served so too. A Greek Historian *Dexippus* adds, that the Son, together with the Captain of the Guards, *Anolinus*, was killed in the fight of the Father. Others say, that after the Father had seen his Son killed before his eyes, he with his own Hand killed himself, to avoid the Treatment of his Enemies. However that is, we cannot forbear to remember the extraordinary Firmness of the City of *Aquileia* to the Interests of the Senate

*Womens
Bravery.*

against the *Maximins*. They maintain'd the Siege with that Obstinacy, that when they wanted Strings for their Bows, they served themselves of the Womens Hair, to make Strings of: which had been sometime done before by the City of *Rome*. In Memory whereof, and to the Honour of the Ladies, the Senate there Dedicated a Temple to *Venus* with this Title, *Veneri Calvæ*; To Venus the Bald.

T H E



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THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
Gordianus the First.

BY
JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Address'd to the
EMPEROR
Constantine the Great.

There were Three Princes of the Name of *Gordianus*, according to the Account of the best and faithfulest Historians. The first of the Three, or *Gordianus* the Elder, was the Son of *Macius Marullus*, of the Family of the *Gracchi*, and *Ulpia Gordiana*, of the Family of the Emperor *Trajan*.

His Ex-
traction.

D 3

His

His Father, Grandfather, and Great Grandfather had been Consuls. His Wife's Father, and her Grandfather and Great Grandfather had been Consuls. Himself had been a Consul, and a very Rich and very Powerful one also. He lived in the House which was formerly *Pompey's* the Great at Rome; and he had more Land belonging to him in the Provinces, than any one private Man besides. After his Consulship, in which the Emperor *Alexander Severus* was his Partner, he was made the Proconsul of *Africa* by an Ordinance of the Senate.

His Sentences, and Munificence.

Whilst he was a Youth he writ several Poems, now Extant: in which he offers to outdo at least the Attempts of *Cicero* in Poetry upon the same Subjects: And as *Virgil* writ *Aeneids*, *Statius* his *Achilleidos*, and *Homer* *Iliads*, so *Gordianus* wrote his *Antoninados*; which is a Poem in Thirty Books, and very Elegant Verse, containing the Lives and Wars, the Publick and Private Actions of the Emperors *Antoninus the Pious*, and *Marcus Antoninus*. Afterwards, as he grew, he Declaimed in the Publick School upon Controversies, in the presence of the Emperors themselves. He was very Magnificent in his Quæstorship. The Year that he was *Ædile*, he Entertained the People of Rome at his own expence, Twelve times, with the Publick Shews: that is, once every Month: and sometimes he presented five hundred couple of Gladiators at a Shew, never less than one hundred and fifty. He had a hundred Wild Beasts of *Africa* Hunted in one day; another a thousand Bears: his sixth day

is very Memorable. There were two hundred stout Stags Hunted by *Britains*; thirty Wild Horses, a hundred Wild Sheep, ten Elks, a hundred *Cyprian* Bulls, three hundred Red *Barbary* Ostriches, thirty Wild Asses, one hundred and fifty Boars, two hundred Wild Goats, and two hundred Deer. All these he gave in One, which was his sixth day, to be Hunted, taken and divided amongst the People. There is a Painting of it yet to be seen, in the House where he lived, of the Great *Pompey*: which House was his, and his Father's, and his Grandfather's before him: but since confiscated in the time of the Emperor *Philip*.

In his Prætorship he acquitted himself Nobly. After which, he was Consul the first time in conjunction with the Emperor *Antoninus Caracallus*, the second time in conjunction with the Emperor *Alexander Severus*. He had two Children: a Son, who was a Consul, and afterwards his Colleague in the Empire, who was killed in the Battel in *Africa* near *Carthage*; and a Daughter, called *Mecia Faustina*, who married *Junius Balbus*, who was also a Consul. In his Consulships he was the most Famous of all of his time: insomuch that the Emperor *Caracallus* envied him, and admired sometimes his Robes, sometimes his Shews extreamly. He was the first Private Man of the *Romans*, that had a Consular Tunic and Gown Embroidered with Palm-leaves and other Devices in Gold, of his own: Because before, the Emperors themselves, when Consuls, received those Robes upon solemn

Occasions, either out of the Capitol where they were repositied from time to time, or out of the Wardrobe of the Court. He gave, by the Emperor's leave, ten *Sicilian* Chariot-Horses, and ten others bought out of *Cappadocia*, to be Run in the Cirque. So that he rendred himself dear to the Populace, who are always affected with these things. *Ælius Cordus* says, that in all the Cities of *Campania*, *Hetruria*, *Flaminia*, *Ombria*, and the *Picenum*, he diverted the People with the Sports of the Stage, and other Divertisements, upon his own Charges, for four days together. He writ in Prose the Praises of all the Princes before him of the Name of *Antoninus*; which Name he so loved, that when he entred his Son into the Publick Register, before the Keeper of the Exchequer, according to the *Roman* Law, it is certain, he called him, *Antoninus Gordianus*.

After his Consulship he was chosen the Proconsul of *Africa*, with the consent of all, who wished well to the Honour of the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, in that Country. That Prince hath a Letter extant, in which he returns his Thanks to the Senate for making choice of so Deserving a Person for that Employment.

You could not do any thing, says he, Fathers of the Senate, which is more Grateful and more Pleasing to me, than your making Choice of Gordianus to be the Proconsul of Africa. A Man of Honour and Gallantry, Eloquent, Just, Continent, Good, and so he goes on.

This

This shews, how Great a Man he then was. When therefore he came into *Africa*, the People Loved him, as they never did any Proconsul before. Some called him a *Scipio*, some a *Cato*, some a *Mutius Scævola*, a *Rutilius*, and a *C. Lælius*. One day particularly, says *Juvenius Cordus*, as he was Reading in publick to them an Order, from the Emperor his Master, which began with these words, *Since the Proconsulship of the two Scipio's, the People took the Hint from thence to cry, A New Scipio, a True Scipio, is the Proconsul Gordianus: All Happiness to Him:* And several such Acclamations as these, he heard frequently.

He was as to his Person, of a *Roman* Height, with comely gray Hairs, and a stately Visage, rather ruddy than fair, a good full Face, his Eyes, Mouth and Brow, carried a Majesty. He was pretty big in the Body. As to his Actions, he was so Moderate, that you can say nothing that he ever did passionately or immodestly, or to any manner of excess. He loved his Son and Grandson, his Daughter and his Grand-daughter, very entirely, and according to all the Rules of Duty: He deferred so much to his Wife's Father, *Annius Severus*, that, as if he was in the Quality of a begotten Son to him, he never presumed to Bath in the same Water with him, nor before he was a Prætor, to sit down in his presence. When he was Consul, he either dwelt with him always in his House, or if he was at his own, he went to wait upon him, Morning or Night daily. He Drank little, and Eat less:

was

Made
Proconsul
of Africa.

was proper in his Cloaths: loved Bathing; so that in Summer he Bathed four or five times a day, and twice in the Winter: he Slept very much. If he dined any time abroad with his Friends, he made no scruple to fall asleep upon the Couches; which any body might see was natural to him, and not caused by any Ebriety or Luxury.

Yet did not this good Life procure him a happy End and Death. He who was in the conduct of himself so Venerable, and was always entertaining himself sweetly with Plato, Aristotle, Tully, Virgil, and the rest of the Antients, suffered an Exit that was very different from his deserts. As he remain'd the Proconsul of *Africa* in the time of the Cruel and Violent *Maximin*, after the decease of his first Master the Emperor *Alexander Severus*, the Senate sent his Son to him into that Province, in the Quality of a Lieutenant to assist him. Now there was a Receiver of *Maximin's*, who was Barbarous upon a great many of the People of the Country, beyond even what *Maximin* himself would have suffered. Some he Proscribed, others he put to death; enterprizing many things beyond his Commission, till at length the Proconsul and the Lieutenant took it upon them to reprove him. He nevertheless pursuing his Courses, and threatening with death Persons of the Nobility, and of Consular Dignity, and the *Africans* not being able to endure such unwonted and outrageous Injuries, they first of all joyning some of the Soldiers to them, killed this Receiver. Then they

they began to think, what they should do next to secure the repose of the Country, and their own Lives, against the Party of *Maximin*. And it being the time that *Maximin* had rendered himself odious unto all the World, one *Mauricius* a Captain of Note amongst the *Africans*, and a Gentleman of good Birth, assembled a Party of them together upon his own Grounds, near the City *Thysdrus*, and putting himself at the head of them, he Hanged them thus.

Gentlemen and Fellow-Citizens,

I thank the immortal Gods that they have given us this necessary occasion of providing for our selves against that furious Creature Maximin. For since we have killed his Receiver, who was just such another as himself, there is no safety for us, unless we set up a New Emperor. We have here a most Noble Person, who is our Proconsul, together with his Son, a Consul, his Lieutenant. They were both of them threatned with Death by that Villain of a Receiver. If therefore you will agree with me, we will Constitute them our Emperors, and Array them with the Purple, and the Ornaments of the Empire, according to the Laws of the Romans.

Speech of Mauricius to the Africans.

The Audience answer'd, *It is Just: It is Just. The Gods save the Emperor Gordianus. We Welcome His Majesty to the Empire. Be You, Gordianus, our Emperor, and your Son Reign with you.*

Having done this, they went in haste to the Town of *Thysdrus*, where *Gordianus* was. They found

found the Venerable Old Gentleman reposed upon the Bed, they told him the Resolution that had brought them thither, and presented him with the Purple. He threw himself upon the ground, and refused it with all the earnestness in the World. They took him up from the ground; and at last when there was no possible remedy for it, nor no other way to avoid the Peril, which was undoubtedly Great from the Party of *Maximin*, he suffered himself to be proclaimed Emperor.

He is declar'd
Emperor.

Now he was of the Age of Eighty Years, and had been the Governour of many Provinces in his time; and his Actions had ever recommended him so to the People of *Rome*, that he was lookt upon as one, that altogether deserved the Empire. After he was Declared, his Party cast down the Statues of *Maximin*, broke in pieces his Images, and by common consent erased his Name out of the Publick Monuments. But upon *Gordianus* they conferred the Title of *Gordianus Africanus*; not only because he began his Reign in *Africa*, but upon the account of his Relation to the Family of the *Scipio's*. Some likewise surname both him and his Son *Antonini*; others *Antonii*. However that is, after their Elevation at the Town of *Thysdrus*, they came from thence to *Carthage*, attended with all Princely Pomp. *Gordianus*, the Son, who before was the Lieutenant to his Father, was appointed to be the Prince, that should take the Field and be the General of the War. An Embassy was dispatched to the Senate at *Rome* with Letters,

to

to give an Account of all this: which Letters were very well received by the Senate, whose President at that time was *Valerian*, who was afterwards himself Emperor. Private Letters also were sent to their Friends, who were Men of Power and Quality, to invite them to approve the *African* Revolution, and to make themselves more their Friends by contributing their assistances to maintain it.

The Senate received the News of the setting up of two such Emperors against *Maximin* with so great satisfaction, that they not only approved of what was done, but made a choice of twenty Persons out of themselves, amongst whom to divide the Country of *Italy*, in order to defend it in the behalf of the *Gordiani*. Of which number was *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, who after the death of the same *Gordiani* in *Africa*, succeeded to the Empire by the Authority of the Senate. In the mean time, an Embassy from *Maximin* arrived at *Rome*, with the promises of an Abolition of what was pass'd to his prejudice. But the Embassy of the *Gordiani* prevailed above it; from which all the Good was to be expected, that any one could desire: It promised the Soldiers a great Bounty, and the People Lands and Largeesses: It was a great deal more credited, than that of *Maximin*: so that the Senate proceeded thereupon to cut off *Vitalianus*, who was the Captain of the Guards to *Maximin* at *Rome*. For *Vitalianus* was his Creature, and had already shewn himself of such another cruel Disposition as his Master, the further effects whereof they dreaded:

Which is
approv'd
by the Se-
nate.

dreaded: and it is commonly said, That the Method taken to do this, was contrived for the greater privacy thus.

Vitalianus
slain.

The Quæstor and some Soldiers with him, who were Bold Men, were sent to *Vitalianus* with Letters, pretended to be arrived for him from *Maximin*. The Letters were sealed, as it were with *Maximin's* Signet. Having deliver'd them, they told him, that they had some things to speak to him in private. He took them from the Company, into a long Gallery: where, as his Eyes were upon the Letters in his Hand, and as he was expecting to hear what they had to say further, they killed him; and then persuaded the rest of the Guards, that it was done by the Order of *Maximin* himself.

It is fit, that I should give you the Decree of the Senate for Constituting the two *Gordiani* Emperors, and the denouncing *Maximin* an Enemy. An Extraordinary Assembly of the Senate being called, the Consul attended with the Prætors, Ædiles and Tribunes of the People came to the House. The Governour of the City of *Rome* was not with them. He absented himself for Reasons he knew best: And as he was a Favourer of the *Maximins*, it was a kindness to the Cause of the *Gordiani*, that he did so. The Consul opened the Session with this Speech.

Fathers of the Senate,

The two Gordiani, the Father and the Son, who have both of them been Consuls, and the one
your

your Proconsul of Africa, the other your Lieutenant, are by a great Attempt of the Africans, declared Emperors there. Let us now therefore Thank the Town of Thyldrus, and return our Thanks to our Beloved People of Carthage, that they have thus delivered us from that Cruel Beast, that Savage Beast, Maximin. What are you afraid of, Gentlemen? What look you about for? What would you stagger at? This is the thing you have always wish'd for. Maximin is an Enemy. Let the Gods immediately take him off, and give us to know with joy, the Prudence and the Felicity of Gordianus the Father, and the Constancy and Virtue of the Son.

After this he read their Letters to them, which were sent to the Senate and to himself. Then followed these Acclamations of the Senate.

We give Thanks unto you, O ye Gods. Perfect the Deliverance of us from our Enemies, which you have begun. We all adjudge Maximin an Enemy. We devote Maximin and his Son to the Region of Hell. We declare the Gordiani our Emperors. We acknowledge the Gordiani our Sovereigns. The Gods Preserve the Emperors who are elected out of the Senate. Let us enjoy our Noble Emperors as Conquerors. Let us have the Presence of our Emperors at Rome with us. Whoever kills the Publick Enemies, he shall receive a Reward.

Junius Cordus calls this a Tacit Decree of the Senate; but what that means, I must explain in

A Tacit
Decree,
what.

in short; for we have no Example amongst us of it at this day. Only, as when your Majesty calls your Chief Ministers into your Cabinet, to Consult about Matters that are not immediately to be made known to all the World, your Ministers are under their Oaths to speak nothing of them, till such time as the Business is compleated; so when any Publick Necessity in Antient Times press'd the State, as for Instance, an imminent Danger from the Enemy, which obliged them either to take inferiour Measures perhaps, or, to make an Order which was no sooner to be known, than done, or that they would not have their Friends nor any body to know any thing of it, then the Senate assembled themselves in Private, and their Decree was Tacit: They had no Clerks, no Publick Servants, no Assessors present: the Senators did all, and executed the Offices of the Necessary Men themselves; that nothing that was done should be betrayed. And in this manner it was, that according to *Junius Cordus*, the Decree of the Senate against *Maximin* passed, to Conceal it so much the more from *Maximin*.

But, as there are some Men, who cannot keep a Secret for fear, as it were, that it should burst them, and who blush that what they know should not be discovered by themselves, and imagining that they shall be Men of no Consequence, unless they make it appear that they are intrusted with great Matters. *Maximin*, notwithstanding this Secrecy, soon came to the knowledge of what had passed, and had

had a Copy of this very Decree sent him, which was never known to be done before. Hereupon he writ a Letter to *Sabinus* the Governour of the City, offended at his absence from the Senate at the time when that Decree was carried; because as he was a Friend of his, he ought to have been there, to have opposed it. The Letter was this.

I Have read the late Secret Decree of those Senators of yours at Rome; which perhaps you, who are the Governour of the City, know nothing of; for neither was you present at it. I have sent a Copy of it to you, that you may consider what Measures to take, and how to Conduct your self.

The Emotion which *Maximin* was in when he received the News of the Revolt of *Africa*, and the Concurrence of the Senate to it, was such as cannot be expressed. He threw himself against the Wall; tore his Cloaths, drew his Sword as if he could kill all the World, and seem'd absolutely like a Man out of his Wits. His Statues and Images in the mean time, as he was a declared Enemy, were thrown down; and the Senate made all the use imaginable of the Power which they had taken into their hands. The Informers, Calumniators, Receivers, and all those Firebrands of the Party of *Maximin* they condemn'd to death. But this did not satisfy the People; who dragged them also through the Streets, and threw them into the Kennel. *Sabinus*

Extreme
Passion of
Maximin.

E

the

the Governour of the City, who had been a Consul, was then knockt on the head, and left in the Street dead.

When *Maximin* had heard of these things, he came presently to his Army, and harangu'd them to this purpose.

My sworn Fellow-Soldiers, you who are engaged in my Fortunes, and who endure all the Hazards of the War with me, whilst we defend the Honour of the Roman Name in Germany, and with our Arms maintain the Country of Illyricum against the Barbarians, I am to acquaint you, that the Africans, who are false to a Proverb, are now Revolted. They have set up the two Gordiani, Emperors against me. One of them so Old, that he can scarce rise from his Chair: the other so weakned with his Debauchery, that he is as feeble, as if he was as Old as his Father. This is not all. That Worthy Senate at Rome hath approved of the Fact of the Africans; and those for whom, and for whose Children's Good after them, we carry our Arms, have appointed Twenty Persons of the Order of the Consuls, to make Head against us in Italy, and have declared us all Enemies. Now that which I say to you is, Let us play the Men and march forthwith to Rome, and let us Bravely and Courageously, as we always do, cut our way through them all.

The Army was not so moved at this Speech, but *Maximin* perceived a slackness in their March, and a Backwardness, which he did not relish. So he writ a Letter to his Son, who was a great way behind, to hasten to him with

with all speed, for fear the Soldiers should take the advantage of his Absence to set something on foot against him. The Letter was this, as it is in *Junius Cordus*.

This Express, who is one of my Guards, will tell you, the News that I have received both from Africa and Rome; and also, how my Army stands affected. Pray, make all the haste you can to me, for fear of any Attempt that should be made, as is usual: He whom I have sent, will acquaint you further.

Whilst these things passed, *Capelianus* in Africa took up Arms against the two Gordiani. He had always been an Enemy to the Father, before he was Emperor; and being the Governour of *Mauritania* for *Maximin*, and an old Soldier, *Gordianus* after he was Emperor turn'd him out: which provoked him to raise a Body of the Moors, with whom he hastily directed his March towards *Carthage*, where all the People with a right Punick Infidelity, were ready to revolt to him from the Gordiani again. *Gordianus* the Father desired however to try the Fortune of a Battel. He sent his Son to fight *Capelianus*, and the Party of the *Maximins* that was with him. The Son was then of the Age of six and forty Years; younger than *Capelianus*, and not so experienced in the matter of War; because he had been more conversant in the Delights, ordinary to Persons of his Quality, than the Affairs of the Field. They Engag'd. *Capelianus*, as he was the Bolder

Capelianus's Opposition in Africa.

and the skillfuller Soldier won the day, and *Gordianus* was killed upon the place.

The young
Gordian
slain, the
Elder
strangled
himself.

The number of the slain in this Battel on the side of *Gordianus* was so very great, that his Body after a long search which was made for it, could no where be distinguished amongst such a prodigious multitude. That which facilitated the Victory, was, a great Storm, which is seldom seen in *Africa*, arose before the Fight, and shattered the Forces of *Gordianus* so, that it in a manner disabled them. *Gordianus* the Father, hearing this, and considering that his Strength was now small, and *Maximin's* great, and that *Capelianus* was at his Heels; That the *Carthaginians* were a People rarely true to their Trust, and there was no more safety for him in *Africa*; And being troubled to think, that he should fall alive into the hands of his Enemies, to avoid that, he took a Cord and strangled himself. This was the End of the two Co-Emperors of the Name of *Gordianus*. As the Senate had Recognized them both, so they afterwards Deified them. They Reigned one Year and six Months.

T H E

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
Gordianus the Second.

BY
JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

GORDIANUS the Second was the Son of the precedent *Gordianus* the Proconsul of *Africa*, and was set up Emperor by the *Africans*, and by the Senate of *Rome* at the same time, and in conjunction with his Father. He was one, whose Ingenuity and Carriage of himself, gave him as great a Reputation, as did the Honour of his Birth; by which he was related to the several Noble Families of the *Scipio's*, that of *Pompey the Great*, the *Antoninusses*, and the *Antonies*.
E 3 His

His Mother was *Fabia Orestilla*, a Great Granddaughter of the Emperor *M. Aurelius Antoninus*; which was the reason that he was Registered in his Infancy by the Name of *Antoninus Gordianus*. But yet *Gordianus* was the Name which adhered to him, and which he was commonly called by. He was his Father's first Child.

His Character,
when
young.

In his Studies he always followed the best and gravest Opinions. He was very Handsome, of an extraordinary Memory, and a kind and sweet Disposition; insomuch, that at School, when a Child, if he saw some of the Boys beaten, he could not forbear to cry for them. His Master was *Serenus Sammonicus*, who extremely loved him, and bequeathed to him at his death a Library which consisted of Sixty two Thousand Books; being the whole Library of another *Serenus Sammonicus* the Father, who was put to death under the Emperor *Caracalla*: The fame of which Treasure of Learning extolled *Gordianus* to the Heavens, and gave him a great Name amongst the Ingenious. The Emperor *Heliogabalus* made him a *Quæstor*; to whom he was known, by being a young Man that loved Pleasure; but yet without Scandal, and without ever bearing part in the infamous Luxury of that Prince. *Alexander Severus* made him a *Prætor*, for the Affairs of the City of *Rome*: He discharged himself so well, and gained so great an Esteem, that he presently after was made a *Consul*, though his Father had come late to that Honour. After which, either in the time of the same *Alexander*

der Severus, or in that of *Maximin*, he was sent into *Africa*, as Lieutenant to his Father, the then *Proconsul* there; where what Fortune befel him, we have already recounted under the Life of his Father.

He loved Wine; but he always had it Infused, either with *Roses*, or *Mastick*, or *Wormwood*, or other things, that pleased his Palate. He eat very little. He had dined and supped, as it were in a moment. Women he passionately loved. It is said, he kept two and twenty Concubines; by all which, he had three or four Children a-piece. He was called the *Priamus* of his Age, for the multitude of his Issue. In Drollery, instead of *Priamus*, they many times called him a *Psiapus*. He spent his time betwixt the Gardens, the Baths, and the delightful Groves. Nor did his Father Correct him; but often said, That he would one day die a Great Man. For as freely as he lived, he did not depart from that Vigor, which was natural to him; nor from the Virtues of Persons of Honour. He was always amongst the most Illustrious Company, and ready with the best of his Judgment to serve either the Publick, or his Friend. Therefore the Senate were very glad to Proclaim him Emperor together with his Father, and placed the Publick Hopes in him. He was just in his Dress, beloved by his Domesticks and all that belong'd to him. *Ælius Cordus* says, that he never would consent to Marry. But on the contrary we are told by *Dexippus*, that *Gordianus* the Third was his Son, who afterwards,

And in his
advanc'd
Age.

whilst he was a Youth, was advanced to the Empire, in conjunction with *Maximus* and *Balbinus*.

When his Father some time consulted an Astrologer about the Nativity of him, it was answer'd, they say, That he would be both the Son and the Father of an Emperor, and an Emperor himself. *Gordianus* laughing at it as a Jest, the Astrologer shew'd him his Horoscope, and undertook to prove out of the Books of the Antient Masters of the Art of Astrology, that what he said was true. He told him the Day, the Manner, the Place of the Death of both the First and Second *Gordianus*; and justified himself with the greatest obstinacy: All which *Gordianus* the Elder reflecting upon, when he saw himself an Emperor, he even when there was no reason for him to be afraid of any thing, spoke very often both of his own and his Son's Death, and applied to his Son those Verses of *Virgil*,

Offendent terris hunc tantum, &c. i. e.
This Man will only to the World be shown,

lamenting his Condition, that he was not long to live.

We have several Discourses and also Verses of *Gordianus* the Second, extant, which at this day are often remembred amongst his Friends. They are not Great, nor yet Mean; but of a middle Character, and such as bespeak him to have been an Ingenious Man, of a Luxuriant Wit, and negligent of the Parts that Nature gave him.

He

He was a great lover of Fruit and Herbs: In his other Diet he was very sparing: but he was always eating some New Fruit or other: A great lover of all Cold things: in the Summer he eat little else. He was Gross, and much inclined to be Fat, and therefore he the rather chose this Diet, to keep himself down.

This is what I have judged worthy to be remarked, concerning the Second *Gordianus*. For as for his domestick Pleasures, and other petty things of no Observation, which are with so little judgment recollected by *Junius Cordus*, let any Person who is desirous to know them, read him; who tells you, how many Coats and Cloaks every Prince had, what Courtiers, how many Servants; the knowledge whereof signifies nothing. Nor do I think, that it is the part of an Historian to trouble himself, but about things which it is either good to follow, or good to avoid.

I shall only add a Passage, which I find in *Vulcatius Terentianus*, who hath writ a History of his Time. He says, that *Gordianus* the First was the Reverse of *Augustus Cæsar*; he spoke so like him, and he resembled him so much in his Face and Stature. That the Second *Gordianus* was very like *Pompey* the Great. But as to this, I know not what to say: Because it is denied, that *Pompey* was Fat or Gross: And he further says, That *Gordianus* the Third, whose Statues we have now extant, resembled the *Asiatick Scipio*. This I thought was Remarkable and more for their Honour, than to be wholly pass'd in silence.

THE

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
Gordianus the Third.

BY
JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

After the death of the two preceding *Gordians*, as on the one hand the Senate whom that News had struck with a great Consternation, and put them very much in fear of *Maximin*, elected, out of the twenty Persons appointed for the defence of *Italy*, *Maximus* and *Clo dius Balbinus* to be Emperors; so on the other, the People and the Guards made it their Request, that *Gordianus the Third*, a Youth of about Eleven, or some say, Thirteen, or as *Junius Cordus* says, Sixteen Years

Years of Age, might be created and declared the *Cæsar*, that is, the Person who should next succeed to the Empire; who therefore accordingly was brought to the Senate and invested with that Quality with the usual Solemnity. He was the Grandson of the Emperor *Gordianus the First*; but whether by a Daughter, as many say, or by his Son *Gordianus the Second*, who died with him in *Africa*, as *Dexippus* thinks, I cannot determine. His Mother Educated him.

He is declar'd Emperor.

Maximus and *Balbinus* Reigned two Years, and then were kill'd in a Mutiny of the Soldiers. The two *Maximins* were extinct before. So there remaining, without any Competitor, *Gordianus the Third*, who had for the two years last past, been honoured with the Quality of the *Cæsar*, the Soldiers, the People, Senate and all the Country, with great Joy and Alacrity, and with extraordinary demonstrations of their Affection, agreed to proclaim him Emperor: Loving him in Memory, and for the Merits of his Grandfather *Gordianus the First*, and of his Father, or otherwise his Uncle *Gordianus the Second*, who both of them took up Arms for the Senate and the People of *Rome* against *Maximin*, and lost their lives in their service by the Fortune of that War.

It was look'd upon as a Sign, That *Gordianus the Third* would not be a Prince of a long Reign; that such a great Eclipse of the Sun happen'd about that time; that the Day was turn'd into Night, and you could see to do nothing without Candles. He entertained the City

of

of Rome with Sports and Pastimes upon his coming to the Empire; not only the more to ingratiate himself with them, but to make them also forget the Heats and Divisions which they had had amongst themselves. Then an Insurrection commenc'd in *Africa*, headed by *Sabinianus*, in the Year when *Venustus* and *Sabinus* were the Consuls. *Gordianus* Armed the Prefident of *Mauritania* against that Revolter; who besieged and reduced him to that extremity, that all his Party left him, and came and acknowledged their fault. After this, he commenced a War with *Persia*, the Emperor himself, which was his second Consulship, and *Pompejanus* being then Consuls. The young Emperor, before he went to that War, married the Daughter of *Mysithens*; who as he was a Person of great Erudition and rare Eloquence, *Gordianus* thought him not unworthy to be admitted into his Alliance; and presently he made him his Captain of the Guards. This strengthen'd his Reign. Himself was for his Age very Sage and very Advised: but being also assisted with the Counsels of so excellent a Father-in-Law, nothing was acted by him that was puerile or despicable; nor was he made a Property of by the Eunuchs and Servants of the Court, which he was but too much subject to be before this Match, whilst he continued under the Regency of his Mother.

We have a Letter of his Father-in-Law written to him, and another from him written to his Father-in-Law, in which are contained great

His Father-in-Law.

great Marks of the Reformation of the Times by virtue of the Counsels of *Mysithens*. The Letters are these.

To my Lord and Emperor, my Son,
Mysithens his Father-in-Law and
Captain of the Garuds.

IT is a Pleasure to me to observe the Alteration of the Times, since every thing was bought and sold by the Eunuchs, and such as pretended themselves to be Friends, but were really the greatest Enemies to your Majesty. I am glad, that that Blot is removed from your Reign; Your Majesty is your self also very glad of it; which I am the more pleased to see, because it shews, that howsoever badly Affairs have been before managed, the fault was not in you, my Son. Nor was it to your mind, that the Commands in the Army were disposed of through the favour of the Eunuchs; or that Persons were denied the Rewards due to their Services; or that they were either saved for Money and Affection, when they deserved to die, or put to death, when they deserved to live. It was not by your fault that the Treasury was exhausted; but all these things lie at the door of those who were continually Plotting and entering into Cabals to deceive you; whereby they prevented the Access of Men of Virtue and Honesty to your Person, prepossessing you against such, and on the contrary, insinuating others into your favour, as vitious as themselves, through

through whose and their own Methods together, they made a Prey of you. The Gods be thanked that your Majesty is sensible of all this, and that you have taken it into your Consideration to Reform the State. I am happy in being the Father-in-Law of so good a Prince: A Prince who examines into, and who will know all things, and who hath banished from him those, by whom before he was made an Auction of, and sold to whosoever offered most.

The Emperor Gordianus, to *Myfitheus*, my Father, and my Captain of the Guards.

BUT that the Almighty Gods continue to Protect the Roman Empire, the Slaves, the Eunuchs, would ere this have even Ruined that and me. I now see very well, that *Felicio* was not a fit Person for the Command of the Guards, which I gave him; nor *Serapammo*, to be trusted with the Fourth Legion. I am sensible, not to reckon up all Particulars, that I have done many things otherwise than in Prudence I ought; and I thank the Gods, that through your Insinuation, who are entirely Just and True to me, I understand my Error, and that I know the things which have been before shut up from me. *Maurus* imposed upon me, and by a Confederacy with *Gaudianus*, *Reverendus*, and *Montanus*, as his Witnesses to confirm what he said in order to win upon my belief, he either commended or discommended

mended Persons to me as he pleased. My Father, I would desire you to search into the Truth of things. An Emperor is in a miserable Condition, that hath the Truth hid from him. For since he cannot walk abroad to examine what he would himself, of necessity he must take up with such as he hears, and what comes to him upon the Credit of others.

By these two Letters it is easie to see, that this young Prince was much amended and rectified in his Conduct, by the Advices of *Myfitheus*. The Gravity and the Uprightness of that Man had such an influence upon him, that he made *Gordianus* Famous, who otherwise might have pass'd his time in great Obscurity, without any thing but his Quality to recommend him to Posterity.

An Earthquake happened in the Reign of this Emperor, so terrible, that whole Cities with their People were swallowed up in it. On which occasion a great many Sacrifices were celebrated in all Parts of Rome, and generally all over the World. The Books, says *Aelius Cordus*, of the *Sibyls*, were consulted, and all the Ceremonies being performed that seemed to be prescribed therein, then this universal Calamity ceased.

After the Earthquake, and in the time of the Consulships of *Prætextatus* and *Atticus*, the Temple of *Janus* was opened (which was a sign of War Proclaim'd) and *Gordianus* march'd upon an Expedition against Persia. He took so great an Army with him, and such a quantity

quantity of Riches to support it, that he might easily assure the Victory to his side. He passed through the Province of *Mæsia*, and so into *Thrace*, where he Conquer'd as he went; and whosoever of the *Barbarians* disputed his Passage, he fought them, routed them, and drove them before him. He arrived in *Syria* and advanced to the City of *Antioch*, which was then in the hands of the *Persians*. Here he engaged the Enemy in several Battels, in which he had so much the better, that *Sapores* the King of *Persia*, was obliged to retire and leave him to possess himself of the Cities of *Antioch*, *Heren*, and *Nisibin*, that had all been reduced before under the Empire of *Persia*.

*His great
Success.*

Indeed the King of *Persia* was made so sensible of the Power of the Emperor *Gordianus*, that though he was provided with great Forces to stand upon his defence, he voluntarily withdrew his Garrisons out of our Towns, and left them intire to their Inhabitants, without the least Plunder or diminishing any thing of their Fortunes. All which was much owing to the Conduct of *Myfitheus*. In fine, the *Persians*, who had made themselves redoubtable in *Italy*, retired within their own Kingdom from the Arms of *Gordianus*, and all the East submitted to the Obedience of the Empire of *Rome*. The Account sent by *Gordianus* himself to the Senate, of this Expedition, says thus:

Fathers of the Senate, To add to the Victories which we obtained in our passage into the East, whereof each merits a Triumph, we have deliver-

ed the Necks of the Antiochians from the Persian Yoke, and have removed from them the Kings and Laws of Persia. We have reconquer'd Heren, and its Dependences, to the Roman Empire; and are come up to Nisibis; and if the Gods favour us, we shall proceed further to Ctesiphon. I write to you in short; Praying for the good Health of Myfitheus, my Father and my Captain of the Guards, by whose Conduct and his good disposition of Things, as we have happily transacted this; so we hope to finish the rest also. It is for you to appoint Publick Sacrifices and Thanksgivings for the same, and to recommend us to the Gods, and return Thanks to Myfitheus.

When this was read in the Senate, they decreed to *Gordianus*, to represent him Triumphant after the *Persian* Mode, in Chariots drawn with four Elephants. To *Myfitheus* they appointed a Chariot with four Horses, a Triumphant Chariot, and this Inscription, *To the Highly Worthy Myfitheus, the Father of Princes, Captain of the Guards, and the Guardian of the Empire, the Senate and People of Rome return Thanks.* But this Felicity did not continue long: *Myfitheus* dying, whether of Sickness, as some say, or whether he was taken off by the Arts of *Philip*, who was made the Captain of the Guards after him, as most others say, I know not; but he left the Publick his Heir, and all that he had was added to the Stock of the City of *Rome*. So advantageous had been the Ministry of this Great Man, that there was no Frontier Town of note, but what he

*Death of
Myfitheus.*

His Care
of the
Publick.

had furnished with stores of Provision, sufficient to entertain an Emperor and his Army: There was Vinegar, Corn, Bacon, Barley and Straw, laid up for a Year. Lesser Towns had Stores, some thirty, some for forty Days, and two Months. The least provided, were provided for fifteen days. As he was the Captain of the Guards, he continually examined the Arms of the Soldiers; he suffered no superannuated Man, nor no Boy to serve, whose respective Ages excused them: He made the Tour of all the Camps, and view'd their Trenches himself, and went the Rounds many times in the Night. All loved him, because he was so equal a Friend to both the Emperor and the Empire. The Tribunes and the Generals had such regard for him, that they never failed in their Duties before him, nor disputed his Orders. *Philip*, who succeeded him in his Place of Captain of the Guards, for some reasons, apprehended him very much; and this fear put him upon a contrivance to attempt his Life, which was thus: *Mysibemus* being ill of a Flux, the Physicians had ordered him a Dose to stop it: but by the means of *Philip*, that Dose was exchanged, and a contrary one given him, which encreased his Flux to that degree, that he died.

Preferment of
Philip.

After his Death, which happened under the Consulships of *Arrianus* and *Papus*, *Philip*, an Arabian born, was made the Captain of the Guards. A Man of mean Parentage, Proud, and not able to contain himself in so high and new a Fortune. He soon began to form designs

designs to prejudice the Army against the Emperor *Gordianus*. He brought them one time into places where there were no Provisions in the Granaries: Another time, the Vessels, which came charged with Corn for them by Water, were through his means diverted another way: This he did maliciously to disgust them against *Gordianus*: because there had been such vast Stores laid up by *Mysibemus* for the use of the Army, that with good Conduct they knew they could not fail to be supplied; at the same time they did not suspect that *Gordianus* was so imposed upon by *Philip*: who to add yet to their Resentments, and to blow up the Fire, caused a Rumour to be spread, that *Gordianus*, being so very young, was not a Person of Ability sufficient to govern the Empire; and that it was much better that *Philip* should be in his place, who understood it; and how to Command an Army. He corrupted the *Principes*, who are a Body of the strongest and the stoutest Men amongst them, to his side; till at length, by his management he brought it about, that *Philip* was openly demanded to be made Emperor; which the Friends of *Gordianus* immediately opposed to the utmost: but when the Army was in a condition of starving for want of Provisions, the Empire was devolved upon *Philip*; and it was agreed, that he should Reign in conjunction with *Gordianus*, and should be as it were the Guardian of the young Prince.

He is
made Em-
peror.

Philip, thus possessed of the Empire, comported himself with so much Pride and Hatred

ness in all things towards *Gordianus*, that as *Gordianus* was a Prince who had come to the Throne with Honour, of a Noble Family, and of a Race of Princes, his Father and his Grandfather being both Emperors before him, so that he could not endure the intrusion of a Person of so ignoble an Original as *Philip*, he assembled, in the presence of *Mæcius Gordianus* his Kinsman, who was the Captain of the Guards, the Officers and Soldiers of the Army together, and complained to them; how ungrateful *Philip* was for the Kindnesses he had done him, and he hoped that it would be thought fit, to depose him from the Empire again. He spoke as much as he could, to that purpose; but after all, the Faction of *Philip* prevailed and carried it so against him, that they turned the Tables upon him, and deposed *Gordianus* from the Empire. He seeing that his Credit was not so great as *Philip's*, demanded that at least the Power should be equal betwixt them. This was denied. Then he offered to content himself with retaining the Quality of the *Cæsar*. This was also denied. Then he desired, that they would not refuse him the Office of the Captain of the Guards. But this was also denied. His last Prayer was his Life, and to serve *Philip* as a Commander in the Army. *Philip* had almost consented to this; who said nothing himself, but directed his Party in all things by Nods and private Signs. But when he considered with himself the Affection which the Senate and People of *Rome*, together with all *Africa* and *Syria*, and indeed all the Empire

pire had for *Gordianus*, as being of a Noble Family, and both the Son and Grandson of an Emperor, and one that had done great Services to the Empire in the Wars, he thought that it might one day happen, that the Army by some unforeseen Accident, might take a fancy to re-inthronize him again, because their present Animosity, which was upon the occasion of their want of Provisions, was but a Passion that might not last always; and therefore he ordered him to be carried out of sight (*Gordianus* crying as he went) and to be disrobed of the Purple and killed; which after a little hesitation was done accordingly, after he had reigned six Years.

Thus by Blood, and not by Right, did the Emperor *Philip* raise himself. In the meantime *Argunthus*, King of *Scythia*, ravaged the Kingdoms adjoining to him, unto which he was encouraged, especially by the death of *Mysibæus*, by whose Counsels the Empire had been so well governed before under *Gordianus*.

Philip, willing to conceal his accession to the Empire by Blood, sent Letters to *Rome* with a quite different Account; in which he said, that *Gordianus* was dead of a Sickness, and that as for himself, all the Army had elected him Emperor. The Senate was easily to be deceived in the Truth of things at that distance. They accepted and proclaim'd *Philip* Emperor, and reposed the deceased *Gordianus* in the number of the Gods. He was a handsome, gay, amiable Youth, obliging to all, of an agreeable Life, and good Erudition; he wanted nothing

Character
of Gordi-
anus.

nothing but Age for the Throne. The People and the Senate loved him, and so also did the Army, before the Faction of *Philip*, beyond any Prince that they had ever had yet. All the Soldiers and the Senate, says *Cordus*, called him their Son, and all the People called him their Darling. Nor did *Philip* after he had killed him, take away his Images, or throw down his Statues, or raze out his Name: He always gave him the Title of a God, amongst the very Party with whom he had confederated against him: He seriously honoured him; but not without mixing with his Worship, a great deal of foreign Craft and Dissimulation.

His Build-
ings.

The House of the *Gordiani* is standing at this day. It was very finely beautified by this last Prince. Their *Villa* or Country-Seat, is upon the Way that leads to *Palestrina*, consisting of two hundred Pillars of four several Orders; fifty of the Marble of *Carysto* in the Island of *Negrepon*, fifty of the *Claudian* Marble, fifty of that of the City *Synnada* in *Phrygia*, and fifty of that of *Numidia*, all of the same measure: There are three Galleries three hundred foot long: The rest is suitable to the Work; and the Baths such, as no part of the World, except *Rome*, can parallel. The Senate decreed this extraordinary privilege to the Family of the *Gordiani*, that their Posterity, if they pleased, might for ever be exempted from Tutelages, Embassies, and all other publick Duties. There are no Publick Buildings by this last Prince extant at *Rome*, besides some Fountains and Baths; The Baths he built not neither for

for publick, but only private use. He had begun to build a Royal Structure in the *Field of Mars*, at the foot of the Mount, consisting of two Galleries of a thousand foot length each, and the distance of five hundred foot from one another; the Interspace on either side to be adorned with Greens, composed of Laurel, Myrtle, and Box; and in the middle a Terrace of the length of the Galleries, sustained with rows of small Pillars, and having over head another stately Gallery of five hundred foot. Besides this, he, with the direction of *Myssibius*, had designed to build a Summer Bath, which should bear his own Name; and also other Baths for the Winter, for the use of this Place, to render both the Greens, the Galleries, and the whole Work the more useful. But all these things have since been in the occupation of private Persons, and are now taken up in their Houses, Gardens, and Tenements.

There was at *Rome*, in the time of this Emperor, two and thirty Elephants, whereof two and twenty were of his own sending thither; the other ten were brought by the Emperor *Alexander Severus*. Besides these, there were ten Elks, ten Tygres, sixty tame Lions, thirty tame Leopards, ten Hyæna's, a thousand couple of Gladiators, who were maintained at the Charge of the Exchequer: One Sea-Horse, one Rhinoceros, ten White and Wild Lions, ten Camel-Panthers, twenty Wild Asses, forty Wild Horses, and an innumerable company of other Beasts of divers kinds; all which *Gordianus* had

prepared to adorn his *Persian* Triumph. But in this the Publick Wish had not its effect. For they were by *Philip* given to be hunted and killed at the Secular Games, and the Games of the Cirque; when, during the Consulship of himself and his Son, he Celebrated the Anniversary of the Foundation of the City of *Rome*, which was then arrived to its Thousandth Year.

That which is upon the Records concerning the Murderers of *Julius Caesar*, is observed by *Aelius Cordus* to have happened, now again, to the Murderers of the Emperor *Gordianus*. All those, who embrued their hands in his Blood, who (it is said) were Nine, after the death of the two *Philips*, came to kill themselves, with the same Swords with which they had stabbed him.

This was therefore the Life and End of the three Princes of the Name of *Gordianus*. The two first were killed in *Africa*; the third upon the Borders of *Persia*: where, at the Castle of *Circessum*, which is upon the *Euphrates*, a Sepulchre was erected by the Soldiers for him, with this Inscription, written in both the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Persian*, *Hebrew*, and *Egyptian* Languages, that all the World might read and understand it; *To the Honour of the Emperor Gordianus, Conqueror of the Persians, Conqueror of the Goths, Conqueror of the Sarmatians, Represser of the Tumults of the Romans, Conqueror of the Germans, but not the Conqueror of the Philips. For the Philips killed him: The Alans had sometime also the better of*

Inscripti-
on on his
Tomb.

of him in a Fight in the Plains of *Philippi* in *Macedonia*. *Licinius* at the same time, that he set up for the Empire, it is said, defaced this Sepulchre; because he pretended to derive his Extraction from the *Philips*.

All which I have therefore been willing to observe, most Excellent *Constantine*, to the end that you should be unacquainted with nothing that might seem in any wise to be worthy of the knowledge of your Majesty.

T H E

THE
Lives and Reigns
OF THE
EMPERORS
MAXIMUS
AND
BALBINUS.

By JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

After the Death of Gordianus the First, and his Son Gordianus the Second in Africa, which happened in the time that Maximin was marching against Italy, in a great rage to revenge his own deposition from the Empire, and their elevation to it in his Place: the Senate full of fears of the Attempts and Fury of so Cruel an Enemy, assembled themselves

themselves in the Temple of Concord, upon the Seventh of the Calends of July, being the Anniversary of the Games in Honour of Apollo, to consider what course to take in order to their security against him. Maximus and Balbinus were then two Persons of the first Note in the Senate, who had been Consuls; whereof the one, that is, Maximus, excelled in Valour and in strictness of Discipline; and the other, Balbinus, excelled as much in Goodness. These two coming into the Senate, and expressing in their very entrance their concern for the News of the Design of Maximin, the Consul, who was making a Report to the Senate of some things of another Nature, was Answer'd by the Senator of the First Voice thus:

We trouble our selves here about Matters of small Moment, and little better in comparison than Old Wives Stories, at a time that really challenges the highest Consideration of the Senate. For what have we to do to Treat now upon the Repairing of Temples, and the Adorning a Basilica, of the Baths of Titus, and the Rebuilding the Amphitheatre, when Maximin is at our Heels, whom you wish we have declared an Enemy. The two Gordiani, in whom our Security was, are dead; nor is there at this present any Remedy for us whereunto to recur. Come, Gentlemen, appoint who shall be our Emperors. What do you lose Time for? Lest whilst you perplex your selves every one with your Fears, your rather perish in those Fears, than by Valour and Bravery seek to effect our Deliverance.

The

The Senate was in a profound silence, upon this, when *Maximus*, whose Age as well as his Merits, and his Valour and Severity of Discipline rendred him most Illustrious, offering to speak his Opinion the next; which was, that it was necessary, that there should be two Emperors appointed, who should Govern in conjunction with one another: *Vestinus Sabinus* of the Family of the *Ulpii*, desired the leave of the Consul to be heard, which was granted, and he spoke thus:

It is certain, Gentlemen, that in Changes that are so sudden as this, there is nothing like Resolving; and the Counsels, which offer themselves to our Thoughts, are rather to be immediately executed, than disputed. To what purpose are many Words, and fine Speeches, where Affairs are so urgent? Let every one have a care of his own Neck; and think upon his Wife and Children, and the Estate which he inherits from Ancestors. All which are under imminent danger from Maximin; whose Nature it is to be Furious, Truculent, Barbarous; but yet his Cause, which as he thinks, is so Just, will make him still much worse. He hath put himself at the Head of a good Body of Troops, and fix'd every where his Garrisons, and is marching towards Rome; and you in the mean time spend the day in sitting and Consulting. Without more Words, which there is no need of, a new Emperor is to be made. Nay, I would say, two new Emperors: one to look after the Civil Affairs, the other to be charged with those of the War. Let one reside at Rome, the other to march with the Army against the Invaders. I my self will

the Persons. Do you Confirm them, if you please: or if not, produce better. Maximus and Balbinus. The one so great a Soldier, that he hath ennobled his Birth by the Splendor of his Valour; the other a Man of High Birth, the Lenity of whose Temper, and the Excellency of his Life, which from his Youth he hath bestowed always in Studies and Letters, is of the greatest Consequence to the State. You have my Opinion, Gentlemen, which is perhaps more dangerous to my self, than to you: But yet neither is it very safe to you, unless you make either some other, or these Persons, our Emperors.

The whole House unanimously answer'd, *It is Just: It is Just: We all agree to the Opinion of Sabinus: Maximus and Balbinus, the Gods save your Majesties: The Gods have made you our Emperors: The Gods preserve you. Do you defend the Senate against the Robbers of the Party of Maximin. We commit the War against the Robbers to you. Let Maximin, the Publick Enemy, with his Son perish. Pursue the Publick Enemy. You are happy in the Judgment of the Senate: The State is happy in you to sit upon the Throne. What the Senate hath deferred to you, undertake with Courage: What the Senate hath given you, accept it freely.*

So with these, and such other Acclamations, *Maximus and Balbinus* were constituted Emperors. *Maximus and Balbinus declared Emperors.*

From the Senate they went first to the Capitol, and assisted at the Sacrifices there. Whilst they were at the Capitol, the Populace contradicted the Election of *Maximus*, because they feared

fear'd his Severity; and they desired, that the Infant *Gordianus*, Grandson of the Emperor *Gordianus* the First, of about thirteen Years of Age, should be made the *Cæsar*. From the Capitol, *Maximus* and *Balbinus* went to the *Rostræ*, which is the Place to Harangue the People in upon the subject of their Election. As they had done this, the People there, together with some Soldiers who joined them, cried, *We all desire to have Gordianus Cæsar*. Nor would they permit the Emperors, who were attended with their Guards, to depart from thence, to go to the Palace, till this was granted; so that *Gordianus* was presently taken and carried into the Senate, and the Senate the same day, which was a new thing, that they had passed the Act in the favour of *Maximus* and *Balbinus* to be Emperors, Assembled a second time, and passed another Act in the favour of *Gordianus* to be the *Cæsar*.

Gordianus
declar'd.
Cæsar.

The first Motion, which the two Emperors after their Elevation made to the Senate, was, That the two *Gordians*, who were dead in *Africa*, should be Deified. Some say, this Motion was made only for the Father, who had strangled himself. But as the Son died the honourabler death, by being killed in the Field, I choose rather to believe the Report of *Junius Cordus*, in whom I remember that I have read, that they were both Deified. After this, they conferred the Office of Governour of the City of *Rome* upon *Vestius Sabinus*: Who was a Grave Person, suitable to the Temper of *Maximus*; and they made *Pinarius Vahlen* the Captain of the Guards.

Before

Before I speak more of their other Actions, I will give you some Account of their Manners and Families: which is done before me indeed by *Junius Cordus*, and by *Curius Fortunatianus*. The first suffers nothing to escape him: so that many times he takes in things that are Vile, and not Handsome. The latter hath gone through all this History; and hath amass'd together several things which are not to be found elsewhere. But he is so short, that he only touches upon them. I shall not follow the Method of the one or the other; but rather that of the Histories of *Suetonius Tranquillus* and *Valerius Marcellinus*.

Maximus's Father was one out of the lowest Rank of the People; a Coach-maker, or as some say, a Blacksmith; whose Wife's Name was *Prima*, by whom he had four other Boys, and four Girls, that all of them died young. When *Maximus* was born, an Eagle, they say, dropt into the Chamber where he was, through some Passage, several pieces of raw Flesh: which no body daring to meddle with, or touch, out of a scruple of Religion, the Eagle came and took it away again, and carried it into the next Chappel, which was dedicated to *Jupiter Præstes*. This at that time seem'd to be a thing of no consequence; but his coming afterwards to the Empire shew'd, that it was not done without a cause, and that it was an Omen of his Reign. He pass'd all his Infancy in the House of his Uncle *Pinarius*, his Father's Brother; whom he rais'd to the Dignity of the Captain of the Guards, as soon as he was made Emperor.

Extraordinary of *Maximus*.

ror. He employed his time to the study of Grammar, but not much to Rhetorick; for his inclination was always to Arms and the severe discipline of War. At length he came to be a Tribune in the Army, and Commanded several Legions, and after that was made a Prætor. His Charges at his entrance into his Prætorship, were born by *Pescennia Marcelsina*, who had adopted him, and maintain'd him as her own Son. Next, he was made the Proconsul of *Bithynia*; from *Bithynia* he was removed to *Greece*; and from thence, in the third place, to be the Proconsul of the Province of *Gallia Narbonensis*. He was sent, in the Quality of Lieutenant-General, into *Illyricum*, where he beat the *Sarmatæ*: From thence he was commanded to the *Rhine*, where he managed things very happily against the *Germans*. Then he was made the Governour of the City of *Rome*, in which place he acquitted himself with a great deal of Prudence, Ingenuity, and Exactness. Therefore the Senate, though he was one of a Novel Family, which without extraordinary Merits must have prevented their Favour, did not forbear to confer the Empire upon him; confessing, as did all the World, that at time there was no Person in the Senate more fit to sustain the Name and Dignity of a Prince, than he.

Person
and Man-
ners of
Maximus.

As to his Person and his Manners, which are Circumstances, tho' of the lesser moment, into which People generally delight to enquire, he was one that Eat much, but Drank very little; and Venery he extraordinary rarely used.

Always

Always of a severe Carriage at home and abroad; a very grave Look, and a hard Face; so that they epitheted him *Maximus* the Trist. He was Tall, Strong, and Healthy in Body: one of no great Complaisance, but Just, and never guilty to the last of Inhumanity or Unmercifulness towards any. He always forgave, when he was asked; nor was he ever Angry, but where it became him so to be. He addicted himself to no Parties: he was stedfast in his own Judgment, and would never so much trust to the Sentiments of others, as to his own. The Senate loved him the better for all this, and the People feared him. Those latter knew the weight of his Censure, being a Subject; and they thought, that the same rigour would but increase upon him being a Prince.

Balbinus was a Man of a very Noble Race; Character had been twice Consul, and the Governour of a multitude of Provinces. He had been the Governour of *Asia*, and *Africa*, and *Bithynia*, and *Galatia*, and *Pontus*, and *Thrace* and *Gallia*, and had headed sometimes Armies. But to say the truth, his Excellency lay not so much in the Military, as in the Civil Affairs. His Goodness, his Integrity, and his Modesty, gained him a great deal of love. His Family was very Antient; and as he said, derived from *Balbus Cornelius Theophanes*; who was made Free of the City of *Rome* by *Pompey* the Great, and who was a Man of the first Note in his own Country, and also a writer of History. *Balbinus* was as Tall as *Maximus*, and Hand-
G some;

some: he loved his Pleasures extremely, in which he had a great Estate to assist him: for he was left Rich by his Ancestors; and he had added to that Stock much, by being made the Heir to several of his Friends. He was famous for his Eloquence; a very good Poet at a sudden and an *extempore* Verse. He loved Wine, Women, and good Eating; was proper in his Dress, and in fine, wanted nothing to render him commendable to the People. The Senate no less loved him. This as to the general Characters of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*: whom some, as *Salust* compares *Cato* and *Cæsar*, so some think, ought to be compared in this manner. That as *Maximus* was severe, *Balbinus* was sweet: As the one was Firm and Constant, the other was Good. The one gave away nothing, the other abounded in all things, and was as generous to all the World with them.

Maximus and *Balbinus*, being possessed with all the other Royal Honours and Ensigns of the Empire; that is, having received the Tribunitian Power, the Proconsular Power and the Sovereign Pontificate upon them; the Title of *Fathers of the Country*, was likewise added to them. They entertain'd the People with the diversions of the Stage, the Games of the Cirque, and the Combats of the Gladiators; and then *Maximus*, after the dispatching his Vows in the Capitol, was sent to the War against *Maximin* with a great Army; the Guards continuing with *Balbinus* still at Rome. I may here take an occasion to say, in a word, from whence the Custom comes, That when

the

the Emperors are going to a War, they first entertain the People with the Combats of Gladiators, and the Chase of Beasts. Some will have it, That it is an antient sort of a Sacrifice to *Nemesis*, the Goddess of Fortune; to satiate her with Roman Blood in the beginning; that she may have the less thereof to require in the Engagements with the Enemy. But that which I take to be the truest, and the most probable Account of it, is; That the sight of Fights, Blood, Arms, and naked Men engaging each other, should harden them against they met the Enemy, and accustom them not to be afraid, nor to shrink at all at Death and Wounds.

The Guards tarrying, as I said, at Rome, whilst *Maximus* went to the War against *Maximin*, there happened such a violent Sedition betwixt the People and them, that it came to a War, within the Bowels of the City. The greatest part wheteof was set on fire, the Temples prophaned, the Streets all of them polluted with Blood, and *Balbinus* with his utmost Lenity was not able to pacifie them: to do which he appeared in publick in Person. But he was in danger to be knock'd down with a Stone: some say, that he received a blow with a Club; and he could never have quieted them, if he had not thought upon producing the young *Cæsar Gordianus*, whom he took, dress'd in his Purple, and set him upon the Shoulders of one that was very tall, and expos'd him to them: who seeing him, both the People and the Soldiers were

A Mutiny
at Rome.

so appeased, that for his sake they all returned again to their former Amity: For never was one of his Years, so much beloved as he; in Memory particularly of his Father, and his Grandfather, who had laid down their Lives in the defence of the People of *Rome*, against *Maximin* in *Africk*. A great Instance of the Gratitude of the *Romans*.

As *Maximus* set forwards for the War, the Senate dispatched into all parts of the Country of *Italy* Consuls, Prætors, Quæstors, Ædiles and Tribunes, to see, that every City was provided with Corn, Arms, Walls, and Fortifications, to give *Maximin* at every turn a Check, and to fatigue him with Sieges one after another. They ordered all the Provisions to be reaped, and to be brought out of the Fields into the fortified Towns, that the Publick Enemy should find nothing whereupon to subsist. They sent Orders into all the Provinces, to forbid all Persons to Assist him, under the penalty of being treated as Enemies. In the mean time another Mutiny happened at *Rome* betwixt the City and Guards. The Emperor *Balbinus* published his Edicts to suppress them, but without effect. The Guards betook themselves to their Camp. The People began to besiege them there. Nor was this Mutiny, in which Thieves and Robbers mixed with the rest, to steal and plunder what they could, to the ruin of the City, and the loss of a great deal of Riches, quieted, till the People had gone so far as to cut *Aqueducts* that carried the Water to the Camp.

Whilst

Whilst these things passed at *Rome*, the Emperor *Maximus* was at the City of *Ravenna*, making great preparations for the War against *Maximin*; whom he very much apprehended, and often said, that he went to fight not against a Man, but against a *Cyclops*. But *Maximin* was so defeated of his Designs before the City of *Aquileia*, that his own Men killed him, and both the Heads of him and his Son were brought to *Ravenna* to *Maximus*, who sent them from thence to *Rome*. The Zeal of the People of *Aquileia* for the Cause of the *Romans* in this Siege was remarkable. They shaved off the Womens Hair in their necessity, to make Strings with it for their Bows. The Emperor *Balbinus* was so overjoy'd at the Victory, who had dreaded the very thoughts of *Maximin* before, that as soon as his Head was brought to *Rome*, he offered a Hecatomb to the Gods; which is a Sacrifice in this manner: A hundred Altars made of Turf, are set up all in a place. Upon these Altars are killed a hundred Swine, or a hundred Sheep. If it is an Imperial Sacrifice, the Victims are a hundred Lions, or a hundred Eagles, and such like. A Custom, which many Emperors have Celebrated; and it formerly was in use amongst the *Grecians*, to appease the Gods, in time especially of a Pestilence.

This being over, *Balbinus* in the next place with great joy expected the return of his Brother-Emperor from *Ravenna*, with his Army and Forces entire, which had had no occasion to strike a blow. For the People of *Aquileia*,

G 3

and

Offering
of a Hecatomb.

and only a few Soldiers with them under the Command of *Crispinus* and *Menophilus*, who had been sent thither from the Senate, had prevented their Work, and defeated the Enemy without them. *Maximus* took his way from *Ravenna* first to *Aquileia*, to see that he left all the Country safe, as far as to the *Alps*; and if there were any Reliques of the *Barbarians* remaining, who had favoured *Maximin*, to reduce them. In the mean time the Senate deputed twenty of their Body (to wit, four of the Order of the Consuls, eight Prætors and eight Quæstors) whose Names are set down by *Cordus*, to Complement *Maximus*, and to present him with the Crowns, as also an *A&*, in which they had decreed to set up his Statues on Horseback in Gold. The Emperor *Balbinus* was disgusted at this, and said, that *Maximus* had been put to less trouble than he, who had extinguish'd the fire of a great intestine War at home, whilst *Maximus* enjoy'd himself in quiet at *Ravenna*. But tho' this was true, the readiness of *Maximus* to serve the State in Person in this War, was so well accepted, that the Victory received was totally imputed to him; and yet it was got, before he so much as knew any thing of it. The Army of *Maximin*, after his death, surrendring themselves to *Maximus*, he received them, and marched with great Pomp and a numerous Retinue to *Rome*. He often said to that Army, that as for what was past, it ought to be forgotten; and he presented them a great Donative; and sent their Auxiliaries every one home. But as when Soldiers have once their minds

minds possessed with a hatred, it is a hard matter to govern them. These Men repented that they had lost an Emperor, who was of their own Election, now to be reduced under the Command of those, who were of the Election of the Senate. They discover'd as much in their very Looks, and sometimes in Words. But when they also heard the reflecting Acclamations of the Senate upon them, for having adhered so to *Maximin*, they became the bitterest against *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, and every day bethought themselves of setting up some other Persons for the Empire, if occasion served.

As *Maximus* entered into the City of *Rome*, Reception of *Maximus* at *Rome*. the Senate, and the People came out to meet him, reflecting upon the Soldiers of the Party of *Maximin*, in their Publick Acclamations. From thence they conducted him into the Senate: where after some other things of course, it was said; See the Happiness of Princes, that are chosen by the Wisdom of the Senate; and on the other hand, see the Fate of those that are chosen by Fools: Now the Army were they that had first set up *Maximin*; as the Senate were they who had chosen *Maximus* and *Balbinus*. The Soldiers could not hear this without being more incensed against the Senate; especially because the Senate pretended, as it were, to have got a Triumph over them.

Maximus and *Balbinus* governed in the City of *Rome* with great Prudence, and to the equal satisfaction of the Senate and the People.

They deferred very much to the Senate; made excellent and Wise Laws; sat in Person in Judicature, and admirably ordered all the Military Affairs. *Maximus* prepared all things for a War against the *Parthians*; and *Balbinus* prepared himself for another against the *Germans*; designing to leave the young *Cæsar*, *Gordianus*, behind them at *Rome*. But the discontented Soldiers in the mean time, sought an opportunity to kill them, but had not yet found any, because they were so well guarded with a Body of *Germans*.

Jealousies
between
the Em-
perors.

Some Differences there were betwixt *Maximus* and *Balbinus*; but they were secret, and such as were rather to be guessed, than seem. *Balbinus* look'd upon *Maximus*, as an Ignoble Man, of no Birth; and *Maximus* spurned at *Balbinus* again, as a weak Man of no Policy. This gave an occasion to the Soldiers, that had Wit, to understand, that it was easie to kill two such Princes, as could not agree betwixt themselves. Whilst therefore a great many both of the Guards and the Courtiers were diverting themselves at the Publick Games abroad, and the two Emperors were left alone in the Palace, with only some *Germans* near them, they Attacked them. The *Germans* were at a particular part of the Palace, waiting upon *Balbinus*. The Storm fell upon *Maximus*: who not finding any means to save himself without the succour of the *Germans*, sent to *Balbinus* to desire him to send him a Guard. *Balbinus* suspecting a Plot against himself, out of an ambition of *Maximus* to Reign Sole Monarch,

delayed to send him any so long, that whilst they stood in contradiction of one another upon that Subject, the Soldiers came upon them both, and stript them of their Royal Vestments, and drew them by violence out of the Palace, and abused them, and cut them, and were hurrying them through the City into the Camp, when perceiving that the *Germans* advanced to relieve them, they killed them both and left them dead in the Streets. At the same time they took the young *Cæsar* *Gordianus* with them into the Camp, whither they retired, and proclaimed him Emperor, as he was the only Person left at present to be so, Triumphant and Insulting over the Senate and the People. The *Germans* having nothing to do to Fight, after their Masters were killed, betook themselves to their own Quarters, which they had without the City.

They are
both slain.

Thus died those two good Emperors, in a manner unworthy of their Virtues and Actions; for nothing was more Brave than *Maximus*, and nothing more Sweet than *Balbinus*. One may be certain of this, from the Nature of the thing itself: For when the Election is in their own power, why should they make choice of ill Princes? They were Men, that had been exercised before in several employments of Honour and Power. The one had been twice Consul, the other the Governour of the City of *Rome*; and both were of an advanced Age when they came to the Empire, and were beloved by the Senate; and though the People at the first apprehended the Reign of *Maximus*,

mus, yet finding him more Gracious than they expected, even those had begun to lay aside their Fears, and to Love him also.

Maximus and *Balbinus* reigned one Year. *Maximin* and his Son reigned two, or as some say, three Years. The House of *Balbinus* is still to be seen at *Rome*, a large and stately Building, possessed by his Family to this day. There is a great disagreement amongst the Greek and Latin Historians about the Names of *Maximus* and *Pupienus*: which are indeed but two Names for the same Person: But yet the Greek Historians, as *Herodotus* and *Dexippus*, whom I have followed, never using the Name of *Pupienus*, and the Latin Historians scarce ever using the Name of *Maximus*; but what the one says was done by *Maximus*, the other saying it was done by *Pupienus*, and making *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* to be Emperors together instead of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*. To avoid this distraction, we are only to confide in the Account of *Curius Fortunatianus*, where he tells us, that as both the Names understand the same Person, he was called *Pupienus*, as by his own Name, and *Maximus*, as by the Name of his Father. The Letter of *Claudius Julianus*, the Consul at that time, in which he Congratulates the Elevation of him and *Balbinus* to the Empire, is directed to him by the Name of *Pupienus*: which is this.

To their most Sacred and most Invincible Majesties, *Pupienus* and *Balbinus*, from *Claudius Julianus*.

YOur Majesties by the good Appointment of the most Excellent and most Mighty Jupiter and the Immortal Gods, and by the Judgment of the Senate and the Consent of all Mankind, having received the Empire, to be by you protected against the Assaults of the wicked *Maximin*, and to be Governed according to the Laws of the Romans, though as yet your Majesties have not sent unto me your Advices, yet I could no sooner read the Act of the Senate for that purpose, which hath been transmitted to me by my Brother-Consul *Cellus Aelianus*, but I must Congratulate the City of *Rome*, for whose preservation you have been Elected: I Congratulate the Senate, to whom, according to the judgment which they had of your Merits, you have restored their Pristine Dignity: I Congratulate the Country of *Italy*, whose defence you in a particular manner undertake against the devastation of the Enemy: I Congratulate the Provinces, which the insatiable Avarice of ill Governours have rent and torn in pieces, they are raised to some hopes of safety, and do wait their deliverance from you. I Congratulate also the Legions themselves, and the Auxiliaries, who from all Parts of the World have their Eyes upon you to Adore you, and promise themselves from you a Reign, worthy of the Roman

Roman Empire. There is therefore no Language so Powerful, there is no Eloquence so Happy, there is no where that Wit, that is so fruitful, as to express sufficiently the Felicity of the Publick in you. We may judge, what Great things we are to expect from you, by only the beginnings of your Reigns; in which you have re-established the Roman Laws, and the course of Justice, which was before abolished: You have made you selves Examples of Clemency, which had been also forgotten; and you have secured unto the Subject their Lives, Liberties, Customs, and Properties. These are things it is not easie to recount, much less is it to prosecute with that Dignity that they deserve. For how shall I express the sense of the Duties which we owe to you, for your having preserved our Lives to us against the Cut-throat sent by the proud and bloody Maximin every where into the Provinces to revenge himself on the whole Order of the Senate? Especially, will may my Inferiour Parts fall below the Dignity of such a Subject, when I cannot describe so much as the peculiar Joy of my own Mind, to see those two Persons raised to be the Emperors of Rome; and the Princes of the whole Race of Mankind, to whom and to whose Censures I have ever submitted my self, and have religiously endeavoured to approve my Carriage and Actions. And although I may take a great deal of confidence in the Testimonies which have been given of me, by the Princes the Predecessors to you, yet it is the Gravity of your Judgment which will carry the greatest Weight with me, and in which I shall choose to Glory. The Gods long con-

tinue the Felicity of your Reigns to the Roman World. As Scipio, the Conqueror of Carthage (it is said) pray'd, That the Gods would preserve the State in the Condition in which it then was, because there could not be a better; so when I reflect upon you, and upon the Establishment which you have made of the Empire, which was Tottering, till you came unto it, I can only pray, that the Gods would preserve the same to you, in that State, wherein your selves have placed it.

Under these two Princes there was a War betwixt the Carpi, and the People of *Mæsia*: About the same time commenced the War of the Scythians, and the ruin of *Istria*. *Dexippus* gives great Commendations of *Balbinus*; he says, that he resisted the Soldiers, when he was killed, with a Courageous Mind, not fearing Death; and that he was one, who was well instructed in all things; But as to *Maximus*, he does not agree to the Characters which is given him by most other Grecian Historians.

A
S U P P L E M E N T
O F T H E
E M P E R O R S
F R O M
Gordianus the Third,
U N T O
Valerian the First.

From the Death of *Gordianus* the Third, unto the beginning of the Reign of *Valerian*, it is accounted to be about Nine, or at the most Ten Years. In which short time, these Fifteen following Princes, of whom we have little left upon History, besides their Names, successively carried and lost the Empire of *Rome*.

I. *Marcus*.

Vol. II. from *Gordianus* III. unto *Valerian* I.

I. *Marcus*. The Senate, upon the News of the Death of *Gordianus*, immediately exerted their own Right, and created *Marcus* Emperor, according to *Zonaras*. He was of their own Order, a Venerable Person, addicted to the study of Wisdom and Philosophy. But he soon fell sick, and died in the Palace at *Rome*.

II. *Severus Hostilianus*. After *Marcus*, the Senate by their Suffrages, according to *Zonaras* also, set up this Prince; who likewise had the fortune to fall sick soon after, and died.

III. *Marcus Julius Philip* the Father. This was the Person, who was the Author of the Murder of *Gordianus* the Third. He associated his Son with him in the Empire. His Wife was *Marcia Otacilia Severa*; who it is thought, was an occasion, being her self instructed in the Christian Religion, that her Husband was Favourable to the Christians.

IV. *Marcus Julius Philip* the Son. He was otherwise called, *Caius Julius Saturninus Philip*. But after his Assumption to the Empire by his Father, he took the same Names with him. They reigned together five, some say six Years.

V. *Gotapianus*. This Person set up himself for the Empire in *Syria*, in the time of the *Philips*. But was soon oppressed again, and ended his Pretences with his Life.

VI. *Marinus*.

VI. *Marinus*. Some call him *Publius Carvilius Marinus*. He was set Emperor up by the Legions in Garrison in *Pannonia* or *Mæsia*, at the same time that *Jotapian* made his Pretences in the East; and was killed soon after.

VII. *Meslius Quintus Trajanus Decius* the Father. The Army in *Illyricum* advanced this Prince in opposition to the *Philips*. He engaged the Emperor *Philip* the Father in a Battle at the City of *Verona*, and slew him there, *Philip* the Son was killed at *Rome*.

VIII. *Decius* the Son. He was called *Quintus Herennius Etruscus Meslius Decius*. He reigned in conjunction with his Father.

IX. *Caius Valens Hostilianus*. Some Medals and Antient Inscriptions mention him; and he is supposed to have set up himself against the *Decii*, as did the two following. But neither the Greek nor the Latin Historians are found to say any thing of him.

X. *Lucius Priscus*. He was the President of *Macedonia*, when he was set up to be Emperor against the *Decii*.

XI. *Valens Licinianus* This is the same, whom *Trebellius Pollio* makes the Nineteenth in his Catalogue and Account of the 30 Tyrants. He had much of the Love of the People.

XII. *Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus*, the Father.

XIII. *Vibius*



XIII. *Vibius Volusianus*, his Son. These two succeeded together to the Empire after the *Decii*; with whom some joyn a Third, namely,

XIV. *Hostilianus Perenna*. He was preferred to the Empire by the Senate, in the time that *Gallus* and his Son were Created by the Army.

XV. *Caius Julius Aemilianus*. This Prince was Created by the Legions in *Mesia*; and after the death of *Gallus* and his Son, who were killed by their own Soldiers, he reigned the space of three Months, and governed the Empire with a deal of Prudence. Then dying of a sickness, he left it vacant to the Emperor *Valerian*.

In fine, the History of these Princes, and of the whole Interval from *Gordianus* the Third, to *Valerian*, is enveloped in so much Darkness, that certainly it is very difficult to find any one place, in which the Ancient Writers are of any Agreement amongst themselves.

H

THE

THE
EMPEROR
Valerian the First.

BY
TREBELLIVS POLLIO.

VALERIAN was in the Province of *Rhætia*, when the Army set him up to be Emperor, with the unanimous consent and approbation of the Senate and the People. He was a Man of an Honourable Birth, the Son of *Valerius*; and he was one, who in his time had passed through all the Gradual Offices and Honours of the State, with great applause, which paved the Way for him to the Throne. To let you see the Esteem, which the Publick had of his Merits, and how well he stood in the opinion of the most Noble Senate, at the time when he was chosen to be a Censor, I will give you the Act of the Senate, which passed for his Election.

Respect of
the Senate
to him.

Upon

Upon the sixth of the Kalends of *November*, the Year in which the two *Decii* were the Consuls, the Senate having received from those Princes Letters, in which they left it to the Senate's Power to appoint a Person to the Place of a Censor, met for the purpose in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and the Motion being made and the Question put, whom they should Choose, instead of waiting to be asked their Votes severally according to the Custom, they all cried with one Voice, in the absence of *Valerian*, who was then in the Field with the Emperors:

The Life of Valerian is a continued Censorship. As his Manners are Better than all the World besides; so let him be the Judge of the Manners of all the World. Let him judge of the Crimes of the Senate, who hath none of his own: Let him give Judgment upon our Lives, who leads such a one himself, as nothing can be objected to it. Valerian hath been a Censor from his Infancy. Valerian hath all his Life been a Censor. He is a Prudent, a Modest, a Grave Senator; a Friend to the Good, an Enemy to Rebellion, an Enemy to all Vice and Wickedness. We all Accept him to be our Censor. We will all Observe him. A Man of the First Quality, Noble by Blood, of a Correct Life, and Singular Manners, Eminent in his Learning, and a perfect Model of Antiquity. This was often repeated, and then the Senate Adjourned.

When the Emperor *Decius* had received this Act, which was sent to him from the Senate, he assembled all those of his Court, and amongst the rest, he order'd *Valerian* to be cal-

H 2

led;

led; and after the Act of the Senate was read to the Company, he made the following Speech to *Valerian*.

Speech of the Emperor to him. You are Happy *Valerian*, in the Judgment which all the Senate hath of you, and in the share that you bear in their Hearts and Affections. Receive the Office of being a Censor to the whole Roman World, unto which they have appointed you, and which you alone deserve to bear. By this you are made a Judge of our Manners. You will Judge, who ought to abide in the Senate. You will reduce the Equestrian Order unto its Antient State: You will prescribe Bounds to the Revenues of all. You will confirm the Tributes which is raised upon the People. You will take an Account of all Offices in the Government. You will have the Authority of making Laws, of Judging of the Orders of the Soldiers, and of having your Eyes upon the Conduct and the Employ of Arms. You will have the Power of carrying your Judgment to my own Court, and to the Governours of the Provinces, and the most Eminent Commanders in my Service. Excepting only the Governour of the City of Rome, the two Consuls for the Year, the Chief Officer of the Sacrifices, and the Mother of the Vestal Virgins, provided that she keep herself Uncorrupt, there is no Body, nor no Cause, but will fall under your Sentence. And even those who are excepted, will labour nevertheless to please you, and to be agreeable in your sight.

The Reply which *Valerian* made to the Emperor, was in this manner:

May it please Your most Excellent Majesty, I beseech you, not to tie me to such a necessity of Judging

Judging of the People, the Soldiers, the Senate, and all the World indeed, the Magistrates of the Provinces, the Tribunes, and the Generals. These are things, for which your Majesty possesses the Name of an Emperor; the Censorship revolves upon your self; a private Man cannot perform it. I beg therefore, that I may be excused from this Honour: Neither my Life, nor my Assurance makes me suitable for it: The Times also are so repugnant, that it is the Voice of Mankind, to desire not to see a Censorship of a private Person of this Nature.

However *Valerian* acquitted himself in his Censorship with all Equity. I could produce several other Instances of the Favour, both of the Senate and the Emperors towards him, if they were not things that are already generally known. From whence, I would only observe, that it appears, that when *Valerian* was afterwards called to the Empire, it was not done by a Tumultuary concurrence of the People, nor by a Noise of the Soldiers, but he was chosen justly for his Merits, and as it were by the Unanimous Voice of Mankind: in which, if every Person in particular had been to be allowed the power of speaking his Opinion, they would all have made choice of no other than *Valerian*.

After *Valerian* was upon the Throne, no Man acted in the disposition of Commands and Offices, better, and more justly than he. His Son *Gallienus*, the Brother to *Valerian* the Second, by another Venter, was at the same time made *Cesar*, at the request of the People.

In fine, the fatal Overthrow of *Valerian* and his Captivity that followed it, makes me almost ashamed to extol him so highly, as he otherwise deserves. For this Prince marching with a great Force against *Persia*, and invading that Kingdom, and being through the Conduct, whether Treacherous or Unfortunate, I know not, of one of his Officers, on whom he greatly relied, brought into such Circumstances, that no Force, nor no Military Discipline, could save him, was Conquer'd, and fell a Prisoner into the hands of *Sapores* King of *Persia*; who swelled with the success of so glorious Victory, not only proudly detained him, contrary to the Honour of Arms, but treated him in the Language of a vile and abject Slave, and some say, condemn'd him to the infamous Office of making his Back a Footstool to him to tread upon, whenever he mounted his Horse. However that is, it is certain, that several of the Neighbouring Kings, who had assisted on the side of *Sapores* against *Valerian* in the War, sent Letters afterwards of kind Intercession to *Sapores* on behalf of the Royal Prisoner, whereof two or three were as follows:

To *Sapores* the King of Kings,
Belsotus sendeth Greeting.

IF I could think it possible, that the Romans were to be totally at last Vanquish'd, I should Congratulate you upon the Exalted manner, in which you use your Victory. But as they are a Nation

Nation who by the power of Fate, and their own Virtue together, are of an extraordinary Force in the World, you will do well to have a care, that your taking into Captivity the Old Emperor, and that too by a Fraud, does not redound to the Ill of you and your Posterity. You may please to observe, what great Nations the Romans have, of Enemies, made their own; and Nations that have often had the advantage of beating them too. It is certain we have heard, how the Gauls beat them, and set fire to their great City. But yet the Gauls are now Slaves to the Romans. What! Have not the Africans Beat them? But yet the Africans now serve the Romans. And not to instance in Examples, which are of a great distance from us; and therefore the less known, *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, was once the Master of all Asia. But yet *Mithridates* was Conquered, and Asia is now certainly under the Obedience of the Romans. If you will be advised by me, embrace the Means of Peace, which you have in your hands, and restore *Valerian* to his Country again. I Congratulate your Felicity, provided this altogether, that you know how to use it well.

Balerus, the King of the *Cadusii*,
writ thus.

IAm glad, that the Succours with which we furnished you, are remitted to me again entire and safe, as I have received them: But I cannot wish you so much Joy of your carrying into

Captivity that Great Prince Valerian, as I should Congratulate you, if he was Restored again. The Romans are the most dangerous Enemies for being beaten; Act therefore as it becomes you in Prudence; nor let Fortune puff you up, which hath deceived so many. Valerian hath a Son an Emperor, and a Grandson a Cæsar. And what! Hath he not all the Roman World on his side, which will universally rise up against you? Therefore Restore him, and make a Peace with the Romans; which will also be an Advantage to us, as well as you.

Artabafdes, the King of Armenia, sent this Letter to Sapor.

I Share with you in the Glory of your Victory. But yet I fear, that you have not so much Conquer'd, as sown the Seeds of more and more Wars. The Son of Valerian, and his Grandson, and the Captains of the Romans, all Gallia, all Africa, all Spain, all Italy, all the Nations which are in Illyrieum, and in the East and Pontus, that either are the Allies, or the Subjects of the Romans, will be sure to re-demand the Person of Valerian. So you have a Prisoner of an Old Man, and in the mean time you render all the Nations of the Earth implacable Enemies to you, and it may be to us, who sent you our Succours, as we are your Neighbours, and are always concerned in the Troubles of your State.

Other Nations of the Bactriani, the Garmians, the Albanians and the Tatars, rejected the

the Applications of Sapor to them, and writ to the Roman Generals to promise them their assistances, to deliver Valerian out of his Captivity. Valerian nevertheless remained and died a Prisoner in Persia, at an advanced Age. His Quarrel was pretty well reveng'd by Odenatus of Palmyra: who getting together an Army, asserted the Roman Interest greatly in those Parts; insomuch that he took the Treasures of the King of Persia, and what those Kings hold dearer to them than their Treasures, he took his Concubines Prisoners. Upon which, King Sapor retired himself immediately within his own Kingdom, and so ended the Persian War.

This is the Story of Valerian the Father; who was 70 Years Old, when he was with great Applauses first advanced to be Emperor. I come next to Valerian, the Son.

THE

THE
EMPEROR
Valerian the Second.

BY
TREBELLIVS POLLIO.

VALERIAN the Second was the Son of the precedent Prince, and the Brother of Gallienus by another Mother. He was Handsome, Modest, and very Ingenious for his Age; of a Charming Humour and Manners; far different from the dissoluteness of his said Brother. His Father had made him a *Cæsar*, and *Celestinus* says, that his Brother did afterwards receive him, as Emperor, in conjunction with himself.

There is nothing to be remembred of him more, than that he was Nobly born, very well educated, and that he was miserably killed. He was buried about the City of *Milan*, with
this

this Inscription put upon him afterwards, by the order of *Claudius*; *The Emperor Valerian*. Some have understood it of *Valerian* the Father; as if the Body of him, who was a Prisoner in *Persia*, had been returned out of that Country: But that is a mistake, and therefore to prevent it for the future, I mention it as such here.

I pass on next to the Reign of *Gallienus* and his Son, called *Saloninus Gallienus*; being entirely devoted to your Service, and to the glory of your Reputation, to which I neither ought nor can refuse any thing.

TREBELLIVS POLLIO

THE

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
Gallienus the First.

BY
TREBELLIVS POLLIO.

From whence should I begin the Life of *Gallienus*, but from the time of the Captivity of his Father? Who, that is, *Valerian* the First, being taken and kept a Prisoner by the King of *Persia*, though it was a great Affliction to all to see an Emperor of *Rome* treated so like a Slave, the Army in the mean time without a Head, the Generals murmuring, and the Empire in a tottering condition, especially in the East, yet did *Gallienus*

lienus rather rejoyce in the Misfortune of his Father, and carried himself so negligently, that *Macrianus* and *Balista*, together with the Reliques of the Army which they assembled with them in the East, consulted in fine, whom to set up to be Emperor in opposition to him. For as for him, his Name was scarce so much as mentioned amongst them.

Macrianus was accounted one of the most knowing Captains of that time, and no Man fitter for the Government of Affairs than he. Withal he was very Rich, and one that could supply the publick Occasions out of his private Fortunes. His Sons, *Macrianus* the Second and *Quietus* were two stout young Men, who loved the War, and might be of good Example to the Legions, upon all opportunities, where the matter of Arms might call them.

Wherefore it was resolved, in preference ^{Several} to others, to commit the defence of the Em- ^{Persons}pire unto *Macrianus* and his Sons. This was ^{set up for} in the Year, that *Gallienus* and *Volusianus* were ^{Emperors} the Consuls. *Macrianus* gathered himself an Army, and took all the necessary precautions for his security against his Enemies. He sent *Piso*, who was one of the chief Persons of the Senate, into *Achaia*, to oppress *Valens* there, who governed that Country with a Proconsular Power by the appointment of *Gallienus*. But *Valens* finding that *Piso* came against him, and that there was no other way to save himself, but by an Absolute Authority, and by setting up himself Emperor, he did so, and *Piso* withdrew from thence into *Thessalia*; whither

whither *Valens* sent those after him that killed him. In the mean time *Piso* had also in *Thes-saly* set up for an Empire, with the Title of Emperor of *Theſſalia*. After this, *Macrianus* leaving his Son *Quietus* in the East, and the Affairs under him there in a peaceable Condition, began his Expedition against *Gallienus*. He came first into the Lesser *Asia*, and then into *Illyricum*. In *Illyricum* was *Aureolus*, who pretended to Reign there; being one that had taken Arms, and the Empire upon him, against *Gallienus*. *Macrianus* had his Son *Macrianus* with him, and a Body of five and forty thousand Men. With these he fought the Forces of *Aureolus*, which were Commanded by his General *Domitian*: but *Macrianus* lost the day, and both he and his Son were killed, and all their Army surrendered to the Emperor *Aureolus*.

The News of the death of *Macrianus*, the Father and Son, coming to *Odenatus* of *Palmyra* in *Syria*, who had made his pretensions to the Empire of the East from the Captivity of *Valerian*, *Odenatus* considering the Remissions of *Gallienus* on the one hand, and the Usurpation of *Aureolus* on the other, and indeed the disturbed Condition of the whole Empire every where, hastned upon this opportunity with an Army, to see if he could take the other Son of *Macrianus*, *Quietus*, who had been left behind in the East. This Business was soon concluded by the Treachery of such, as were about the Person of *Quietus*: For they, Confederating with *Odenatus*, and particularly

particularly *Balista*, the Captain of the Guards, killed the young Man and threw his Body over the Wall to *Odenatus*; to whom every one, after that, immediately submitting, *Odenatus* became the Emperor of almost all the East, whilst *Aureolus* reigned in *Illyricum*, and *Gallienus* reigned at *Rome*. The City of *Emissa* was nigh destroyed by the severity of *Balista* at this time, and many of the Inhabitants killed, with the Treasurer and such others of the Party of *Quietus*, as had fled for shelter thither.

Odenatus ordered an Account of every thing that had passed, to be faithfully sent to the Emperor *Gallienus* at *Rome*; as if it was in his Cause, that he had done what he did. *Gallienus* was pleased with the security, which accrued to him by the death of *Macrianus*, and his Sons: But the use that he made of it, was only to indulge his Lusts and Pleasures the more, which he pursued without the least regard to the Condition of his Captive Father. He gave the Publick the diversions of the Races of the Cirque, Stage-plays, the Games of Leaping, Running and Wrestling; a Chase of Wild Beasts, and the Games of the Gladiators; whereunto he invited the People to assist and be Merry, as upon Days of the greatest Joy and Triumph. However, several could not but lament the Captivity of his Father: but *Gallienus* gloried rather in it; because his Father (he said) had lost his Crown by I know not what love of Virtue, which he renounced; and so he solaced himself above measure. It was plain, that he could not endure the Eye of his Father

Dissoluteness of Gallienus.

Odenatus attempts the Empire.

Father upon him; and he thought himself happy, that the Old Man with his Gravity was so far off removed.

About the same time, *Emilian* in *Egypt* Revolted, and set up for himself as Emperor, and seized upon the Granaries and the Magazines of that Country, till several Towns there were almost laid under a Famine. Against him *Theodotus*, a General of *Gallienus*, marched, and fought him and took him, and sent him alive to the Emperor his Master.

Gallienus still persisting in his Sports and his Luxury, and no better looking after the Publick Weal, than a Boy that is made a King in a Play of a Company of Boys. The *Gauls*, to whom it is Natural to be Light, and a People that cannot contain themselves under Princes, which are luxurious and which degenerate from that *Roman* Valour, which did at first subdue them, called *Posthumius* to the Empire; whereunto the Forces of that Province consented, who were very sensible, and accordingly complained of the slavery of *Gallienus* to his Lusts. Against *Posthumius*, marched *Gallienus* himself with a Body of Troops. He besieged *Posthumius* in the City where he was: But as he was viewing the Walls, the *Gauls* distinguish'd him, and gave him a Wound by the shot of an Arrow. *Posthumius* reigned seven Years in *Gallia*, and asserted that Country bravely against the Incursions of all the *Barbarians* round about. The War betwixt *Gallienus* and him was long protracted, through a number of Sieges and Battels: Sometimes

the

the one, sometimes the other carried it: inso-much that *Gallienus* was obliged by the difficulties which beset him, to make a Peace with the pretended Emperor *Aureolus*, for the better opportunity of opposing *Posthumius*. To these Mischiefs, the *Scythians* invaded the Province of *Bithynia* in the Lesser *Asia*, and destroyed whole Towns there. They came up to the City of *Nicomedia*, and burnt it and grievously laid it waste. Besides which, as if all the World conspired at once to afflict us, in *Sicily* there arose as it were a seivile War, by the means of a company of Robbers, that roved up and down, and required a great deal of pains to suppress them. All these things happened out of a Contempt of *Gallienus*: because there is nothing which gives so much Boldness to the Wicked, nor so much Hopes and Encouragement to the Good, as when either on the one hand a Good Prince is feared, or on the other a Dissolute Prince is despised.

Amongst so many Commotions and Wars, an Earthquake in the Year when *Gallienus* and *Fausinianus* were the Consuls, in a violent manner shook the Cities of *Asia*; it shook *Libya*, and the City of *Rome*, and there was a Darkness for several days. The roaring of the Earth from beneath, was like the Voice of Thunder from above. Many Fabricks were consumed in this Earthquake, and their Inhabitants with them, and others killed with the fright. The Earth opened in abundance of places, and salt Water came up into the Breaches, and several Cities were covered with

Many
Commoti-
tions and
Wars.

A dread-
ful Earth-
quake.

The many
Misfor-
tunes of
the Times.

a Flood of Waters: Above all, it did the most mischief in *Asia*. At the same time so great a Pestilence raged at *Rome*, and in the Cities of *Achaia*, that five thousand Persons died of it in one day. So the Books of the *Sibyls* were Inspected, and the Peace of the Gods begged and sought into, and a Sacrifice was offered to *Jupiter*, the Author of Health, according as it was prescribed by the said Books of the *Sibyls*. Fortune raged on all sides. Here the Earth shook and trembled; there it gaped and opened; in other Parts a Pestilence laid us waste; *Valerian* in the mean time a Captive, *Gallia* distracted with the Wars of *Posthumius*, and the *Barbarians*; the East under the Empire of *Odenatus*, *Aureolus* the Master of *Illyricum*, and *Emilian* the Master of *Egypt*; *Thrace* taken up betwixt the *Goths* and *Claudius*, who laid waste *Macedonia* and besieged *Thessalonica*: No moderate degree of quiet had we on any side. And all this in a great measure, as I have said, was yet occasioned by the Contempt, in which *Gallienus* was with all the World: which he drew upon himself by his excessive Luxury; and not only that, but he was a Man, who besides, if he was out of Danger, was fit enough for all kind of Wickedness. In *Achaia*, *Martianus*, with the Forces of *Gallienus*, Engaged the *Goths*, and obliged them to retire. The *Scythians*, who are another part of the *Goths*, at the same time laid waste *Asia*, and plundered and burnt the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, the Fame of the Riches whereof is so well known to all the Earth.

It

It is a shame almost to say, what Expressions, what Jest, came upon these occasions from the mouth of *Gallienus*, when he was told of the Revolt and Troubles of this and the other Place. *Egypt*, it was told him, was Revolted: And what then, says he, cannot we be without the Flax of *Egypt*? *Asia*, it was told him, was laid waste, both by the Earthquakes, and the *Scythian* Enemy. What then, says he, cannot we be without Salt-petre? When *Gallia* was lost to *Posthumius*, he laughed and said; Cannot the State be safe, unless we have our Stuffs from *Arras*? And so of all Parts of the World, when he had lost them, he Jested, and was no more concerned, than for his old Cloaths, or the loss of any vile Slave.

And that nothing which is ill, should be wanting to his Times, the City of *Byzantium*, which is the Key of the *Hellepont*, and famous for its Naval Powers, was rendred totally desolate by the Soldiers of the same *Gallienus*, that scarce any body was left alive in it. There is no Antient Family to be found now there, to represent the Nobility and the Antiquity of its former People, but what perhaps hath sprung from some Person or other, who escaped the slaughter, by being at that time absent on his business, or in the service of the War.

After the Peace with *Aureolus*, *Gallienus*, with the assistance of him and *Claudius* as his General, who was afterwards Emperor; and who is the Head of the Family of *Constantius* the *Cesar*, began the War afresh against *Posthumius*.

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humius

Posthu-
mius de-
feated.

Posthumus in *Gallia*. *Posthumus* was assisted with many succours from the *Celtæ* and the *Franks*; and being joined by *Victorinus*, whom he had made Partner with him in his pretended Empire, he marched to the Battel against *Gallienus*. They fought several times with variety of success on both sides. The Victory at last fell to *Gallienus*; who, it is to be owned, had sudden Valour, which came hot upon him, when he was in a Choler and well provoked.

In this Choler he went next to revenge himself of *Byzantium*; where he did not expect to be received within the Walls. But upon Conditions, he was. The day after, he first disarmed, and then put all the Garrison and Town in cold blood to the Sword, contrary to his Faith and the Promises that he had made them. About the same time the *Scythians* in *Asia* were beaten by the Valour and the Conduct of the *Roman* Commanders there, and obliged to retire from their Incurfions.

Gallienus
his return
to Rome.

Winged with these Successes, *Gallienus* flew with great speed to *Rome*; and Convocating the Senate, he Instituted and Celebrated his Decennial Games, the Pomp and the Pleasures whereof, were as Exquisite as they were New. He went to the Capitol, in a Procession of the Senators in their Robes, the Gentry, the Soldiers clad in White, all the People, Slaves a very great many, and Women marching before with Wax Tapers and Lamps in their hands. These were preceded by a hundred white Oxen, yoked two and two, with their Horns gilt, and Cloths of Silk thrown over their

their Backs of divers Colours, which made a great Show. In like manner, marched two hundred pure white Lambs: Ten Elephants, that were then at *Rome*: One thousand two hundred Gladiators, pompously dressed in Cloaths embroider'd with Gold, such as the Ladies of Quality wear: Two hundred tam'd Wild Beasts of several kinds, very finely adorned; Chariots full of Mimicks, and all sorts of Players; Pugils fighting, but not with true, but counterfeit Weapons; Drolls playing the Anticks, and others imitating the Gestures and Looks, of the *Cyclops*, which was wonderful. All the Streets resounded with Acclamations, and the Plays, and the Noise. In the midst, amongst the Senators, marched *Gallienus* himself in a Triumphal Gown and Tunick, accompanied with all the Priests in their Robes. There were five hundred Spears of Gold born on each side, one hundred Standards, the Standards of the Colleges of the Priests, the Arms and Ensigns of the Temples, and all the Legions. Then went also separate Bodies of Men, representing Captives of Vanquish'd Nations: as *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Franks* and *Persians*; to the number of no less than two hundred in a Body. And with this Pomp did *Gallienus* vainly think to elude and put upon the People of *Rome*; who nevertheless seeing through the disguise, one Man favoured *Posthumus*, another *Regilianus*, another *Aureolus*, another *Emilian*, and another *Saturninus*, as they fancied. Great lamentation was made for the Captivity of

Valerian, the Father; and it was admired, that his own Son should leave him so unrevenge'd, when strangers and foreign Potentates had been ready to vindicate him. But nothing of this moved *Gallienus*, his heart was stupified with his Pleasures. All his discourse to those that were about him, was, What have we for Dinner? What are the Diversions that are prepared to day? What will be the Play to morrow? What are the Races to be run in the Cirque? The Procession being over, and the Hecatombs being offered to the Gods, *Gallienus* returned to the Court, where there was an Entertainment: which when finished, he appointed the other days for the publick Pastimes. One thing I must not omit, and that is an unlucky Jest, which was made upon the Procession. Amongst the pretended Captives, which were ridiculously led in Triumph, there was a Body of supposed *Persians*. As this Body was marching, some Drolls, that had a mind to be pleasant, came in amongst them and sought, and look'd all about, and viewed every ones Face, and wondred, and were very inquisitive; till at last they were asked, what they would have? and what was it they wanted? Say they, we would see the Emperor's Father. This coming to the ears of *Gallienus*, no regard either to his Father, or to Pity, or his own shame could prevail with him, but he ordered the Men to be burnt. The People resented their deaths, beyond expectation, very ill; and the Soldiers worse: who were so troubled, that they reveng'd it upon *Gallienus* himself, not long after.

In

In the Year that *Gallienus* and *Saturninus* were the Consuls, *Odenatus* King of the *Palmyreni* in *Syria*, whose Valiant Actions spoke him worthy to be the Emperor of all the East, as indeed he was, and so he declared himself, because *Gallienus* minded either nothing, or only his Luxuries and his Follies, took up the War against *Persia*, to revenge the Captivity of *Valerian*, which was so little regarded by *Gallienus* his Son. He presently possessed himself of the Cities of *Nisibis* and *Charræ*, by the Surrender of the Inhabitants, who blamed *Gallienus* for his Neglect. Yet was not *Odenatus* wanting in his Respect to *Gallienus* neither. He sent the Great Men of the *Persians*, whom he took Prisoners, to *Rome* to him, to give him the opportunity of insulting over their Misery in their turn: which he did in a Triumph, though the Victory was not his own, but *Odenatus's*; and still he mentioned nothing of his Father; nor upon the report which came of his Death, but, which proved afterwards false, did he Deifie him, till he was constrained to it. *Odenatus* advanced to the City of *Ctesiphon*, and besieged it, with a multitude of the *Persians* therein. He laid all the Country about waste, and killed innumerable of the Enemy. All the Great Men of the *Persians* out of all the Provinces flew to this Siege, for the common defence. They Fought. Fortune was a long time various, and the Victory hard in getting. But however it fell at last on the side of *Odenatus*; who as he had no other end in the War, but to deliver *Valerian*, so he daily pushed for it,

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Success of
Oednatus
against
the Persi-
ans.

it, but the Circumstances of Places in a strange Country, incumbred the good Prince with great difficulties.

Whilst these things passed in *Persia*, the *Scythians* broke in into *Cappadocia*, which they Ravaged: and having made themselves Masters of some Towns, after the War was a long time doubtful, they withdrew from thence into *Bithynia*. Therefore the Soldiers were at this time for choosing another Person Emperor: whom when *Gallienus* could not pacifie in his favour, he killed them all, which was his way, as he did at *Byzantium*.

As ill as his Affairs on all sides stood, *Gallienus* prosecuted his Vanities. He desired to be made a Citizen and President of *Athens*, and to be admitted to all the Religious Rites of that place, and to be made one of the number of the *Areopagites*. This was a Contempt upon the People of *Rome*, and the Honours which he enjoy'd from thence; as if he valued it more to be an *Areopagite* and the *Archon* of *Athens*, than to be the *Roman* Emperor. It is true, that both *Hadrian* and *Marcus Antoninus* had the curiosity to be initiated in the *Eleusinian* Rites. But the Emperor *Hadrian* was, when he did it, in the height of his prosperity; and the Emperor *Antoninus* did not affect it, till after a firm Peace; and both of them were so well seen in the Greek Learning, that seldom were the learnedest Doctors there, superiour to them, in the judgment of the Great Men. It cannot be denied indeed, but *Gallienus* was eminent in Oratory, Poetry, and all the Arts: He

His Skill
in the
Arts.

He made an Epithalamium upon the Marriage of his Brother's Sons, *extempore*, which was better than a hundred others, made at the same time by all the Greek and Latin Poets, though they studied several days upon it, and every one did his best to excel. The Epithalamium of *Gallienus* was these three Lines. Taking them by the Hands,

*He, ite, O pueri; pariter sudate Medullis
Omnibus inter vos: Non murmura vestra Columbæ,
Brachia non Hederæ, non vincant oscula Conchæ.*

That is,

*Go, go, young Pair; and be your Mutual Loves
Express'd in every Part and Pore: As Doves
In softest Murmurs speak your mighty Bliss,
Like Ivy Twine, and close as Cockles Kifs.*

I have not the time to adjoyn the rest of his Verses, nor to speak of his Prose, which made him shine both amongst the Poets, and the Orators of his Age. But this is not the Matter. It is one thing to be an Orator or a Poet; and something else is expected in an Emperor.

One thing *Gallienus* did, by the advice of his Brother *Valerian* and his Kinsman *Lacillus*, which was extraordinary well done, and was much commended. When he heard of the Victories of *Odenatus* over the *Persians*, and how he had reduced *Nisibin* and *Charran*, and all the Country of *Mesopotamia*, and was come before *Ctesiphon*;

Instances
of his Wit.

phon; the King of *Persia* put to flight, his Great Men taken Prisoners, and many of the Enemy killed; *Gallienus* voluntarily divided the Empire to *Odenatus*, and presented him with the Royal Style as his Brother, and ordered Money to be coined in his Name with a Stamp, of the *Persians* taken Prisoners. This the Senate, the City, and People of all Ages, took well. Nor was *Gallienus* one that wanted Wit. To give you an Instance or two of it. A great Bull appearing upon the Sands of the Amphitheatre to be hunted, and the Man that undertook it, missing his blow at him Ten times, *Gallienus* sent the Man a Crown, or Garland, which is a Reward for a Victory: Every body wondred what was the matter; and thinking it strange, that such a baffled Sportsman should be Crowned, he ordered it to be proclaimed by the Cryer, *It is a difficult thing not to Hit a Bull in Ten times.* A Merchant had sold to *Gallienus's* Lady, false Glasses for true Jewels. She, when the Cheat was discover'd, called to have the Man punished. *Gallienus* ordered him to be thrown to a Lion, to be devoured. But instead of a Lion, a Capon was let out upon him. The People wondring at so ridiculous an appearance, says *Gallienus*, *He committed a Cheat, and he hath suffered a Cheat, and so he dismissed the Man again.*

Whilst *Odenatus* was taken up with the *Persian* War, and *Gallienus* with his Follies, the *Scythians* with a Fleet came and Plunder'd the City of *Heracilia* in *Thrace*, and returned home with

with the Booty: but by the way they were beaten in a Naval Fight, and lost many of their Men also by a Wreck.

Then *Odenatus* was killed by the Treachery of a Kinsman of his own, and his Son *Herod* was killed with him. His other Sons, *Herenmianus* and *Timolaus*, being very young, their Mother *Zenobia* took upon her the Empire of their Father, and long governed it: Not effeminately, nor with the expected weakness of her Sex: She not only understood to reign better than *Gallienus*, but she was such a *Virago*, that many brave and prudent Emperors have come short of her.

After the death of *Odenatus*, *Gallienus* undertook the War with *Persia* himself, to revenge the Calamity of his Father: This good Action came too late. His General was *Heracianus*: who marching with an Army against the *Persians*, the *Palmyreni* and others of the Easterns who were for the Empire of *Zenobia* met him, and defeated him so, that he lost all his Army again.

The *Scythians* in the mean time, by the way of the *Euxine* and the *Danube*, made Descents upon the *Roman* Territories, and did very much mischief. *Gallienus* sent against them *Cleodamus* and *Athenaus*, two *Byzantines*, to repair the Towns, and fortifie such Places as wanted it. The *Barbarians* were met with about *Pontus*, and defeated: *Venerianus* defeated them also in a Sea-Fight, in which he was killed himself. Then they Ravaged the City of *Cyziqua*, and other Places in *Asia*, and afterwards

terwards all *Achaia*: in which last the *Athenians*, under the Command of *Dexippus* the Historian, beat them, and repulsed them. Then they roved about the Countries of *Epirus*, *Macedonia* and *Beotia*. As they were in *Illyricum*, *Gallienus* with much ado, rowz'd by the Publick Evils, came against them, and luckily slew a great number of them; which put the rest to flight, who insconing themselves behind their Carts, escaped by the Mountain *Gessaces*. *Martianus* pursued them, and had several Battles with them afterwards with various success. Such of them as reached home, excited all their whole Country to a Rebellion against the *Romans*.

The ill Government of *Gallienus* continuing in a manner insupportable, *Martianus* and *Heraclianus* entred into a Consultation about the disposing the Empire to another. *Claudius* above others, was pitched upon, though he was not then present. He was an extraordinary Man, and so much in every bodies esteem, that he seemed really to deserve the Empire, and from him it is, that the most Vigilant Cæsar *Constantius*, derives his Descent. But, inasmuch as they could not accomplish this design without the cutting off a Pest, who with dancing after the Play and the Cirque, and following his Pleasures, let the State in the mean time go to ruin, they contrived to draw him out into the Field, pretending that *Aureolus*, betwixt whom and *Gallienus* a difference had happened since their Peace, was coming against him to fight him; and as he was in the Field,

Field, they killed him. He was killed, some say, by the hand of *Cecropius*, a Colonel of the *Dalmatians*, who by his Address and Prudence had much assisted towards the pretensions of *Claudius*, about *Milan*; and his Brother *Valerian* was also killed with him at the same place; whom though some deny to have been honoured with the Imperial Style, and some make him a Cæsar, and some neither the one nor the other; yet this is certain, that after the Captivity of his Father, we find in the publick Registers a Note, of the Emperor *Valerian's* being a Consul: which can only mean the Son *Valerian*. The Soldiers fell into a great Mutiny upon the death of *Gallienus*, and cried him up for an Useful, Brave and Powerful Prince, taken off only to serve private Interests. But, as it is the known way to appease Soldiers, to give them Money, and great Promises, *Martianus*, with the advice of others of the principal Officers, having done this, and given them upon the spot, because they had Money enough at hand, twenty pieces of Gold a Man, they submitted, and were satisfied to have *Gallienus* entred as a Tyrant, upon the Publick Records: And then *Claudius*, a good and truly Venerable Person, a lover of his Country and the Laws, and dear to all of worth, acceptable to the Senate, and well known to the People, took the Empire upon him.

In this manner lived and died *Gallienus*, who was born to serve his Belly and his Lusts: He spent Days and Nights in Drinking and Whoring, without caring what became of all
Character of Gallienus.
 the

His horrid
Luxury.

the State. About thirty Persons in his time set up for Emperors, to the dishonour of the Roman Name; nay, even Women-Revolters Governed better than he. In the Spring, to tell you some of his miserable Devices, he made himself Beds of Roses, and Pomillions of Apple Trees, and all sorts of Fruits; Grapes he preserved three Years. He had Melons in the depth of Winter; Sweet Wine all the Year long: Green Figs and Apples fresh from the Trees in Months which were out of their proper Season. His Table-Linen was always embroidered with Gold: His Services of Gold set with Jewels. The Powder for his Hair was of Gold dust. He often went abroad in a Crown radiated like that of God. At Rome, where the Emperors appear always in Gowns, he wore a Purple Cloak, with Buttons of Jewels set in Gold, and a Purple Tunic embroidered with Gold. His Belt was beset with Jewels. His Shoes were covered with Jewels. He Eat in Publick. The People softened and attracted to him by Largeesses. He invited the Ladies to the Feast of his Consolation; who kissed his Hand, and he presented them with four Pieces of Gold of his Coin. As a great Philosopher *Xenophon* once said, when he had lost his Son, *I knew that when I begot him, I begot a Mortal*; so said *Gallienus*, when he heard that his Father was taken Prisoner, *I knew my Father was a Mortal*: For which Saying *Annius Cornicula* vainly commends his Constancy. Going out and coming in, he was often attended with Musick; Voices and

Instruments. He Washed in the Summer six or seven times a day; in the Winter twice or thrice. He drank always in Vessels of Gold; scorning Glass, because, he said, nothing was commoner than it. He changed his Wine every time he drank; never at one Meal drank twice of the same. His Mistresses often sat at the Table with him. A second Table was always by, of Jesters and all sorts of Mimicks. When he removed to the Gardens which bear his Name, all the Household followed him; who were admitted to Eat and Bath, and Swim with him: Women also, young and old, handsome or unhandsome, were often admitted, with whom he jested and diverted himself, whilst the Empire every where went to ruine at the same time.

He was extremely Cruel however upon the Soldiers; for sometimes he killed three or four thousand of them together in a day. He ordered a vast great *Coloss* to be made of him, in the form of that of the Sun; which was begun, but when he died, it was left unfinished. He designed to have placed it upon the *Esquiline*, holding a Spear, in the hollow of whose Shaft a Child might go up by steps to the top. He had ordered a Chariot and Horses, in imitation of those of the Sun, to be made proportionable to this Statue, and to be set upon a vast Basis. But the Emperors *Claudius* and *Aurelian*, who came after, thought all this foolish. He did also design to continue the Work of the Portico *Flaminia*, as far as to *Ponte Molle*; and to make it with four or five Orders of Pillars. But it would be tedious

to say more of him. Let whoever desires to know any thing more, go to *Palsurius Sura*, who hath written a Journal of his Life. I shall proceed to *Saloninus Gallienus*, his Son. And then I will say something in short, of the Thirty pretended Emperors, or Tyrants, in particular, who set up themselves against this Prince.

I must own, I have here studiously pretermitted several things, out of a respect to his Posterity: You know, Sir, very well, what a War a Man many times raises against himself, who writes of the Ancestors of another: I do not doubt, but you remember what *Tully* says in his *Hortensius*.

Gallienus, with the time that he enjoy'd the Empire in conjunction with his Father, reigned, it is certain, in all Fifteen Years: that is, Six Years in conjunction with *Valerian*, who then was taken Prisoner, and Ten afterwards, in which he reigned by himself. I mention this, because some have said, that *Gallienus* died in the Ninth or Tenth Year of his Reign. By which, if they mean the Years that he reigned alone, after the Captivity of his Father, it is true, that he died in his Ninth Year. But otherwise, those Decennial Games, which we have spoken of, were celebrated by him in his Tenth Year. And after them, he overcame the *Goths* or *Scythians*, made a Peace with *Odenatus* and *Aureolus*, fought against *Posthumus* and *Lollianus*, and did many other things; some to his Honour, but more to his eternal Shame; he even Raked about the Taverns always in the Night, and passed the greatest part of his time in the Debauched Company of Pinps, Players and Poltrons.

THE

Gallienus the Second.

By TREBELLIVS POLLIO.

THIS *Gallienus* was the Son of *Gallienus* the First, and the Grandson of the Emperor *Valerian* the First. There is little to be said of him more, than that he was Nobly born, Educated like a Prince, and at last killed, not upon his own account, but upon the account of his Father. Some call him *Saloninus Gallienus*, because he was born at the City of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*; or because his Mother's Name was *Cornelia Salonina Pipara*, the Daughter of a *Barbarian* King; who whether she was the Wife, or the Mistress of his Father, it is certain, that she was one that he extremely loved. There is extant to this day in *Rome* a Statue, which did stand before the Street of the *Sacra Via*, but is since taken into the Temple of *Faustina*, which hath this Inscription upon it, *To Gallienus Junior Saloninus*.

Now let us proceed to the Thirty Tyrants, or Pretended Emperors, who set themselves up in the time of *Gallienus* the First. I shall

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be

be short upon them. Some were Persons of no small Merit, and did a great deal of good to the Publick. But others of them deserve not much to employ our Time and Pains. And we have already observed several things concerning them, in the Life foregoing.

The Grandfather *Gallienus* was a considerable Man in the State in his time.

THE
Thirty Tyrants,
OR
Pretended EMPERORS;
Who set themselves up against
Valerian the First,
AND
Gallienus the First.

THE

By TREBELLIVS POLLIO.

I Come now, with the Reader's Pardon for the plain and familiar way in which I write, to those Thirty Pretended Emperors, or Revolters, who set up themselves for the Empire, in several parts of the World, in
K 2 opposition

opposition to *Valerian* and *Gallienus*. I shall put them all together, and the two Emperresses with them; for not the Men only, but the Women pretended to revolt against *Gallienus*; and I shall be the shorter upon them, because I would not repeat the things that have been already mentioned concerning them, and because some of them were Persons so obscure, that there is little or no Notice taken, nor any certain Account given of them, in either the Greek or Latin Historians.

I. CYRIADES.

CYRIADES was one, who first Plundered and then ran away with a great deal of Gold and Silver from his Father, of the same Name, into *Persia*: To whom his Luxury and his ill Manners, had been before a great Affliction; because his Father was a good old Gentleman, of quite another Life. In *Persia* he joined and entred himself into the Service of *Sapores* the King; whom he stirred up to make a War upon the *Romans*. This War was first of all Conducted by *Odomastes*, a *Persian* General, and next by King *Sapores* in Person. The Cities of *Antioch* and *Cæsarea Philippi* were taken. From the latter *Cyriades* assumed to himself the Title of *Cæsar*: which afterwards was improved into that of Emperor, and all the East shook at the Terror, or at least the

Auda-

Audaciousness of his Arms. Some say, that he killed his own Father; others deny it. However it is, when the Emperor *Valerian* came to the *Persian* War against *Sapores*, this *Cyriades* was killed by his own Men. His Desertion and Flight, his Parricide and great Luxury, are the only Memorable things of him.

2. POSTHUMIUS.

POSTHUMIUS was a very Great Man in War, and as Virtuous in Peace; and in all his Life and Actions of so grave and strict a Behaviour, that when *Gallienus* established his Son *Saloninus*, *Gallienus*, a Youth, in the Government of *Gallia*, he committed him to the care of *Posthumius* as his Guardian, and as one whom he desired to be the Institutor of his Princely Accomplishments. Some say, that *Posthumius* afterwards broke his Trust, and killed *Saloninus*, as the way to his own rise to the Government of *Gallia* in his place. But it seems to be more true and more agreeable to the Manners of *Posthumius* to believe, that the *Gauls* vehemently hating *Gallienus* the Father, and not enduring to have a Boy over them, which the Son was, set the Soldiers upon him to kill him, and then made *Posthumius* Emperor. All the Army there and all the *Gauls* embraced with joy the Government of *Posthumius*. He behaved himself so well amongst

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amongst them seven Years, that he attained the Title of *The Restorer of Gallia*, whilst *Gallienus* in the mean time followed his Luxury and his Riot, and was a slave to the Amours of a *Barbarian Woman*. At length *Gallienus* came against him, and received a Wound with the shot of an Arrow. The whole Nation of all the *Gauls* could not but extremely love him, because he deliver'd them from the power of the *German Invaders*, and restored the State of *Gallia* unto its Pristine security. But yet as the *Gauls* are naturally a People fond of Novelties; *Posthumius* upon the occasion of his Rigour, was killed through the means of *Lollianus*, who rebelled against him; and *Lollianus* was set up Emperor by the *Gauls* in his stead. The Judgment of the Emperor *Valerian* concerning the Merits of *Posthumius*, when he made him the President of *Gallia*, appears by this Letter.

WE have made *Posthumius* the Commander on the Quarter beyond the Rhine, and the President of *Gallia*. A Man, the fittest for the Temper of that Nation. He will keep the Camp, the Courts of Judicature, the Tribunals, every particular Person in Order, and in their proper Rights; and he will maintain his own Dignity. He is one, whom I do most particularly admire; and in my opinion deserving a Great Post. I doubt not but you will thank me for him. If I am mistaken in him, you may assure your selves, there is no where in the World to be found a Person that I can wholly approve. I have made
his

his Son a Tribune over the *Gallia Narbonensis*, who is a Youth, that will one day approve himself worthy of the Example of his Father.

3. *Posthumius*, Junior.

THis *Posthumius*, the Son of the precedent, was made by his Father first a *Cæsar*, and then Emperor with him; in which Honour he died at the same time with his Father, in the Rebellion of *Lollianus*. The only Memorable thing of him, is, that he was a Master of so much Eloquence, that his Controversial Declarations are said to be inserted into *Quintilian*; who is the most Acute Orator of all the *Romans* of that kind, as with the least reading in him, any one will see immediately.

4. *LOLLIANUS*.

BY the Rebellion of this Person it was, that the Valiant *Posthumius* was killed, after he had retrieved and secured the Interests of the Roman Empire in *Gallia*, which were in danger to be lost under the Luxury of *Gallienus*. *Lollianus* was a Valiant Man himself: But yet the sense of his Rebellion made his Authority the less amongst the *Gauls*. How-

ever he was not unprofitable to the Publick: For he not only Reform'd several of the Cities of *Gallia*, but likewise the Castles, which *Posthumius* in his seven Years Reign had built upon the Enemies Country, and which after his death the *Germans* by a sudden Irruption plundered and burnt, he rebuilt; and then he was killed by his own Soldiers, only because they thought him too Assiduous, and put too much Labour upon them.

Thus first of all *Posthumius*, then *Lollianus*, after him *Victorinus*, then *Tetricus*, (to say nothing of *Marius*) arose to be the Assertors of the Roman Name in *Gallia*; I believe they were all given from Heaven for that purpose, whilst *Gallienus* with his unheard of Luxury, neglected the State at that rate, that had the *Germans* broken out upon us in the same manner in consort with the *Goths* and *Persians*, so that all had conspired to our ruin, this Venerable Empire of the *Romans* had received its last period then.

As for all other things, the Lives of both *Posthumius* and *Lollianus* are obscure. Being not Persons of any great matter of Quality, they are chiefly noted for their Personal Bravery.

5. VICTORINUS.

5. VICTORINUS.

AFTER the death of the *Posthumii* and *Lollianus* in *Gallia*, *Victorinus* remained the sole Emperor there; who being a great Soldier, had been before chosen by *Posthumius* to be his Colleague, when the Emperor *Gallienus* with a great Force came against him from *Italy*: In which War, assisted with the succours of the *Germans*, *Posthumius* and *Victorinus* together, fought several Battels with the Forces of *Gallienus*; but at last received a defeat. *Victorinus* was one, that gave himself very much to corrupt the Soldiers and other Men's Wives, which proved his destruction: A Clerk to a Troop, whose Wife he had debauched, with a Party that he made, killed him at the City of *Cologne*; and his Son, a Youth, who was just before created a *Cæsar*, was killed with him. Setting aside this one Vice, *Victorinus* was a very brave and an excellent Emperor, by many commended. *Julius Aterianus* hath written this Character of him.

I know no one that ought to be preferred before *Victorinus*, who reigned in *Gallia* sometime after *Junius Posthumius*. Neither did *Trajan* excel him in Bravery, nor *M. Antoninus* in Clemency, nor *Nerva* in Gravity, nor *Vespasian* in his Care of the Publick Money, nor *Pertinax* or *Severus* in Military Discipline. But then his Lust

Lust and his extream passion for the Pleasures of Women, undid all so again, that People have not dared to record his Virtues, because of that Vice, for which he justly deserved the end that he had.

He was the Son of *Victorina*, or *Victoria*, who was called, *The Mother of the Camp*; and who was the Person, that excited one after another *Posthumus*, *Lollianus*, her Son and Grandson *Victorinus*, and after them *Marius* and *Tetricus*, to assume the Empire of *Gallia*.

6. *Victorinus, Junior.*

VICTORINUS the Son, was declared Cæsar by his Father, and by his Grandmother *Victoria*, but about an hour before his Father was killed, and himself was killed with him. There is a small Sepulchre of them about *Cologne* in Marble, extant; which hath this Inscription, *Here lye the Two Victorini, Pretended Emperors of Gallia.*

7. *MARIUS.*

MARIUS, whom *Victoria* put up after the death of *Victorinus*, reign'd but three days, and was originally a Smith. What *Tully* says of a Consul, who enjoyed that Office no longer than six hours one afternoon; *We have had*

had a Consul, says he, so severe and so strict, that no Man during his Magistracy either dined or supped or slept; one might also say the like as to this Emperor. He was created one day, appeared to Reign the next, and was killed upon the Third. Not but that he was a stout Man, and one that had passed through the several degrees of Command in the Army, before he came to this, He was the strongest in the Hand and Fingers, of any one that hath been almost ever known. His Veins were more like strong Cords or Ropes about his Fingers. With one Finger he would hurt as much, as if you had a blow given with a Cudgel or a Hammer. Some say, he would only set his fore finger against a Cart, and stop it coming. Betwixt two Fingers he bruised to pieces hard Stones. A Soldier killed him upon some disgust, who had formerly been a Work-man with him in his Forge; as he struck, the Man said to him, *This Sword is of your own making.* I will give you his Speech which he made to the Army, after he was declared Emperor.

I know, my Fellow Soldiers, that my former Trade of a Smith, of which all you yourselves are Witnesses, may be objected against me. But let any Man say what he will, I desire always to have to do with good Iron, rather than to spend my days as *Gallienus* does in Wine, Flowers, Mistresses, and the Taverns, so unworthily of his Father and his Quality. Let them tell me of my old Trade, so long as I can reduce Foreign Nations

Nations with the effects of it, and make all the Almain, the Germans, and their Neighbours know, that the Romans are a People indeed of Iron, and their Swords to be the most dreaded of all things. In the mean time, I would desire you, Gentlemen, to observe, that you have made a Man your Prince, who never knew how to handle any thing but a Sword. Which I therefore take notice of to you, because I know that Gallienus, that Pest, hath nothing to oppose to me, but this.

8. INGENUUS.

IN the Year of the Consulship of Fuscus and Bassus, whilst Gallienus lived the Life we have already so often mentioned, with his Whores, Players and Pimps, and depraved the good Parts which he had by nature in him, in a continued Luxury. Ingenus, who was then the Governour of Pannonia, was by the concurrence of that Province, and the Legions which were in Mæsia, created Emperor. And it was very well for the publick Good, because it was a time, that the Sarmatians were so pressing, that there was a necessity of a vigorous Prince to oppose them, and remedy the publick Misery. However, Gallienus, as he was quick, fierce, furious, vehement and cruel, when necessity required, as well as profligate and lewd, came against Ingenus, and in

in a Battel overcame him, and killed him. After which, he raged severely against all, as well Soldiers as Citizens of Mæsia. He left no one without a share of his Cruelty, and in several Towns he killed the whole Male Sex, so that they had not a Man-Child left alive amongst them. See the following Orders to Celer Verianus.

The EMPEROR Gallienus to Verianus.

IT is not enough to satisfy me, if you kill only such as were in Arms, who exposed their Lives of themselves to the Fortune of the Battel, and might have been killed there: All the Male Sex is to be killed, old and young. Whoever hath but wished ill to me, is to be killed. Whoever hath spoken ill against me, against me the Son of Valerian, and the Father and Brother to Princes, let him be killed. Ingenus, an Emperor! Cut, Kill, Slay! You see my Mind. I write this with my own Hand; do you it as I would my self.

Ingenus was a very brave and serviceable Man, and also beloved by the Soldiers, which wonderfully raises the Courage of such as have an Ambition to Command. Some have said, that he escaped out of the Fight, and afterwards killed himself, rather than to fall into the cruel Hands of Gallienus.

9. REGILLIANUS.

BY the publick Destiny, it was so, in the time of *Gallienus*, that every one who could, started up an Emperor. Thus *Regillianus* in *Illyricum*, where he commanded, was advanced by the Assistance of those *Mæstus* Legions, who had served before on the side of *Ingenus*, and upon whose Families, after the Defeat, *Gallienus* had exercised an incredible Cruelty.

The Story of the manner of the elevation of *Regillianus*, is pleasant, and a sort of a Jest. Some of the Military Men supping with him, says a Lieutenant-Tribune, *From whence think we comes the Name of Regillianus?* From *regnum*, answers one presently, *to reign*. Then begins another to derive his Name Grammatically from *Rex*, thus; *Rex, Regis, Regi, Regulus, Regillus, Regillianus*. Then, says one, *Cannot he very well be a King?* Says another, *Cannot he be our King?* Says a Third, *He is a King born; God hath given him the Name of one.* And the next day the Chief of the Army in reality set him up to be Emperor.

It cannot be denied but he always approved himself a good Soldier. *Gallienus* had before suspected him for his Merits. He was a *Dacian* by Nation, and related, it is said, to *Decebalus*, the once Famous King of *Dacia*.

Regillianus

Regillianus did several gallant Actions against the *Sarmatæ*; but however, for fear of the further Fury of *Gallienus*, he was betrayed to the *Roxolani*, and killed.

Claudius, who succeeded to the Empire after *Gallienus*, and whose Judgment undoubtedly was of great weight in his time, writ the following Letter to *Regillianus*, whilst they were both as yet private Persons, to give him Thanks for his Care of *Illyricum*, during the Negligence of *Gallienus*, where *Regillianus* then commanded as General. I met with it in the *Archives*, and therefore it is of Authority to be inserted here.

Claudius to *Regillian*, wisheth all Health.

I Congratulate the Happiness of the Publick, in having such a Captain as you, to fight their Battels at this time. *Gallienus* is happy in you, though he is one, to whom no body tells the Truth, neither of the Good nor Bad. *Bonitus* and *Cellus*, Two of his Guards, have informed me of your Action at *Scupi*, in the Upper *Mœsia*, and how often in one day you have fought, and with what dispatch. You would be thought to deserve a Triumph, did we live as in the antient Times. In short, I would only wish you to be cautious, how you Conquer at this rate, remembering a certain Person, and the jealousy it may give him. Pray send me some of the Bows of the *Sarmatians*,

tians, and a Couple of the Soldiers Coats, such as you have in Illyricum, with Buttons; I have sent you a Couple of ours.

It is to be observed, that *Regillianus* was one who had not received his promotion from *Gallienus*, but from the Emperor *Valerian*; and that *Claudius*, *Macrianus*, *Ingenus*, *Posthumus*, and *Aureolus*, were all likewise made Commanders by *Valerian*; whose Judgment in the Choice of them was therefore admirable, and would have been, had he continued upon the Throne, a great happiness to us; because all these, and all the General Commanders whatever, that were of his promotion, were Persons so well chosen, that they merited afterwards the Favour and Votes of their Soldiers to be Emperors. And I wish, that either they could have held it out, and maintained their Empires longer, or that *Gallienus* had not reigned so long; it had been much better for the Liberty of our State. But Fortune was pleased to indulge herself extraordinarily, to take away, not only *Valerian* from us, but several others who would have made us good Princes in his stead, and at the same time to continue to us a *Gallienus* longer, than it was certainly fit that such a one should reign.

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10. AUREOLUS.

A *Ureolus* was another Commander of the Forces of the Province of *Illyricum*, who in contempt to *Gallienus*, as all the rest, with the instigation of the Soldiers, set himself up an Emperor. Against him came *Macrianus* and his Son with a considerable Army out of the East, in their way, as they were directing their March to depose *Gallienus*. *Aureolus* corrupted some of this Army to his side, and fought and slew *Macrianus* and his Son, so that the rest yielding afterwards, and joining themselves with *Aureolus*, this additional Force made *Aureolus* a Potent Emperor. In vain did *Gallienus* attempt to reduce him. *Gallienus* made a Peace with him, and accepted of his Assistance to oppose *Posthumus* in *Gallia*. After the Death of *Gallienus*, the Emperor *Claudius* fought *Aureolus*, and slew him at the Bridge, which is called the Bridge of *Aureolus* at this day, and there he built him a small Sepulchre, with an Inscription in Greek upon it, signifying, That the Emperor *Claudius* having overcome the powerful Tyrant *Aureolus*, had given him a Sepulchre, and he would in his Clemency, have spared his Life, but that the Soldiers refused it, and without his order killed him. The Bridge he dedicated to him.

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11. MACRI.

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II. MACRIANUS.

THE once Famous Senator and Patriot, and afterwards the Valiant, but of all at last, the most unfortunate Emperor *Valerian*, being taken Prisoner by the *Persians*, amongst whom he lived and died in Captivity, and left behind him Issue unworthy of such a Father; *Balista* who was Captain of the Guards to him, and *Macrianus* a principal Officer of the Army understanding what a Person *Gallienus* was, who was also at a great distance from them, and that *Aureolus* had already usurped upon him in *Illyricum*, met, and consulted with the Forces which were with them in the East at their desire; what was to be done as to the Election of another Emperor in the place of *Valerian*; *Mæonius Aftyanax* was present in Person at this Council, who says that *Balista* spoke thus.

My Age, as well as my Inclination, and my Business sets me far from aspiring to an Empire. I cannot deny but that I should be glad to see a good Prince in the place of Valerian. But who is there for it, unless it be such a one as you, Macrianus, who are brave, resolute, honest, tried and approved in the publick Service, and what especially concerns an Emperor to be, Rich. Take you therefore the Place which is due to your Deserts. You may command my Services as long

long as you please, only remember to discharge well the Duty which is imposed upon you, and then all the Roman World will rejoice to see you made their Sovereign.

Macrianus answered,

I confess, Balista, it is of consequence to have such a Prince as you have described; and I should be willing to serve the State, in order to depose that Pest Gallienus, from the Government of it. But this is not a Work for my Age. I am Old, I cannot Ride, as I shall be obliged to do for an Example to the Soldiers. I am one that must be frequently bathing, and must eat well; my Pleasures and my Riches have taken me off of the usages of a Soldierly Life long since. You must set up rather, Two or Three stout young Men, who may distribute themselves into several parts of the Empire, to restore it again to its former Splendor, which by the Misfortune of Valerian, and the ill Life of Gallienus is at present ruined.

Balista, understanding that he seemed to hint something about his Sons, who were brave young Men, Macrianus Junior, and Quietus, he replied thus;

We commit the Empire and the Government of it to your Prudence. You have Two brave young Men of your own, Macrianus and Quietus, who sometime since were made Tribunes by the Emperor Valerian. Take them to be your

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Colleagues in the Empire: They cannot be safe, because they are good, under Gallienus.

Macrianus finding that his Meaning had been rightly taken, answered ;

I submit, and as to the Soldiers, I will give them a double Pay with my own Money. Be you Balista, a careful Officer to me, and provide me Provisions in the places, where it is necessary; and I will make Gallienus, a Man beyond any thing of a Woman loose and effeminate, to understand the Power of his Fathers Commanders.

So Macrianus and his Two Sons were with the Consent of all the Troops made Emperors. The Father, and his Son Macrianus, marched presently against Gallienus, leaving the Affairs of the East in good order, under the other Son Quietus. They brought with them an Army of Five and Forty Thousand Men, with whom they engaged with Aureolus in Illyricum, or upon the borders of Thrace, but they were beaten, and both of them killed, and Thirty Thousand of their Men afterwards yielded themselves to the Power of Aureolus. Domitian was the General of Aureolus in this Battel, a very brave and active Soldier, who derived his Family from the Emperor Domitian and Domitilla. Not to omit the Judgment of Valerian, concerning this Macrianus and his Sons, in a Letter which he sent to the Senate from the Borders of Persia.

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I Have entrusted in my absence, whilst I am upon the Persian War, all the Affairs of the State relating to the Military part to Macrianus. He is faithful to you, Fathers of the Senate, affectionate to me, and the Soldiery both love him and fear him. Upon all occasions he will act in concert with the Armies, Nor are you, Fathers of the Senate, strangers to the bravery of Macrianus from his beginning to this day. You have known him a Boy in Italy, a Youth in Gallia, a Man in Thrace, in his full Prime in Africa, an old Man in Illyricum and Dalmatia; in all which places his Bravery hath been approved in several Battels, in which he hath acquitted himself exemplarily well. To this it is to be added, that he hath Sons worthy to be of your Body, and worthy of your Favour. And so he goes on.

12. Macrianus the Son.

THIS Youth had not been made an Emperor, but only with Respect to the Prudence of his Father, in whose Hands he was. He was wonderfully Brave for his Age, and had gained himself by it great Commendations. But what signifies the Fortitude of any one Man in a Battel? He was overcome and killed by Domitian, together with his Father. His Mother was a Lady of Quality. His Fa-

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ther had raised himself to the Empire from the degree of a private Soldier.

13. QUIETUS.

Quietus was a Youth worthy of his Father and his Brother, in conjunction with whom, as we have said, he was made Emperor, which he also deserved. But when *Odenatus*, the King of the *Palmyreni*, who had pretended to the Empire of the *East* from the Captivity of *Valerian*, heard of the entire defeat of both his Father and his Brother by *Aureolus*, he came with a Force against this Youth, vindicating as it were the Cause of *Gallienus*, and slew him first, and *Balista* soon after him. Yet had *Quietus* and his Brother lived, they might have done the State very great Service. Their Family flourishes at this day, and one thing is very remarkable of it; that it is a Family which hath, and hath always had such an Honour for *Alexander the Great* of *Macedonia*, that the Men continually wear his Picture in their Rings, and have it cut upon their Plate; the Women wear it finely wrought in their Heads, Bracelets, Rings, Gowns, Borders, Mantles, and all manner of Dresses. The other day, a Gentleman of that Family, *Cornelius Macer*, giving an Entertainment in the Temple of *Hercules*, he had a Gold and Silver Bowl there, on which in the midst was engraved

ved a Head of *Alexander*, and round it was all the History of him, contained in short and pretty Figures, which every one that had an Honour for that great Man was very Curious to see. I mention this, because also there is an Opinion, that such as carry about them such an Image either in Gold or Silver, are divinely assisted in all that they do.

14. ODENATUS.

Odenatus Prince of the *Palmyreni* in *Syria* was the Person that really secured the Affairs of the *East*, by his taking up Arms against the *Persians*, in the behalf of the captive Emperor *Valerian*. His Wife *Zenobia*, and his Sons *Herod*, *Herennian*, and *Timolaus* accompanied him in that Expedition. He first reduced under his Power the City of *Nisibis*, and all *Mesopotamia*. Then he fought *Sapores* King of *Persia*, and beat him, and put him to flight. He pursued *Sapores* and his Children, as far as to the City of *Ctesiphon*. He took the Concubines of *Sapores* Prisoners, and a great deal of Booty. He intended next to direct his Army against the pretensions of *Macrianus*, who had set himself up against *Gallienus*. But *Macrianus*, with the Son of his own Name, was killed in the Battel with *Aureolus* in *Illyricum*. Then *Odenatus* fell upon the other Son *Quietus*,

who was left in the *East*, and him he killed. And after he had composed in a great measure the State of Affairs in the *East*, himself and his Son *Herod* were likewise killed by *Mæonius*. I believe that God was angry with the *Roman Empire*, in that he did not continue *Odenatus* longer to us. For certainly *Odenatus* and his Lady *Zenobia* together, had re-established, not only the *East*, but all the parts of the Empire. He was a great Warriour, and he is for ever Famous besides for an indefatigable Huntsman. For from his Youth he accustomed himself to the Hunting the Lion, the Leopard, the Bear, and the rest of the wild Beasts of the Field. He was always in the Woods and upon the Mountains, enduring the Heat and the Rain, and all the Injuries that ordinarily accompany that Sport; and this hardened him again for all Weathers which he suffered in his Wars with *Persia*. His Lady *Zenobia*, no less accustomed herself so, that many say she was as valorous and as indefatigable as he. A Woman the noblest of all her Sex; and says *Cornelius Capitolinus*, the Beauty too of all the *East*.

15. HEROD.

15. HEROD.

HEROD, the elder Son of *Odenatus*, born to him, not by *Zenobia*, but a former Wife, concurred with his Father in assuming the Empire of the *East*. He was a Man of an extreme delicacy of Life, wholly devoted to the *Oriental* and the *Græcian* Luxury. His Tents were embroidered, his Pavilions done with Gold, and he had all things after the *Persian* mode. *Odenatus* loved him, and indulging him his Humour, he gave him all the Royal Concubines, the Riches, and the Jewels that he took from the King of *Persia*. *Zenobia* was a right Step-mother to him, which only the more recommended him to his Father.

16. MÆONIUS.

THIS Person was a Cousin-German to the Excellent *Odenatus*, whom he killed; drawn to that Fact by nothing but a cursed Envy at the Pleasures of *Herod*, though in the mean time he was very lewd himself; so that the Soldiers who had put him up to be Emperor after *Odenatus* by a mistake, killed him quickly

quickly again, as he deserved, for his Luxury. *Zenobia*, some say, favoured the Envy of *Macrinus*, because she could not endure to see a Step-son, made a Prince, before the Sons of her own Body.

17. BALISTA.

THE Account about *Balista* is very various. Some say, *Odenatus* gave him his Pardon; yet because he would neither trust to *Gallienus*, nor *Aureolus*, nor *Odenatus*, he set up himself Emperor. Others say, that he was killed at the Village of *Daphne* by *Antioch*, where he lived a private Life upon an Estate which he bought there; and again, that he was killed as he lay in his Tent, by a private Soldier of *Odenatus*; and again, that he was killed by the Persons sent by *Aureolus* to take *Quietus*, after his defeat and slaughter of his Father and his Brother. However it is, *Balista* was a Famous Person, an experienced Statesman, of great Force in his Counsels, Eminent in his Expeditions, and a singular Manager of the Quarters and Provisions for the Soldiers. The Emperor *Valerian* gave this Character of him to *Ragonius Clarus*.

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The Emperor *Valerian* to *Ragonius Clarus*, the Præfect of *Illyricum* and *Gallia*.

IN the disposition of the Quarters, and the Provisions of the Soldiers, I would have you my Kinsman, if you are a good Husband, as I know you are, to follow the Example of *Balista*. Do you see, how he makes the thing easie to the People of the Country? Where there is Forage for the purpose, there he sends his Horse; where Corn, there he places the Foot. He compels no Man, no Landlord to find Corn there, where he hath it not; nor to feed a Horse, where he cannot. And it is certainly the best way to take things as they grow upon the place without charging the Publick with Carriages and Expences. Thus the Province of *Galatia* abounds in Corn; *Thrace* and *Illyricum* are full of Corn, let the Foot be quartered there. In *Thrace*, the Horse also might Winter very well, without damage to the Inhabitants, because the Fields afford a great deal of Grass: So where there is plenty of Bacon, or any other Commodities, the best way is, to raise and to demand the said Commodities from thence. All which are the Counsels of *Balista*, who charges only one Commodity upon one Province, abounding with it, and in the mean time he frees that Province from the quartering of Soldiers, because those are there, where the Corn and the Grass most is. This is now become a publick Order.

In

In another Letter, the same Emperor returns his thanks to *Balista* for all the good Methods of Government, which he owns himself to have learnt from him. Particularly he is glad, he says, that by his Counsel he hath retrenched all Persons, which do him no service; that is, to entertain no Supernumerary Officers in the Court, nor Tribunes or Soldiers in the Army without Employ: all which he attributes to the Counsels of *Balista*.

And this is as much as I have met with, that I can rely upon, concerning him. He is often commended for a good Officer; but little is spoken of him, as an Emperor.

18. VALENS.

THIS Person, being of great Note and Knowledge both in the Military and the Civil Affairs, had the Honour to be made by *Gallienus* the Proconsul of *Achaia*. *Macrianus* very much fearing him, and envying his Merits, knowing him to be his Enemy, sent *Piso* against him to kill him. *Valens* foresaw the danger, and took the care to provide himself well against it. He had no other way, as he thought, to escape, but by setting himself up an Emperor, as well as *Macrianus* had done. He did so, and escaped the power of *Piso*. But he was soon after killed by his own Men.

19. *Valens,*

19. Valens, Senior.

THIS *Valens* was either Uncle, or Great Uncle to the precedent, and one that set himself up in the time of the Emperor *Decius*. It comes into my mind to mention him here, because of his Relation to, and the parity of his Fortune with the other: for after he had a few days Reigned in *Illyricum*, he was killed also.

20. PISO.

Piso was sent with a Force by *Macrianus*, to kill *Valens*; the Eighteenth in this Catalogue of Tyrants; but finding that *Valens* was provided against him, he changed his Course into the Province of *Thessaly*, and was there by the consent of a small Party, himself made an Emperor, with the Title of Emperor of *Thessalia*. He was a very good and Provident sort of a Man, to a Proverb; so that he was called in his time the Thrifty *Piso*; and he was of that Noble Family of the *Piso's*, into which *Cicero* says, to do his own an Honour, he Married his Daughter *Tullia*. He was much in the esteem of all the Great Men. *Valens*, who

who sent Ruffians after him into *Thessalia*, who Murdered him, confessed, that though he was his Enemy, he knew not what account to give of that Fact to the Gods, the Infernal Judges, because the *Roman* Empire had not then such another Person as *Piso*. The Senate upon the News of his Death, met upon the seventh of the Kalends of *July*, and unanimously decreed the Honours of a God, with this Elogium, that there never was a better Man, nor one more firm and constant than he. They decreed him a Triumphal Statue and a Chariot, to be put up to his Honour. The former is yet to be seen, amongst the others of the same kind: The latter did sometime stand about the place, where since hath been built the famous Bath of *Dioclesian*, of eternal, as well as sacred, memory.

21. *ÆMILIAN*.

IT is a Familiar thing with the People of *Egypt*, to break out, like Mad-Men, into the violentest Seditions and Disorders, upon any the slightest occasions. Often have they for a matter of a Complement neglected, or for a Place in the Baths, or about the Flesh in their Markets, Herbs, Shooes, and the like, raised such Commotions, as have hazarded the Ruin of the State, and required an Army to repress them again. Thus one day a Slave belong-

belonging to the Curatour of the City of *Alexandria* was killed by a Soldier, for saying, that he had a better pair of Shooes on his Feet, than that Soldier had. The People hereupon rose, and made an Assault upon the House of *Emilian*, who was the *Roman* General of the Province. They came upon him in a furious manner, with Stones and Swords, and all sorts of Instruments, as is usual in a Sedition. *Emilian* had no other way in fine, to take, but with the consent of the *Egyptian* Army, who were willing to it, chiefly because they hated *Gallienus*, to make himself Absolute, and set up for an Empire. This he did, with Vigour. He went thorough the *Thebais*, and all *Egypt*, and displayed his Authority over the Barbarians. He gained himself the Title of the *Alexandrian* Emperor. But as he was preparing for an Expedition into *India*, *Gallienus* sent *Theodotus* against him, who took him and sent him Prisoner to *Rome*; where he was Strangled in the Prison, according to an Antient Custom of putting Captives to death. *Gallienus* would have after this, made *Egypt* a Proconsular Province, and given it to *Theodotus*; but the Priests prohibited him, pretending an Inscription upon a golden Column at *Memphis* in *Egypt*, in Letters, saying, that *Egypt* would then be a Free People, when the *Romans* attempted to Govern it by Consuls; and therefore the Rods of the Consuls were never to enter into *Alexandria*. *Cicero*, against *Gabinus*, mentions the same Notion in his time: I find it also in *Proculus*, the Learned Grammarian, who is of

of great Authority, when he speaks of Foreign Countries. So that when *Herennius Celsus*, your Kinsman, the present Præfect of *Egypt*, not contented with the Honour which he hath, desired lately to be made a Consul, he was answered that he asked a thing, that was not to be granted; because it was contrary to an observation of the Empire.

22. SATURNINUS.

Saturninus was made a Commander by the Emperor *Valerian*, and continued so with great Applause in the Reign of *Gallienus*; till no longer being able to endure the Dissoluteness of that latter Prince, and the neglect of his Government, the Army set him up to be Emperor. He was a Man of singular Prudence and great Gravity, beloved by all, and very well known for his Victories over the Barbarians. The same day, that the Soldiers put upon him the Purple, he told them in a Speech; Gentlemen you have lost a good Captain, to make of him an ill Prince. He did several things in his Reign which were Brave: but being severe as to the Discipline of the Soldiers, the same that had raised him, killed him.

23. TETRICUS.

23. TETRICUS.

After Victorinus and his Son were killed in *Gallia*, their Mother *Victoria* persuaded *Tetricus* a Senator, who then exercised the Office of a President in *Gallia*, and was her Relation, to take upon him the Empire there. Accordingly she caused him to be Proclaim'd, and his Son to be Entitled the *Cæsar*. *Tetricus* Reigned long, and performed several things happily; but being beaten at last by the Emperor *Aurelian*, and unwilling to give himself further trouble with a perverse and an insolent Army which he had to Command, he voluntarily yielded to *Aurelian*. *Aurelian*, not being one overmuch inclined to Lenity, led him in a solemn Triumph, at the same time when he led in Triumph *Zenobia*, the Wife of *Odenatus*, and her two Sons *Herennianus* and *Timolauus*. But being sensible, that this was very severe to be done to a Roman Senator, and one who had been a Consul, and President of *Gallia*, he made him, after he had thus Triumphed over him, the Governour of all the *Campagna*, *Abruzzo*, *Puglia*, *Lucania*, *Calabria*, *Hutruria*, *Ombria*, and generally all the Provinces of *Italy*; he suffered him not only to live, but to live in the greatest Splendour; and oftentimes called him by the name of either his Colleague, or his Companion in Arms, or Emperor.

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24. Tetricus.

24. *Tetricus*, Junior.

THIS Youth, the Son of the other, having been declared *Cæsar* by the Lady *Victoria*, was led in Triumph by *Aurelian* in Company with his Father. He enjoyed afterwards all the Honours of a Senatour; and his Estate untouched, and left the same to his Posterity. My Grandfather hath said, that he was acquainted with him very well, and that no Man was more esteem'd either by *Aurelian*, or the following Princes, than he. The House of the *Tetrici* is extant at this day, and a very fair one upon the Mount *Cælius*, betwixt two Groves, over against a Temple of *Isis*. You have in it, in Mosaick Work, a draught of the Emperor *Aurelian*, holding out to each of these two, over whom he Triumphed, a Senatorian Robe, to signifie his investing them again in that Dignity; and they holding out to him a Sceptre and Crown, as the acknowledgements of his Victory. At the Dedication of which Piece, they say, that *Aurelian* did them the Honour to be present at their Entertainment, at their humble Request.

25. Tre-

25. TREBELLIAN.

I Am almost ashamed to recount so many several Upstart Emperors, that all appeared under the single Reign of *Gallienus*, and were occasioned by his own fault: his Luxury deserving no other than to be confronted with them, and yet his Cruelty was such, that one might very well be afraid to do so too. *Trebellian*, amongst the rest, was made a Prince, in the Province of *Isauria*, by the *Isaurians* themselves. Some called him an Arch-Robber; but he gave himself the Title of an Emperor, and ordered a Medal to be made of him as such, and appointed his Court in the Castle of the City *Isaura*. He maintained his Empire for some time, by the help of the Mountains, and the Fastnesses, in which he took refuge. But being by *Causiroleus* an Egyptian, the General of *Gallienus*, and the Brother of *Theodotus*, who had before taken *Æmilian* Prisoner, drawn down into the open Field, where he could not avoid the Combat, he was overcome and killed. Yet could not the *Isaurians*, for fear of the Cruelty of *Gallienus*, be prevailed with afterwards upon any terms of Kindness and Humanity to submit. They have ever since remained as Barbarians: their Country, though in the Heart of the Roman Empire, is so shut up, and stands as it

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were a Boundary against it, defended by its own Natural Limits, more than by its Men: who in truth are neither skilled in Arms, nor Brave, nor Virtuous, nor Wise and Prudent. But yet they are secure in only this, that they live in places inaccessible.

26. HERENNIAN.

O Denatus, the Prince of the *Palmyreni* in *Syria*, and sometime Emperor of the East, left at his death his Wife *Zenobia* and two Sons, *Herennianus* and *Timolans*: who being very young, *Zenobia* in their names assumed and governed the Empire of their Father, longer than it was for the Honour of the *Roman* Name to endure in a Woman. She Arrayed those Children in the Purple Habit of the *Roman* Emperors, and brought them with her to the Head of her Army, and to the Assemblies of the People, whither she often went, and Harangued them like a Man. She was the *Dido*, the *Semiramis*, the *Cleopatra* of her Age. It is a thing uncertain, what the end was of these her two Sons; whether they were killed by *Aurelian*, or whether they died their own deaths. But there are of the Posterity of *Zenobia*, living at *Rome*, in Honour, at this day.

27. TIMO.

27. TIMOLAUS.

THE Account of *Timolans* is, I suppose, the same with that of *Herennian*, his Brother. Only in one thing he is distinguished from him; which was his great Ardour for the *Roman* Studies; which *Timolans* so readily imbibed, that he might have made, it is said, one of the greatest Orators in his time.

28. CELSUS.

WHilst the parts of *Gallia*, *Thrace*, *Illyricum*, *Pontus*, and the East were taken up, and Cantoned into separate Empires by the several Pretenders there, and *Gallienus* passed his Life in the mean time amongst the Taverns, Baths, and Bawdyhouses; the *Africans* by the instigation of *Vibius Passienus* their Proconsul, and *Fabius Pompeianus* the Commander on the Frontier of *Libya*, set up *Celsus* Emperor, adorning him for the purpose with a Robe of Purple, taken off of a Statue of the Goddess *Celestis*. He had been a Tribune, but lived at this time a private Life upon his Estate, and was a Man of that Justice, and that Presence, that he seemed very well to de-

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serve their Choice. But the seventh day afterwards, a Woman, *Galliena* by Name, a Relation of the Emperor *Gallienus*, killed him; so that he had no time to shew himself in. His Body was thrown to the Dogs: His Effigies, was mounted upon a Cross, and Crucified amidst the Insults of the People, as if it had been *Celsus* himself in Person. This was a new Devise of punishing the memory of a Man. The truth is, the City of *Sicca* stood out against him, keeping their Faith to *Gallienus*; and it was those especially, that urged on this disgrace.

29. ZENOBIA.

TO the last shame of the Reign of *Gallienus*, and of the Roman Empire under him, the Women Revolted against him, and managed their Enterprize also extraordinary well. *Zenobia* by name, a Foreign Lady, whom we have often already mentioned; of the Lineage of the *Cleopatra's*, and the *Ptolemey's* of *Egypt*, as she herself said; the Wife of *Odenatus* of *Palmyra*, the Emperor of the East: whodying, she assumed the Purple, the Crown, and the Authority in his place, in the name of her Sons, *Herennian* and *Timolaut*, being Infants; and she was accordingly accepted; so that whilst *Gallienus* lived as he did, and *Claudius* was taken up with the War with the

the *Goths*, she continued her Reign longer, than it was otherwise sufferable in one of her Sex. And it was with great difficulty that she was overcome at last, and carried in Triumph by the Emperor *Aurelian*; who being reflected upon by some, for making a Woman a Subject of a War, and a Triumph, gives this account of her, and thus defends himself in a Letter to the Senate.

Fathers of the Senate,

I Hear that it is Objected to me, that I have not performed a manly part in Triumphant over *Zenobia*. I assure you, those who blame me, would on the contrary sufficiently commend me, did they know, what a Woman she is. How Prudent in her Counsels, how Diligent in her Business, how Powerful with her Soldiers, how Generous when Necessity requires, and how Severe when there is occasion for Severity. I can say, that it was through her means, that *Odenatus* overcame the *Perthians*, and putting to flight King *Sapores*, advanced his Arms as far as to the City of *Ctesiphon*. I can assure you, that this Woman was so great a Terror to the East, and to the People of *Egypt*, that neither the *Arabians*, nor the *Armenians*, nor the *Saracens* dared to move for her. Nor had I preserved to her, her life, but that I know, that she did great service even by her very Usurpation; because she kept up and asserted the Bounds of the Empire. Let them therefore, who are pleased with nothing, take the Poison of their own Tongues

to themselves. If it is not Handsome to have Conquered and Triumphed over a Woman, what shall I say of the Emperor Claudius, that Good and Venerable Commander, who had done the same, if he had not been wholly taken up with his Expeditions against the Goths. He Privately and Prudently suffered her to Reign, to give himself the greater opportunity of effecting what he was about, whilst she preserved inviolate the antient Bounds of the Empire of the East.

This shews what an Opinion *Aurelian* had of *Zenobia*.

Zenobia was a Lady of that Chastity, that she never accompanied with her Husband, more than to attempt a Conception. For after she had lain with him, she contained, and expected her Terms, to know whether she was with Child: If she was not, then she gave way to the Repetition. She lived with the Pomp of a Queen, but much according to the *Persian* Mode. She was Adored after the manner of the Kings of *Persia*, and her manner of Eating was like theirs. But she went to Harangue her Soldiers, as the *Roman* Emperors do, with a Helmet upon her Head, and an Imperial Robe of Purple upon her Back, buttoned with a Jewel, and Jewels about the Borders, and she shew'd one Arm many times bare. She was of a Brown Complexion, Black Eyes which were incomparably lively and glittering, a Divine *Esprit*, a most delicate Shape and Presence: her Teeth so bright, one would think them rather to be Pearls:

Pearls: a Clear and Manly Voice. She had the Severity of a Tyrant, when necessity required; and all the Clemency of a good Prince, where there was occasion for her Goodness. Her Generosity was ruled by Prudence. She managed her Publick Treasure with a care beyond the Conduct of her Sex. She used a Coach, seldom a Litter, but often rode a Horse; and she walked often on Foot, it is said, three or four Miles together. She was born with the Tenaciousness of a *Spaniard*. A sober Woman, yet she made no scruple frequently to drink with the great Officers of her Army; and also with *Persians* and *Armenians*, whom in her Table she excelled. The Vessels for her Table were of Gold, beset with Jewels. Eunuchs advanced in years served her; very seldom Women. She obliged her Sons to speak in Latin; they rarely or hardly at all spoke *Greek*. Nor was she altogether ignorant of Latin herself; but her modesty for fear of not doing it well, forbad her to speak it. She spoke the *Egyptian* Language perfectly well. It is said, she had Epitomized the *Alexandrian*, and the *Oriental* Histories, she was so well acquainted in them; and the *Roman* History she had Read in the *Greek*. When therefore she was taken and brought into the Presence of *Aurelian*, O *Zenobia*, said *Aurelian* to her, why have you dared to Insult, as you have done, the Emperors of *Rome*? she answered, I know you to be an Emperor, who are a Conqueror. But I have not thought *Gallienus*, nor *Aureolus*, or those others to be so; and believing

believing that *Victorina* might be such another as my self, I desired, if it was possible, that she and I might share the Empire betwixt us.

She was led in Solemn Triumph at *Rome*, in that manner, that nothing ever appeared more Pompous, and with that Grace, in the Eyes of that City. She laboured under the Burden of her Ornaments. She had such great Jewels upon her, that though she was a strong Woman, she stopt many times, and cried, she could not go on for their Weight. Upon her Feet and Hands, she had Chains of Gold; and about her Neck a Chain of Gold, supported by one of her old Guards, a *Persian*. *Aurelian* gave her her life; which she spent afterwards with her Children at *Tivoli*, in the Quality, and according to the usage of a *Roman* Matron: an Estate was given her there for her support, near the Palace of *Hadrian*, and the same carries her name at this day.

30. VICTORINA.

Victorina, or *Victoria*, or *Vitruvia*, was another Lady, who is to be remembered here, as she was one, who was encouraged to her Enterprizes by the ill manners of *Gallienus*. She set up both her Son and her Grandson *Victorinus* to be Emperors in *Gallia*, who were afterwards killed by the Soldiers. She set up *Posthumus*: she set up *Lollius*; she set up *Ma-*
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rius there, who were all first declared Emperors by the Soldiers, and then after some time, that they reigned more or less, killed. At last she set up *Tetricus*, because she would never forbear to carry on the Masculine part, which she had begun. In *Tetricus's* time, she was either killed, or taken off by a Natural Death. She gave herself the Title of the Mother of the Camp. She had Money both in Brass, Silver, and Gold Coyned for her, at the City of *Trier*; whereof there are pieces extant at this day.

I have now finished the number, and given you, Sir, the best account I can, out of the secret Paths of History, which I have traced on purpose for them, of these thirty Tyrants. You may please to accept of it, and take my Pains in good part. It is not so Eloquently, as it is faithfully writ. Because it is not fine Language, which I pretend to, but the matter of Fact. And what I write, I dictate to my Servant with that haste, that if you should ask me any thing, I have scarce a breathing time left me to answer you in.

There were two other Persons, in other Reigns, of this stamp; the one in the time of *Maximin*, the other in the Reign of *Claudian*; whom, as an Appendix, I shall think fit to produce here, to bring up the Rear of the rest, and so I shall close this point of History.

1. *Titus*

1. *Titus Quartinus.*

Titus, as both *Dexippus*, *Herodian*, and all Historians write, was a Tribune of the *Moors*, whom *Maximin* had dismiss'd from his Service. Some say, he voluntarily set himself up Emperor for fear of his life afterwards, from *Maximin*: others, that the *Armenian* Archers in *Maximin's* Service, having been disobliged, compell'd *Titus* against his will to take upon him that Post. However it is, he was a Man of the first Note for his laudable Services to the State both at home and abroad. But his Reign was but little happy to him. He reigned six Months, and then after the discovery of the intended Defection of *Magnus*, was killed by his own Soldiers. His Wife was *Calpurnia*, a Holy and Venerable Woman of the Family of the *Piso's*, a Priestess, but once married, and adored by our Ancestors amongst the best of her Sex. Her Statue is that, which we have yet in the Temple of *Venus*, of Stone gilt. She wore in her time Unions, such as *Cleopatra* was said to wear; and she had a Charger of twenty Pound weight of Silver, whereon was Ingrav'd the History of her Family. This might be too much perhaps to mention, if it did not naturally come in my way.

2. CEN-

2. *CENSORINUS.*

THE next is *Censorinus*: a Man, who was very much a Soldier, and of an Ancient stamp of Honour in the Senate. He had been twice a Consul, twice a Captain of the Guards, thrice the Governor of the City of *Rome*, four times a Proconsul, thrice the Lieutenant of a Province with Consular power, twice a Proprator, four times an *Ædile*, thrice a Questor, besides two extraordinary Commissions which he had into *Persia* and *Sarmatia*. In the *Persian* War, in the time of the Emperor *Valerian*, he received a Wound, of which he halted in one Foot. After all these Honours, as he lived an old Man upon his Estate, he was taken out by the Soldiers, and made Emperor, which was under the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*. Those who jest'd upon him, call'd him also a *Claudius*; because of his halting, from *Claudico*, to Halt. In seven days afterwards, from his Elevation, the same Persons that had rais'd him, kill'd him; they thought he was too strict, and of too severe a Discipline for them. His Sepulchre stands about the City of *Bologna*, where in great Letters are written upon it all his Honours, concluding with this; *Happy in every thing, but an Emperor*. His Family, who are yet Extant, and famous by the name of the

the *Censorini*, betook themselves out of a disgust to *Rome*, and the Publick Affairs, some to the Country of *Thrace*, and some into *Bithynia*. They have a fine House belonging to them in *Rome*, adjoyning to that of the *Flavian* Family: It was the House of *Titus*, the Eleventh Emperor of the *Romans*, they say formerly, in his time.

So now I proceed to the Emperor *Claudius*, with whom I shall joyn his Brother *Quintillus*, and some few things, that relate to that Excellent and Noble Family. But whatever I shall say of the Life of *Claudius*; it must be expected beforehand to fall short of the Merits of so great a Prince.

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P. 175. Valus

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
CLAUDIUS,

Dedicated to the
EMPEROR
Constantine the Great.

By TREBELLIVS POLLIO.

I AM happily come to the Emperor *Claudius*; whose History I shall endeavour to write with the greater care, because of his Relation to *Constantius* the Caesar. Nor can I refuse this piece of Service to the Memory of
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to great a Prince. For since I have already given my self the trouble of writing upon those Tumultuary Reigns, and such Petty Kings as the Thirty foregoing, and upon the Actions also of *Zenobia* and *Victorina* two Women; the Condition of Affairs under the Emperor *Gallienus* coming to that pass, that even the Women as well as Men Usurped upon him; It would be a Crime in me to choose to be silent of a Prince, who was Great Uncle to *Constantius* the Cæsar, and who by his Bravery overcame the *Goths*, and put an end to the publick Calamities of the State: who, though not himself the Author of the Design against *Gallienus*, yet for the Publick Good, was made an Instrument of our deliverance from that Prodigy of an Emperor; and had he lived long upon the Throne, he had revived to us by his Virtues, his Counsels, and his Conduct, the *Scipios*, and the *Camillus*, and all those Noble Romans of Antient Times.

His Reign was short. But yet the same would have been thought of it, though he had attained to the greatest Age. Every thing in him was Admirable, every thing in him was Conspicuous, and to be preferred even before the most Triumphant Actions of the Antients. He had the Bravery of *Trajan*, the Piety of *Antoninus*, the Moderation of *Augustus*, and the Excellencies of all the Great Princes in that manner, that instead of taking an Example by others, had those Princes never been, his single Example had been enough for all the World. The Learned in the matter of Nativities are of

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an Opinion; that one hundred and twenty Years is the greatest Age given to a Man to live; and more, they pretend, hath not been permitted to any; only to *Moses* the Friend of God, as the Books of the Jews speak, who attained unto one hundred and twenty five Years: And when he complained that he died, whilst as yet he had all his Senses intire and vigorous, it was answer'd him, by I know not what Deity, that no Person was to live above that Age. Now had *Claudius* lived so one hundred and twenty Years, though his Death must have of necessity proceeded at that time, yet would no body have desired it then, as *Tully* speaks concerning *Scipio*, because his Life was stupendous and admirable. Take him, whether at Home or Abroad, and what is there, that is Great, that he did not discover? He Loved his Parents, shall I say? He Loved his Brothers, and this is no Miracle. He Loved his Relations, a thing which is in our times to be compared unto a Miracle. He Envied no one: The Wicked he punished. Corrupt Magistrates he openly and publickly Condemned. He overlook'd the Indiscretions of Fools. He made excellent Laws. He was that Person upon the Throne, that those of his Race have been since Courted to the Empire by the greatest Princes, and are dear in the best Affections of the Senate.

I may be thought perhaps to speak this in flattery to *Constantius*, the Cæsar. But I appeal as well to the Conscience of your Majesty, as to my Manner of Life, to be my Wit-

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ness;

*Honours
done to
him by
the People
of Rome,*

ness, Whether I have ever thought, or uttered, or acted any thing at any time, that is of that Nature. I have before my eyes the Emperor *Claudius*; whose Life, Probity, and all the Actions of his Reign have given such a Fame of him to Posterity, that both the Senate and the People of *Rome* conferred upon him unparalleled Honours, after his Death. A Shield in Gold, wherein is engraven his Image, was by the Voice of the whole Senate, set up in his Honour in the House of the Senate, where it is extant at this day. The People of *Rome* (which never was done before) at their own expence, set up his Statue of Gold of the height of ten Foot in the Capitol, before the Temple of the most High and Excellent *Jupiter*: In the Publick Forum was his Statue in Silver, in a Triumphal Robe, erected upon a Column, with the Acclamations of all Mankind; the Silver being of one thousand and five hundred pound weight. As if he had a prospect of things future, he revived and propagated the Honour of the Family of the *Flavii*, of which was *Vespasian* and *Titus*, not to mention *Domitian*, because he was one unworthy of it. In a short time he finished the War with the *Goths*. So that if I must be thought to Flatter, the Senate, the People of *Rome*, the Foreign World, and the Provinces are all Flatterers with me. For all Orders of Men, all Ages, and every City have honoured *Claudius* with Statues, Banners, Crowns, Shrines, Arches of Triumph, Altars, and Temples.

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It is fit for all the World, but especially those who would imitate the Examples of good Princes to know, with what Acclamations and Affection the Senate received this Prince: and in the Voice of the Senate, one may see in a manner the Sense of Mankind. The News came to them of his Elevation, upon the Ninth of the Kalends of *April*, which is the Festival of *Cybele*, whilst they were in the Chappel of that Goddess. But they could not persuade themselves to continue longer there, to Celebrate the Duties of the Day. They took their Robes, and repaired to the Temple of *Apollo*; where reading the Letters which were sent to them from *Claudius*, they expressed themselves *and by the Senate* in his Honour as follows:

The Gods continue Claudius our Emperor to us. This was repeated sixty times. *We have always wished to have Claudius to be our Emperor, or such a one as you.* This was repeated forty times. *The State wanted a Claudius to Govern it.* This was repeated forty times. *You are a Brother, a Father, a Friend, a Good Senator, and Truly a Prince.* This was repeated eighty times. *Avenge us, O Claudius our Emperor, of Aureolus.* This was repeated five times. *Avenge us, O Claudius our Emperor, of the Palmyreni in Syria.* This was repeated five times. *Deliver us, O Claudius our Emperor, from the Usurpations of Zenobia and Victorina.* This was repeated seven times. *Tetricus hath done nothing why we should Complain of him to your Majesty.*

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feats Au-
reolus.

The first Action of *Claudius*, after his accession to the Empire, was his Victory over *Aureolus*, who had made himself the more troublesome, because he was much in the favour of *Gallienus*. *Claudius* fought him, and defeated him, and published Edicts to the People, and sent Letters to the Senate, wherein he declared him, upon his refusal still to submit himself, an Usurper. *Aureolus* desired a Treaty of Accommodation with him: But *Claudius* was deaf to that Motion, and told him very gravely, that he was not a *Gallienus* to be ask'd such a thing, who might comply with him, because he feared him. At length *Aureolus* was killed by the Soldiers at *Milan*, and received that End which his Life and Manners deserved. Some Historians ridiculously endeavour to Commend him. *Gallus Antipater* calls him a *Golden Emperor*; as if he was the better Man, because his Name in the Latin refers to the word *Aurum* or Gold. But as that Writer is the Father of Flatterers, and the Reproach of Historians, so I have often known the Name of *Aureolus* given to a Good Gladiator; and your Majesty's Book of the Publick Sports hath this very Name in the List of the Names of the Gladiators. But to return to *Claudius*.

The *Goths*, that had made a shift to escape home from the Army of *Martianus*, as we have said before in the Life of *Gallienus* I. excited at their arrival, all the Nations and People of their Confederacy, to fall to make Depredations upon the Lands of the Empire. Several

ral Nations of the *Scythians*, the *Peuceni*, the *Trutungi* or *Gruthungi*, the *Ostrogoths*, the *Vithungi* or *Vithungi*, the *Gypides*, the *Celtae*, and the *Heruli*, broke in together upon us and laid many places waste, whilst *Claudius* was taken up elsewhere. Especially he was so tedious with the Preparations that he was making for this *Gothick* War, to conclude the same effectually, as he ought, that he tryed, as it were, the utmost Patience of the Fates: And yet I think, that this really redounded the more to his Glory, and made his Conquest the more Illustrious in the Eye of all the World. Of the Enemy, there were three hundred and twenty thousand Fighting Men. Tell me now, he, who accuses me of Flattery, whether he thinks, that *Claudius*, who Conquer'd all these, is but little to be admired. A Body of three hundred and twenty thousand Fighting Men! It is an Army for *Xerxes*. One would think such a Number Fabulous, the Invention of a Poet. The Enemy were three hundred and twenty thousand Fighting Men! To which add the Servants, the Families, and the Carriages following them, and ones Mind will be full of Imaginations of their drinking up Rivers, and consuming whole Woods, and that the Earth it self laboured under the weight of so much Barbarian Proud Flesh.

Vast numbers of the
Barbarians

The Letter of *Claudius* to the Senate, which he ordered should be read to the People, concerning the Enemy, was this: Dictated by himself, and not by his Secretary.

To the Senate and the People of Rome, the Emperor Claudius.

Fathers of the Senate,

YOU may believe, that I send you the real Truth. The Barbarians that have broken in upon the Roman Empire, are three hundred and twenty thousand strong. If it shall be my fortune to overcome them, you will not be Ungrateful to my Services. But if I overcome them not, you are only to remember, that I Fight after the Reign of a Gallienus. The whole Empire is spent and exhausted. And I now shall Fight, after the Loss of Valerianus, and the Revolts of Ingenuus, Regillianus, Lollianus, Posthumus, Celsus, and a thousand others, that set up themselves in Contempt of the Emperor Gallienus. I want Shields, Swords, and Spears for the purpose. The Provinces of Gallia and Spain, which are the Strength of the Empire, are in the Hands of Tetricus. All our best Archers are kept from us by a Lady Zenobia; which is a shame to mention. Whatever therefore we do, it will in our Circumstances be great enough.

The Barbarians defeated.

But yet the brave Claudius overcame the numerous Enemy, and in a small time crushed them to pieces: He scarce left any of them living to return home. And what's a Shield, I beseech you, hung up in the Senate; or what's one Statue of Gold, in proportion to the

the just Reward of so great a Victory? Says the Poet Ennius of Scipio, *O the Statue, which the People of Rome will make of you, and what a Pillar will they erect, on which to express your Achievements?* But we may say, that It is not Columns, nor Statues, but the strength of his own Fame, which immortalizes the ever Renowned Flavius Valerius Claudius.

The same Enemy had with them besides this, two thousand Sail of Shipping; which is double the number of all the Grecian and the Macedonian Fleet, that heretofore went against Troy and the other Cities of Asia. And yet the Fictions of the Poet have magnified that too: whereas this that I speak of, is the very Matter of Fact. And can we be said then to Flatter Claudius, who defeated, oppressed, and cut in pieces a Barbarian Fleet of two thousand Sail, and an Army of three hundred and twenty thousand Men? All the Carriages and Train that attended so great a number, he either burnt, or reduced, and made Slaves of the Families belonging to their Camp: I will give you his own Letter to Junius Brocchus, the Governour of Illyricum, in which himself relates the Victory.

The Emperor Claudius to Brocchus.

WE have defeated an Army of three hundred and twenty thousand Goths, and we have destroy'd their Shipping, which was two thousand Sail, The Rivers are covered with Shields,

and all the Shores with Swords and Javelins: The Fields are not to be seen for the Bodies of the dead. No Road is clear of them. A vast Carriago is left to us. We have taken so many Women Captives, that our Victorious Army may, every Man of them, have to himself two or three a piece.

I cannot but deplore the Misfortune of the Reign of *Gallienus*, and the Condition of the State under six hundred Usurpers, that set up themselves against him. Had those Soldiers and those Leigions all been safe, which were so unhappily lost in the several Battels fought betwixt *Gallienus* and his Adversaries, what an addition of Strength would it have been to the Empire? It is to be ascribed to *Claudius*, that the Honour of the Arms of the Empire was retriev'd after so publick a Loss. He had several Battels with the Enemy in the Province of *Messia*, and before the City of *Marcianopoli* in *Bulgaria*, and divers of their Kings were taken, and Noble Women of divers Nations, and great numbers of others perished in the Rivers. The Roman Provinces were fill'd with *Gothick* Slaves, who were employed to Till the Ground. No Town or Quarter but could shew you *Goths*, acquired by the Triumph of our Arms. What Foreign Barbarian Cattle did our Ancestors then see? what Sheep? what Horse? All this redounds to the Glory of *Claudius*, who at once secured, and infinitely enriched the Empire. He fought the Enemy at *Byzantium*; the People there, as many as had escaped the bloody Hands

His severe-
tal Victo-
ries.

Hands of the Soldiers of *Gallienus* bravely assisting him. He fought them at the City of *Thessalonica* in *Macedonia*, which the Barbarians had laid Siege to in his absence. He fought them in divers Countries, and every where beat them. One would almost think, that he had a Prescience of his future Kinsman *Constantius* the *Cæsar*, and that he was settling the Empire in safety for him against his Reign.

This brings it to my mind to say, that *Claudius* was indeed foretold by the Oracles which he consulted, and the Lots that he drew, not only of his own Elevation, but that others of his Race should come to the Empire after him. He consulted also about his Brother *Quintillus*; because he was willing to take him to be his Colleague in the Empire. But he was answer'd so, as to signify, that *Quintillus* had not long to live. And I have the rather inserted this, because it shews, that *Constantius* the *Cæsar* who is of the Blood of *Claudius*, was foreseen and prognosticated so long ago as in the Reign of his Great Uncle; and consequently he is a Person of a Divine Appointment, of an Imperial Family, and we may hope for many Princes to descend from him: which I presume to offer at least with all due submission and respect to their Majesties, *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, and to *Galerius* his Brother, to whom I wish all Health.

During the time that *Claudius* was managing the War against the *Goths*, the *Palmyreni* in *Syria* under the Arms of *Sabas*, or *Zabdas*, and *Timagenes*, made War upon the *Egyptians*.
The

The *Egyptians*, who are an obstinate and an indefatigable People in War, defeated them, but with the loss of *Probus* their General, who was killed by the Arts of *Timagenes*. The *Egyptians*, after this, submitted themselves all to the Obedience of the Emperor of *Rome*, and accordingly swore Fealty to *Claudius*, though he was not then present with them.

In the Year of the Consulships of *Atticius* and *Orphitus*, the very Heavens signally assisted the War of *Claudius*. A great multitude of the *Barbarians*, that were yet remaining, had fled for refuge to the Mountain *Hæmus*, and the adjoining Province in *Thrace*. But they were so distressed there with a Famine and a Pestilence, that their own Calamities anticipated the Work of our Arms; nor would *Claudius* give them that honour to Conquer them in the Condition they then were. Thus this fierce War ended, and the *Roman* Name was eased of those Terrors with which it was threatned in the beginning. One thing the Truth obliges me to observe; that such, as think we Flatter, may know that we conceal nothing, which it is requisite, that a History should publish. Once after a full Victory that *Claudius* had received of the Enemy, his Men, grown careless with the Success, which is apt to disorder the wisest Heads, fell so to Plunder, that they forgot all thoughts and fears of the Enemy. Therefore a Party of the Enemy that had fled, returning unexpectedly again upon them, whilst they were yet engaged wholly in Plundering, cut off of them two thousand.

land. But as soon as *Claudius* saw it, he drew up his Troops, and took all that Party of the Enemy Prisoners, and laid them in Irons, and sent them to *Rome*, to be kept for the bloody Purpose of the Fights of the Gladiators. So *Claudius* with his good Conduct retrieved that Milcarriage of his Men, or rather that Blow of Fortune; and the Enemy by their Stratagem only heightened his Victory, and their own ruine.

In this War the *Dalmatick* Horse signaliz'd themselves much. *Claudius* himself hath been sometime thought to derive his Origin from their Country; though others make him a *Trojan*, and pretend to bring him down even from *Ilus* and *Dardanus*, the two most Antient Kings of *Troy*.

The Enemy had in this War, thrust themselves into the Island of *Crete*, and attempted to lay waste that of *Cyprus*. But their Army every where labouring under Sicknes, they were likewise easily reduced there.

Then, the *Gorbick* War being finished, and the general Sicknes raging more and more, *Claudius* fell sick of the same and died, and the Heavens received him, to whom his Virtues so particularly allyed him. Death of Claudius.

After his death, his Brother *Quintillus* with universal Consent ascended the Empire: Not as if it was by Inheritance; but he was preferred to it for his deserts. He was so good a Person, and so truly, as I may say, in Virtue, his Brother's Brother, that he would have been made Emperor, though he had never had that Relation by Blood.

Death of
Quintillus

Blood. Under him the *Barbarians* that yet remained, laid waste the City of *Kenkis* in *Tbrace*, and attempted *Nigeboli* in *Bulgaria*: but they were defeated and suppressed again by the Valour of those of the Country. His Reign was so short, that he had not the time to be Master of any great Action. The Soldiers killed him, as they did *Galba* and *Pertinax*, the seventeenth day of his Reign; only because he was strict upon them, and shew'd himself a better and more truly a Prince, than they desired to have him to be. *Demippus* indeed does not say, so plainly that he was killed; but only that he died, without mentioning the manner of his Death, as if he thought it dubious.

Extracti-
on and
Family
of *Claudius*.

Having given this Account of the Military part of *Claudius*, I should be wanting to the Reader, if I did not in the next place observe some few things concerning his Family and Person. He had two Brothers *Quintillus* and *Crispus*. *Crispus* had a Daughter called *Claudia*, who was married to *Eutropius*, a Noble *Trojan* by descent, who was the Father of *Constantinus* the *Cæsar*. *Claudius* had some Sisters; one of which was called *Constantina*, married a Tribune of the *Assyrians*: but she died young. Concerning the Father and Ancestors of *Claudius*, I know little, because most Persons have written differently about them: *Claudius* himself was grave in his Manners, of a singular good Life, extraordinary Chaste and Virtuous. He drank little, eat quick, was Tall, his Eyes bright and flagrant, a full Visage, and so strong in the Arms, that he hath oftentimes struck

out

out the Teeth of a Horse, or a Mule, with a blow. He did this once, when he was a young Man, Wrestling with the strongest there in the *Field of Mars*, at the Publick Exercises of the Soldiers, the Party with whom he Wrestled, giving him a twist by the Cods, which was unlawful, *Claudius* in a passion lift up his Hand, and struck out all his Teeth at once. The Emperor *Decius* was then present; who, it not being an Action to be punished, because it shew'd both the Bravery and the Modesty of *Claudius*, commended him rather publickly for it, and presented him with the Collars and Bracelets, and ordered him to Wrestle no more, to avoid further occasions of Quarrel. He left no Children: *Quintillus* left two, and *Crispus*, as I said, one Daughter.

What an opinion the Emperors *Valerian*, *Decius*, and *Gallienus* had of *Claudius*, whilst he was their Subject: and the probability that then appeared of his future Elevation, we may see in these following Letters.

A Letter of the Emperor *Valerian* to *Zosimion* the Procurator of the Province of *Syria*.

I Have given the Command of the Fifth Legion, I called *Martia*, unto *Claudius*; who is an *Illyrian* born, and a Man of so much Bravery and Honour, that his Equal is not easily to be found in Ages past. You shall allow him for his Salary,

one

out of our Granaries every Year, 3000 Bushels of Wheat; 6000 Bushels of Barley; 2000 Pound of Bacon; 3500 Quarts of Old Wine; 150 Quarts of the best Oyl; 600 Quarts of other Oyl; 20 Bushels of Salt; 150 Pound of Wax; Hay, Straw, Vinegar, Roots, Herbs, as much as he wants: 20 Parcels of Skins (with 10 to each Parcel) for his Tents; Mules every Year 6; Horses every Year 3; Camels every Year 10; She-Mules every Year 9; of Wrought Silver every Year 50 Pound weight; Philips 150, having our Image upon them, yearly; 47 more in Occasional Presents, and 160 Denieres. Also for Pots, Flaggons, Cups, and other Vessels of Brass, 22 Pound weight; Officers Coats, 2; Clasps of Silver, gilt, 2: One Buckle of Gold; one Silver Belt, gilt; one Ring set with two Gems of an Ounce weight: One Bracelet of 7 Ounces; one Collar of a Pound weight; one Helmet, overlaid with Gold; two Shields, inlaid with Gold; one Cuirasse, which he shall restore again; two Herculean Javelins; short Darts, two; Stiches, two; Hedge-Bills, four: One Cook, whom he shall restore: One Muletier, whom he shall restore: Two Handsome Women of the Captives, for his Mistresses: One Albe or White Vest of Silk, trimmed with Purple: One Robe de Chambre, trimmed alike: One Secretary, whom he shall restore: One Sewer, whom he shall restore: Cyprian Table-Beds, two Pair: Linnen Vests plain, two: One Gown, which he shall restore: One Senatorian Robe, which he shall restore: Running Footmen, two: One Carpenter: One Controller of his Household; One Water-Bayliff; One Fisherman: One Confectioner. Of Wood every day, a thousand Pound

Pound weight, if it is to be bad; or if not, as much as you conveniently can. Of Charcoal, every day four Pans. One Bagnio-man; and Wood for the Bath; unless he goes into the Publick Bath. And for other things, which for their minuteness cannot be specified here, you will furnish him with them according to discretion; that is so, as to give him the things themselves in Specie; and not according to the Value of them. If anything of all this cannot be had at any place, let it not be Accounted, nor the Price of it be allowed in Money. I have particularly appointed him all this Provision and Equipage, not as a Tribune, but as a General; because he is a Man, who deserves to have this and greater Honours shewn him.

A Letter of the Emperor Valerian to Ablavius Murana, the Captain of the Guards.

CLAUDIUS, of whom you complained, and said, the Senate and the People did the same, that he was still a Tribune, and not preferred to Command Armies; to cease your Complaints, is made the General of all the Province of Illyricum. He hath under his Command the Armies of Thrace, Mœsia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Dacia. I think him so great a Man, he may expect, that I shall make him a Consul; and if it is agreeable to his mind, to be so, a Captain of my Guards. I assure you, I have appointed him as great a Salary, as is allowed to the Governor

nour of Egypt: And the same Cloaths as I give to the Proconsul of Africa, and as much Money as the Chief Justice of Illyricum receives, and as many Officers as I allow to my self in every City; whereby all the World may see the Esteem which I have for him.

A Letter of the Emperor Decius concerning Claudius.

Decius to Messala, the President of Achaia, wisheth Health.

AFTER some other things, says he, Claudius the Tribune is a very fine Young Man, a stout Soldier, and a faithful Servant. He is fit for the Service of either the Camp, or the Senate, or the Court. We have order'd him to the Streights of Thermopylae, and to take care of the Peloponnese: Knowing no Person, who can acquit himself better than he, of the Charge which we give him. You will furnish him with a Draught of 200 of the Dardarian Horse, 100 Cuirassiers, 160 Light Horse, 60 of the Cretian Archers, and 1000 well-Arm'd Men of the New Recruits, who are very fit to be put under his Command, because there is no Person that hath more Zeal, more Valour, more Prudence than he.

A Letter of the Emperor Gallienus.

Nothing troubles me more, than what you have intimated, That Claudius my Kinsman and my Friend, is very Angry, upon some Suggestions against me, which are most of them false. I desire you therefore, my Venerable, as you are faithful to me, by the means of Gratus and Heremianus, to reconcile him again, unknown to the Army in Dacia, who are out of Order already, for fear they should break out worse: I have sent a Present, which you will take care that it be well Accepted; and not to let him know, that I understand his Resentments, lest he think me angry at him, and a seeming necessity should oblige him to betake himself to the last Measures. I have sent him two Cups of Silver of three Pound weight, set with Precious Stones: Two Cups of Gold of three Pound weight, set also with Precious Stones: A Bason of Silver of twenty Pound weight, engraven with clusters of the Berries of Ivy: A Charger of Silver of thirty Pound weight, wrought in the Vine Leaf: Another great Plate of Silver of 23 Pound weight, wrought in the Ivy Leaf: Another Serving-Dish in Silver of 20 Pound weight, with a Man a Fishing represented upon it: Two Pots of Silver inlaid with Gold, of the weight of 6 Pound; and other lesser Vessels of Silver, to the weight of 25 Pound: Ten Egyptian Cups of several sorts of exquisite Work: Two Cloaks of right Purple, Bordered all about: Sixteen several Vests: One White Tunick of Silk, wrought

wrought with three Ounces of Gold. Three pair of Buskins of the Parthian Mode: Ten Dalmatian little Girdles: One Cloak of the Dardanian Mode: One Illyrian Coat: One French Cloak: Two good Thick Ruggs: Four Spanish Handkerchiefs: 150 Valerian's in Gold, and 300 Salonin's.

The high
Approba-
tion of
him by the
Senate.

To this I shall only add the Judgment of the Senate, and the High Acclamations which they gave him, whilst yet a Private Person, upon the News of his Success against the Goths and Scythians in Illyricum, in a Battel in which he and Martianus Engaged them. They cried,

The most Valiant Claudius, we Salute you; We Congratulate your Bravery and your Fidelity. We unanimously Decree a Statue to be erected to the Honour of Claudius. We all desire to have Claudius to be a Consul. He hath acted like a Man, that loves his Country and his Prince. The Ancient Roman Warriors did thus. You are Happy, Claudius, in the good Opinion of the Princes. We Congratulate your Virtues, and desire your Promotion. May you Live, and be beloved by the Emperor.

It would be too long, to go through all the Elogies, which this Great Man deserved. Only one thing I ought not to forbear to say more, which is, That both the Senate and the People Loved him, before his Reign, in his Reign, and after his Reign; that certainly neither Trajan, nor the Antoninusses, nor any other former Prince hath, in that respect, been so very Happy as he.

THE

A. Christi
CCLXXI.

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
AURELIAN.

Written by
FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

UPON the Festival of the Goddess Cybele, which is a time that with us we know is very pleasant, and full of all Mirth and Freedom both in our Words and Actions; the honourable the Governour of the City of Rome, Junius Tiberianus, whom I cannot mention but with a particular Respect, took me with him, after the Ceremony of the Day was over, in his Chariot

Occasion of
the Au-
thor's sur-
viving this
Life.

Chariot from the Palace to the Gardens of *Varius*; and as his Mind was then at ease, and free from the Cares and the Thoughts of the publick Affairs, he did me the Honour to Entertain me with a great many things, and especially about the Lives of the *Roman* Emperors. Passing by the Temple of the Sun, which had been built by the Emperor *Aurelian*, from whom *Junius Tiberianus* derived in part his own Blood and Family, he ask'd me, what Person had writ the Life of that Prince; I told him, I had read his History by some *Greek* Authors, but never by any *Roman*. At which he sigh'd and said, *Amongst the Antients, not a Therites nor a Sinon, nor any remarkable, tho' a monstrous sort of a Man appeared, but we know him very well, and his Character is recorded to Posterity. And shall the Memory of so renowned and so incomparable a Prince, as Aurelian be forgotten, by whom the whole World was regained to the Obedience of the Romans? God deliver us from this folly! If I mistake not, we have a Journal of this Prince by us, and his Wars digested in a due order of History. I would wish that you would take them and consider them, and add the things to them that you find relating to his Life. I will promise to furnish you with that Journal, out of the Ulpian Library. You will see, it contains almost all things concerning him; because it is a Book in which the Occurrences of every day, as they happened, were set down by his own especial Order. So I would desire you to represent him to the World, justly as he was, to your Power.*

I

Vol. II. Emperor Aurelian.

I submitted to what the Governour said and commanded me, and I furnished my self both with the *Greek* Historians, and all things else necessary to my purpose, out of which I have compiled according to the best of my Judgment, his small Treatise which I here desire to make a Present of, Sir, to you. And if this does not satisfie you, I can only refer you to the *Greek* Originals, and to the Journal in the *Ulpian* Library, which you may be free to examin when you please.

We had some Discourse, whilst we were in the same Chariot together, concerning *Trebellius Pollio*, who hath written an Account of all the Emperors, whether of famous or of obscure Note, from the Two *Philips* to the Emperor *Claudius* and his Brother *Quintillus*. The Governour said, *That Trebellius Pollio had delivered several things without due care, and others too short.* To which I made him answer, *That there is no Writer of History, but what hath his Mistakes in one kind or other. I shew'd him particularly in what Livy, in what Salust, in what Cornelius Tacitus, in what Trogus Pompeius are evidently mistaken, and proved to be so. He agreed with me, and giving me his Hand very pleasantly, said, Write, as thou wilt. You may be sure, whatever you say, you lye with good Company, and no less than the Chief Historians that are so much admired in the World.*

To make no further Preamble then, which *Extracti-* would but be impertinent; the Emperor *Au-* on of *Au-* *relian* was born at the Town of *Sirmium*, in the *relian*. Lower *Pannonia* or *Sclavonia*; that is, the generality

nerality of Men place his Birth there. Some give him to the Province of *Dacia Ripensis*; and one Author I remember I have read, that makes him to be born in *Mæsia*. As it often happens in Persons, who raise themselves to from a low Birth, that the true place of their Nativity is unknown; and in the mean time others are devised or dissembled for them, which may seem to reflect upon them a greater Honour. However, it is not a matter of such moment to know of a great Prince where he was born; as what signalized him, and made him great. Do we admire *Plato* because he was born at *Athens*, or because he was so singular and so illustrious a Philosopher? Or are *Aristotle* and *Zeno*, the less because they were born in the little Villages of *Stagira* and *Elea*? Or is *Anacharsis* the meaner, because he was a *Seythian* born? When the Merits of the Philosophy of all these have every where raised their Fame to the Heavens.

Aurelian was born of an obscure Family, and mean Parents. He had a great vivacity of Wit from his first Years. He was remarkably strong of Body, and never passed a Day, though it was a Holy-day, and a time of publick rest, without exercising himself at the Javelin, the Arrow, and other Arms. *Callicrates Tyrius*, who is one of the most Learned Grecian Writers, says, that the Mother of *Aurelian* was a Priestess of the Temple of the Sun, in that Village where she and her Husband lived, and that she had something of the Power of Divination in her; particularly once re-
ling

ling the follies of her Husband, and his low Condition, she said to him, *You, the Father of an Emperor!* As if she had a prescience of *Aurelian's* being hereafter an Emperor; which yet further he says, was predicted by many other Tokens. A Serpent came and incircled it self often about the Vessel, in which he was washed; nor would his Mother, when she saw it, suffer it to be killed, but made much of it; and it escaped the Attempts that were made by any to kill it. The Emperor then reigning, having made an Offering to the Temple of the Sun, where *Aurelian's* Mother was a Priestess, of a Cloak of Purple, she took it and cut into Swathing Cloaths for her Child. At the same time she had a Calf born of a wonderful bigness, white, spotted with purple, and upon his Skin, on the one side, was the figure of a Crown; on the other, the word *Ave*, that is, *Hail*; a Salutation given to the Emperor. The before-mentioned *Callicrates Tyrius* produces many more Omens, which I shall omit, because I think them superfluous. When *Aurelian* was sent Embassador into *Persia*, he was presented there with a piece of Plate of the like sort as the Kings of *Persia* are used to present to the Roman Emperors, and upon it was engraved the Sun, in the same form in which he is worshipped in that Temple, where his Mother was a Priestess. Together with this, the King of *Persia* gave him a noble Elephant, which *Aurelian* presented again to the Emperor his Master: These, to mention no more, were Omens of his future Grandeur.

His Personage.

He was handsome as to his Person, well made, tall, robust, with a good Grace, and a manly Mien; he eat and drank freely, rarely had to do with Women, extraordinary strict, a great Master of Military Discipline, and very desirous to be drawing the Sword. There were two *Aurelians* together in the Army, and both of them at the same time Tribunes. The other was taken Prisoner with the Emperor *Valerian* by the *Persians*. The Army for distinction gave this *Aurelian* the Nick-name of *Hand to the Sword*, because he was so quick at it upon all occasions, and he was known by this Name. He did several great Actions whilst he was but in a private Quality. He alone defeated and repulsed the *Sarmatæ*, in an Irruption which they made into the Province of *Illyricum*, when he had with him no more than three hundred Garrison-Men. *Theodorus*, an Historian, says, that in the *Sarmatian War*, *Aurelian* with his own hand killed in one day eight and forty; and at several times in all above nine hundred and fifty. Songs and Dances were made upon his Exploits, which were sung upon the Festival Days in publick by the Youth, to this purpose:

A Thousand, a Thousand, a Thousand have we cut off; one Man hath killed a Thousand, a Thousand, a Thousand; let him live a Thousand, a Thousand, a Thousand Years, that hath killed a Thousand, a Thousand Enemies.

Whilst

Whilst he was the Tribune of the sixth Legion, which was at *Mentz* in *Germany*, he gave the *Franks* such a blow; as they made their Excursions up and down *Gallia*, that he killed seven Hundred of them, and took three Hundred others Prisoners, whom he sold for Slaves. Then this Song was made of him.

A Thousand Franks, a Thousand Sarmatians, have fallen by our Hand; a Thousand, a Thousand, a Thousand, a Thousand, a Thousand Persians, next, shall yield to our Command.

He made himself to be so feared by the Soldiers under him, that after he had once with great severity corrected a Fault, none dared to commit it again. He punished the Adultery of a Soldier, that had lain with his Landlord's Wife, in this unheard of manner. He caused two Trees to be forcibly bent downward, and to the Heads of them he tied the poor Man's Feet, and then on a sudden he let both the Trees fly up again, which tore him alive in Two, and part of him was left hanging by the one Tree, and part by the other: this Thing struck a great Terror into all.

His Strict Discipline

A Letter of *Aurelian* to his Lieutenant concerning the Discipline which he would have to be kept among the Soldiers, says thus.

AS you ever hope to be your self a Commander of a Legion; nay, as you desire but to preserve your own Life in Safety, bridle the Licentiousness of Soldiers. Let not a Man steal a Chicken, nor touch a Sheep, nor take away a Grape; nor waste the Corn, which is another's. Let no Man exact either Oyl, or Salt, or Firing, but be content with his allowance, and let him take his Prey upon the Enemy, and not force the Tears of the Subjects of the Roman Empire. Let all their Arms be kept clean and bright, and sharp; and their Shoes and Cloaths in good order, and let them keep Money in their Pockets, and not spend it all at the Sutlers. Let every Man have his Collar, his Bracelet, and his Ring, and look after his own Horse, and not sell his Beast's Provision from him, and let him take care in his turn of the Baggage. Let them all be ready to assist one another. Let the Physicians take nothing of them for their Cure when sick. Let them give nothing to the Soothsayers. Let them live virtuously in their Quarters, and he that creates Disturbances, let him be beaten.

Next follows a Letter of the Emperor *Valerian* concerning *Aurelian*. This Letter I

lately

lately found in the *Ulpian* Library, amongst the publick Records, and I thought it proper to be taken as it is.

The Emperor *Valerian* to *Antoninus Gallus* the Consul.

YOU blame me in your kind Letter to me, for committing my Son *Gallienus*, rather to the care of *Posthumius*, than to *Aurelian*; because you think, that both the Boy and the Army would be the best under the latter, as the severer Person. But you will not long be of this mind, if you consider well, how great the Severity of *Aurelian* is. He hath too much of it. He is excessive. He is grievous, which does not agree so well with these present times. I protest before all the Gods, I was afraid, that if my Son had done any thing amiss, as Boys are naturally prone to do, he would have been too severe upon him for it, and no more have spared him than another.

There is another Letter of the Emperor *Valerian*, which is full of the Praises of *Aurelian*, and which I have met with amongst the Records of the Governour of the City of *Rome*. It is written upon the occasion of *Aurelian's* coming to *Rome*, to appoint his Salary during his stay there.

The

The Emperor Valerian to Cejonius Albinus the Governour of the City of Rome.

WE should be glad, out of our Love to a very individual Person, who is faithful and zealous in the Service of the State, to allow them much greater Salaries than what their place demands; especially, when their Lives render commendable the Honour that they possess. But because there ought to be a Regard, I think, both to Merit, over and above the Profits of a military Commission. But the Necessities of the Public make it so at present, that I can give to none out of the Stores of the Empire more than their Order and their Quality requires. Aurelian is a Man of great Capacity and Bravery, whom I have appointed to inspect and regulate all our Camps and Garrisons. My self, and the whole Empire, by the common Confession of the whole Army, is so much indebted to him, that scarce any Presents can be made worthy of him, or too great for his Merit. For is he not in all respects illustrious, and to be compared to the Corvini, and the Scipio's of former times? He is the Deliverer of Illyricum. He is a Restorer of Gallia. He is a Commander deserving the Imitation of all the World. And yet I can add nothing to the acknowledgment which is due to the Services of so great a Person; besides, what the Condition

Condition of the publick Affairs, and the well-government thereof will permit me. You will therefore, dear Sir, take care to appoint for his use, during his abode at Rome, per diem, sixteen Loaves of the best Bread; forty Loaves of the Camp-bread; forty Quarts of Wine for the Table; a couple of Pullets; half a Pig; thirty Pounds of Pork; forty Pounds of Beef; one Quart of the best Oyl; one Quart of other Oyl; one Quart of Pickle; Herbs and Roots as much as he wants. And to distinguish him, however, in something extraordinary, you may supply him with Forage for his Horses, as long as he stays at Rome. To himself in Money towards his Expences, you shall give every Day two Antoninusses in Gold, fifty Philips in Silver, and a hundred Penies in Brass. The rest shall be supplied by the Officers of the Treasury.

These things may perhaps by some, be thought frivolous, and too light to be taken notice of here; but Curiosity, which neglects nothing, will be my excuse.

Aurelian, at several times commanded divers Armies; likewise he was Tribune successively to a great many Legions, and he was Lieutenant upon several occasions, to almost forty Commanders and Tribunes; that is, to command their Forces for them in their sickness or absence. He supplied the Command of Ulpius Crinitus in his sickness, who was one that derived himself from Trajan, and was really a very brave Man, and much like that Prince.

Prince. *Aurelian* and *Ulpus Crinitus* have their Pictures both together, set up in the Temple of the Sun. The Emperor *Valerian* designed to advance the latter to the degree of a *Cæsar*. In the place therefore of this Person, *Aurelian* headed his Army against the Enemy. He beat the Enemy and re-established the limits of the Empire, and took a great Booty. He enriched the Province of *Thrace* with the Cattel, Horses, and Slaves that he took. He adorned the Palace of *Rome* with the Trophies of his Victory. He brought in five hundred Slaves, two thousand Cows, a thousand Horses, ten thousand Sheep, fifteen thousand Goats, into one place in the Country belonging to the Emperor *Valerian*. Upon which *Ulpus Crinitus* publicly thank'd *Valerian*, as he was in the Baths at *Byzantium*, for the Honour which his Majesty had done him, by giving him *Aurelian* to be his Lieutenant, and at the same time he resolved to adopt *Aurelian* to be his Son.

The Letter of the Emperor *Valerian*, wherein he substituted *Aurelian* in the place of *Ulpus Crinitus*, was this.

My dear *Aurelian*;

Were there any Person so agreeable to me as you, whom I could substitute to command in the place of *Ulpus Crinitus*, I might put his Virtues in competition with yours upon this occasion. But, do you undertake the War on the

side of *Nigeboli*, that the Sickness of *Crinitus* may not create us a prejudice. I do not ask you to do great things, but what you can; the Army will be at your Command. You will have three hundred *Iturean Archers*; six hundred *Armenians*; one hundred and fifty *Arabians*; two hundred *Saracens*; four hundred *Mesopotamians*, Auxiliaries; together with these, you have the Third Legion, and eight hundred Horse in complete Armour. You will be joyned by *Hartomundus*, *Haldegastes*, *Hildemundus*, and *Cariovistus*. The necessary Provisions for you are laid in by the Officers in all our Garrisons. You, in your great Prudence and Knowledge of War, will take care to Lodge your Men, Winter or Summer in places where they shall want nothing; and also to find out the Camp of the Enemy, and to inform yourself exactly of the Strength and Number of them; and to see that no waste be made of the Wine, Provisions, or Arms, in which consist the Force and Fortune of any War. By the help of God, I hope for as much Assistance from you, as if *Trajan* was living, the Publick would from him. Nor are you inferior to him, into whose Place and Trust I have chosen you. You may expect, that I shall appoint *Ulpus Crinitus* and you to be *Consuls* the next Year, from the 11th. of the Kalends of June, in the places of my Son and me. Your Charges shall be born out of the publick Treasury: For it is the fittest thing in the World, to ease the Circumstances of such Persons as you, who wholly spend themselves, not in seeking your own Advantage, but in the Service of the State.

Hence

Hence we see further, how great a Man *Aurelian* then was; nor indeed does any one ascend the Empire in his Age, but who from his Youth, raises himself gradually towards it by the steps of Virtue.

The Letter concerning the Consulship of *Aurelian* was this.

The Emperor *Valerian* unto *Ælius Xifidius*, the Keeper of the Treasury.

YOU shall give to *Aurelian*, whom I have made a Consul, towards his exhibition of the Games of the Cirque, because as great and as deserving a Man as he is in all Respects, he is paid, three hundred Antoninusses in Gold; three thousand little Philips in Silver, and fifty thousand Sesterces in Brass; ten Vests of fine wrought Stuff; twenty Linen Vests of the Egyptian Work; two Pair of the Cyprian Table Cloths; ten Pieces of African Tapestry; ten Barbary Carpets; a hundred Hogs, and a hundred Sheep. You shall make a publick Entertainment for the Senators, and the Roman Gentry; and offer to the Gods, two greater and four lesser Sacrifices.

I have made some mention before of the Design of *Ulpus Crinitus* to adopt *Aurelian* to be his Son. I hope it will neither be improper nor tedious to insert, for the greater

Honour

Honour of *Aurelian*, a more particular account of that Matter, according as I find it in the Ninth Book of the Acts of *Acholius*, who was Master of the Ceremonies to the Emperor *Valerian*.

This Ceremony was performed at the City of *Byzantium*, where the Emperor *Valerian* being seated upon a Throne in the Baths, and the Troops drawn up by him, and the Officers of the Court attending him, together with *Memmius Fuscus*, the Consul for the Year; *Babius Macer*, the Captain of the Guards; *Quintus Acarius*, the President of the East, waiting on the right Hand of him; and on the left, *Amulius Saturninus* the General of the Frontiers against the *Scythians*, *Murentius* the Governour of *Egypt*; *Julius Trypho*, the Commander on the Frontiers of the East; *Mæcius Brundisius*, the General of the Provisions of the East; *Ulpus Crinitus*, the General of *Illyricum* and *Thrace*; and *Fulvius Boius*, the General in *Rætia*. In this great Appearance the Emperor *Valerian* expressed himself to *Aurelian* thus.

Particular Honour done to him by *Valerian*.

The whole Empire gives you thanks, *Aurelian*, for delivering it from the Power of the *Goths*. Through you, we abound with Booty; we abound in Honour, and all things, by which the Happiness of the Roman Name is increased. I give you therefore for the Noble Actions which you have done, four Mural Crowns, five other Crowns of those that are for entering the Enemies Works; two Naval Crowns, and two

P

Civick

Civick Crowns; ten Favelins; four parti-coloured Standards; four red ducal Vests; two Cloaks, such as are worn by the Proconsuls; one Consular Robe; one triumphal Vest; one triumphal Gown; a Mantle of State, and a Chair of Ivory; which last, is the Mark of the Dignity of a Consul, for so I appoint you to be this day; and I shall write to the Senate to send you the Ivory Staff and the Rods, which are the other Ensigns of that Dignity.

Aurelian, after his Majesty had thus spoke, approached to him and kissed his Hand, and returned his Thanks to his Majesty in the Words following.

I truly, may it please your most excellent Majesty, have therefore done and suffered all that hath been in my Power, and I have taken all the Pains I could to serve the States, on purpose that I might oblige it, and at the same time discharge a good Conscience; the Sense whereof, joyned with the Thanks of the State, is alone a Reward sufficient for me. But your Majesty hath done much more, I give your Majesty thanks for your Goodness, and I accept the Consulship at your Hands. The Gods grant, and particularly, our assured God the Sun, that the Senate may judge as kindly of me.

Then all the Company complemented the Emperor, and next Ulpus Crinitus stood up and said:

May it please your Majesty,

As it was antiently a Custom amongst the best of our Fore-fathers, to adopt Persons of Worth and
Bravery

Bravery to be their Sons; thereby, either to continue their decaying Families, or to add a new Honour to them, by the means of such a worthy Alliance; which hath particularly been done often in my Family, in the adoption of Ulpus Trajan, by Cocceius Nerva; the adoption of Hadrian, by Trajan; the adoption of Antoninus by Hadrian, and others since; so it is likewise my desire at this time, to adopt Aurelian, to be my Son, of whom your Majesty in your Wisdom hath so much approved, that you have made him my Lieutenant, and put him in my absence, to command my Army. Your Majesty may therefore please to order it to pass into a Law, that Aurelian be the Heir of the Name, Goods, and all the Rights of what kind soever, of me Ulpus Crinitus, according as your Majesty hath been pleased to make him also a Consul with me.

He is adopted by Ulpus Crinitus.

The Emperor complemented Crinitus in return, and the Adoption of Aurelian was according to Custom ratified. What a certain Greek Author says, as I remember, that the Emperor commanded Crinitus to adopt Aurelian, because he was poor, I must leave to the Reader. I have said, that the Emperor bore the Charge, of the Games, with which Aurelian entertain'd the People, at his entrance into his Consulship; and I did it for this reason especially, to mark the Modesty of the Expences of those times, in comparison with the Expences of others since. For we have lately seen the Games presented in the Cirque by *Furius Placidus* upon his Consulship, in

P 1 which

which the Jockies and the Coachmen have had Estates rather given them, than their proper Wages; Cloaths of Silk, fine Linens, Horses; at which sober Men have been much troubled, because it looks as if the Riches of a Man, more than his Virtue, had made him a Consul. And perhaps many a one, who for his Virtue deserves to be a Consul, would be ruined by such an Expence. But those chaste times are past, and by a popular Ambition which reigns amongst us, we depart from them every day more and more. But this also I leave to the Reader.

Aurelian, raised by the Reputation of so many and so great Characters as these, appeared with so much lustre in the Reign of *Claudius*, that after his Death and the Death of his Brother *Quintillus*, he succeeded upon the Throne of the Empire. There is a great disagreement in this place in our Histories concerning the Death of *Aurelius*, with whom the Emperor *Gallienus* agreed to a Peace; as whether he was killed by *Aureolan*, without, or with the Order and Consent of *Claudius*; and whether he was killed by *Aurelian*, after or before he came to the Empire? For in all these Questions the Historians, and particularly the *Greek*, differ from one another. However it is, we are very sure of this, that the Emperor *Claudius* committed the War against the *Scythians*, to the Care of none more than *Aurelian*. I will give you here the Letter of *Claudius* for that purpose.

The

The Emperor *Flavius Claudius* to *Valerius Aurelian*, wisheth Health.

OUR Affairs at this time require your accustomed Bravery. Be quick: Why should you delay? The whole Army is ordered to march under your Conduct. The Goths are to be attacked, and to be expelled the Country of Thrace. They lie a great many of them about the Mountains *Hæmus* and *Rulla*: They do much Mischief, being returned from the flight, to which you last saw them reduced. All the Forces of Thrace and *Illyricum*, and all that Frontier I place under your Hands. Now let us have a stroke of your wonted Gallantry. My Brother *Quintillus* will be one that will join you. I am taken up with other Affairs, so that I entrust this whole Matter to your Valour. I have sent you ten Horses, two Coats of Mail, and such things as it is fit you should be provided with against your Fight.

Aurelian fought, and so prosperously defeated the Enemy in several Battles, that he did great Service to the Empire by it; therefore after the Death of *Claudius*, he was by the Legions unanimously advanced to take his place. Under the same Reign, he fought also very bravely with the *Suevi*, and the *Sarmatae*, and he gained over those a most flourishing Victory.

He is declar'd Emperor by the Army.

P 3

Aurelian

Aurelian soon after he was elevated to the Empire, had a War with the *Marcomanni*, who out of *Germany* making a sudden Irruption into *Italy*, in which, by a mistake, he did not take care to front them immediately in the beginning, whilst he was preparing to charge them behind, they laid waste all the Country about *Milan*. However, the *Marcomanni* were overcome at last; but in the mean time their Ravages were a matter of great Consternation to all at *Rome*, where the People broke out into great Sedition, out of an apprehension that they should see the Empire torn into pieces again, as it was before in the time of *Gallienus*. The Books of the *Sibyls*, so well known for the publick Good done by them, were upon this occasion consulted; and it was found, that at certain places there should be Sacrifices used, to stop the Course of the *Barbarians*; in Virtue whereof, they would not have the Power to pass further up into the Country. This was done accordingly with all care; the *Barbarians* stopt upon it, and as afterwards they were roving up and down in disorder, *Aurelian* came upon them and slew them. I will give you the debate of the Senate at this time, concerning the inspecting the Books of the *Sybil*s.

The Mar-
comanni
defeated.

Upon the third day of the Ides of *January*, the Senate being assembled, *Fulvius Sabinus* the Prætor of the City of *Rome* spoke thus to them.

Fathers

Fathers of the Senate,

I am to acquaint you, that it is the suggestion of the Chief Priests, as well as it is the Order, by Letter, of the Emperor *Aurelian*, that the Books of the *Sibyls*, in which the Secrets of the Destinies are contained, be now inspected; in hopes thence to discover by the Holy Will of the Gods, a means of putting an end to this War. You know very well, that as often as any extraordinary case arises, it is the Custom always to inspect those Books; nor have we been delivered from the Publick Evils, which have at any time beset us, but by following their Order, and by performing such Sacrifices, as we find to be appointed us there.

Then *Ulpian Silanus*, whose place it was to give his Opinion the first, stood up and said;

Fathers of the Senate,

It is very Late, for us, at this day, to begin to consult about the Safety of the State; It is very late for us, now to Consult the Books of the *Sybil*s, when we know not what else to do; like some sick Persons, who send not for the Physician, but in the greatest extremity; to which yet it is never good to trust; because all Diseases are the best taken and obviated in the beginning. You may remember, Gentlemen, that I have often from this place told you, even then, when first the news came of an Irruption of the *Marcomanni*, that the Decrees of the *Sibyl*s ought to be consulted;

P 4

sulted; and that we should serve our selves of the assistances of Apollo, and keep to the Precepts of the immortal Gods. But my Motion was rejected, and that too not without a great deal of reproach from some, who in flattery to Aurelian answered, that under the Conduct of so brave a Prince, there was no necessity of consulting the Gods; as if he did not himself revere the Gods, and hope for the success of his Arms from their immortal Powers. In short, you have heard his Letter, wherein he begs the Divine assistance, which it is never unworthy the greatest Man to do. Therefore let the Priests, with all Purity, Cleaness, and Sanctity, prepared as well in their Minds as Habits for so sacred a Work, immediately repair to the Temple; and with due Reverence peruse the Holy Books, and examine what is the eternal will of the Fates; and we, on our part, shall not be wanting to perform the Sacrifices, and observe the Solemnity, which the Gods require of us.

The rest of the Senators in order, being askt their Opinions, they all, some one way, some another declared their Consent, that the Books of the Sibyls should be consulted, and the Act pass for the Purpose. Then to the Capitol they went; the said Books were examined; some Verses out of them were pitched upon; then the City of Rome was Purged by Sacrifice; a Procession was made round the City, and the Suburbs; the Verses were Sung, and all the Ceremony whatever that was required, was accordingly performed.

Now

The Books
of the Si-
byls Con-
sulted.

Now the Letter of Aurelian to the Senate, in which he put them upon the Consulting the same Books, was this.

I Admire, my good Fathers, that you have, so long hesitated about opening the Books of the Sibyls; as if it was a matter that was referred rather to a Congregation of Christians, who are the Enemies of our Religion and our Gods, than to Persons Zealous as you are for the Honour of the one and the other. I would desire you to set the Priests immediately and religiously about it; that with the solemn Ceremonies and Rites, which shall there appear to be appointed, you may assist your Prince, now labouring under great difficulties. Let the Books be inspected; and what things are therein required to be done, let them be done. For my part, I shall spare for no Costs. The Captives that I have of any Nation, and any of the Animals of the noblest kind, belonging to me, I freely offer for Sacrifices. It is no lessening to a Victory, to be assisted in it by the Gods. In the times of our Ancestors, divers Wars have been begun and ended in this manner. I have writ to the Keeper of the Exchequer to disburse, whatever the Charge is. You may command thence what Money you think fit; and I am glad to find, that the Coffers are well provided.

That which was the occasion of all this concern for inspecting the Books of the Sibyls, was; Aurelian had suffered a great defeat from the Enemy at Piacenza; and had it not been that after the examination of the said Books, and

and the performance of the Sacrifices by them required, the Divine Aid interposed to Confound and Affright the Barbarians with Visions, Spectres, and Prodigies, which gave *Aurelian* at length the advantage over them, the Victory in this War might have been lost to the *Romans*, and even the Empire in danger to be so too. For the Barbarians, by the means of the Woods, and the Fastnesses, into which they threw themselves, were otherwise too subtil for us, and did so annoy us upon occasion, that we should not have reduced them, upon the single strength of our Arms.

After the *Marcomannick* War was ended, *Aurelian* came to *Rome*; full of Anger and Revenge, as he was naturally Fierce of himself, for the Seditions, which had there been raised in his absence. Though he was otherwise a good Prince, he suffered his Passions to transport him beyond measure, and to punish some things Cruelly, which might have been treated with a gentler Hand. He not only put to death the Authors of those Seditions, but also some noble Senators; against whom appeared but one vile and wretched Witness; when the matter of the Crime objected, was of so slight a Nature, that a milder Prince would have contemned it. In fine, the fame of his Reign which had been hitherto great, and had justly gained him many Friends, was obscured and wounded by the marks of his excessive Severity. He began to be feared, rather than loved. Some said, they hated him; rather than wish'd his Prosperity; others said that he

was

His extreme Severity.

was indeed a good Physician, but his Medicines were the bitterest in the World. After these things therefore, fearing again the mischiefs might be revived, which happened in the time of *Gallienus*, he with the Advice of the Senate extended, and new fortified the Walls of the City of *Rome*. He did not then extend the Territories of the City without the Walls; but he did afterwards; because this was a privilege allowed to no Prince to do, but who by his Conquests had added to the *Roman* Empire; as did the Emperors *Augustus*, *Trajan*, *Nero*; under which last particularly the *Pontus*, *Potemoniacus*, and the *Cottian Alps* were subjected to the Obedience of the *Romans*.

Having finished what concerned the security and state of the City, and of the Civil Affairs, he set out from thence upon an Expedition against the *Palmyreni* in *Syria*; where the Lady *Zenobia*, in the Right of her two Sons, *Herennianus* and *Timolans*, being Infants, and in Succession to *Odenatus* her Husband, Reigned as Queen of the East, and maintained the Revolt of those parts against the Empire. In his way, in the Countries of *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, he fought several considerable Battles with the Reliques of the *Goths*, and the Barbarians; of whom he slew five thousand on the other side of the *Danube*, with *Cannabaudes*, their Prince. He passed, by the way of *Byzantium*, over into *Bithynia*, in the *Lesser Asia*: which Province upon his arrival voluntarily cast off the Yoak of the *Palmyreni*, and

and yielded it self to him. Many, as well of his Expressions as Actions, are great and famous. It is not possible, nor would I be willing to recount them all here, because it would be tedious. But yet some few may be touched upon, which may serve to beget a better understanding of his Virtues and Manners. Coming to the City of *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, which he found shut against him, he said in a Passion, I will not leave a Dog in this place. This made his Soldiers storm it the more violently, in hopes of the Booty ; till one *Heraclammon*, who was the Governour of it, afraid that he should be killed amongst the rest, and thinking that he had no other way to save himself, betrayed his Trust, and suffered the Town to be taken by Treachery. Now *Aurelian* did immediately two things, worthy of a Princely mind ; in the one of which he shew'd an example of his Severity, and in the other, of Mercy. The first is, he put to death *Heraclammon* for betraying his Country. Then, when the Soldiers desired the total destruction of the Town, according to his saying, that he would not leave a Dog in it, by which they understood, that they should have all the Plunder of it ; *It is true*, said he, *I have said I would not leave a Dog in this Town, and so kill all the Dogs* : but he saved the People, and forbade the Plunder ; which was a great Action, and it was followed by as great a one of the Army : because they were as much pleased with the Wit of their Prince, as if he had given them really the Riches of the City.

Examples of his Severity and Mercy.

City. Concerning *Heraclammon*, *Aurelian* writ this Letter.

The Emperor *Aurelian* to *Mallius Chilo*.

I Have taken *Tyana*, and suffered the Man to be killed, by whose, as it were, good Office I did it. I could not love such a Traitor. I willingly let the Soldiers kill him : because how could he be faithful to me, who spared not to betray his own Country ? He is the only one of all the Besieged, who hath been so used. I cannot deny but he was Rich. But yet I have given his Estate to his Children : that none shall pretend to say, that it was to get his Money I killed him.

The City of *Tyana* was taken in this manner. *Heraclammon* betrayed to *Aurelian* a private place, where there was a Natural rising of the Ground, by which he might mount the Walls undiscovered. *Aurelian* did so ; and his Purple distinguishing him to be the Emperor to the Army without and the People within, and the People within seeing him upon the Walls, and concluding the Town was taken, as if the whole Army was with him, they were so surprised, that they said no more but yielded.

I ought not here to omit a thing, which is to the Honour of the memory of the Venerable *Apollonius*, who was a Native of the City of *Tyana*. *Aurelian*, it is said, was seriously some-

Apparition of Apollonius Tyaneus.

sometime thinking and speaking about destroying the place entirely by Fire and Sword. But as he was going to his Tent, that wise Man of so known Fame and Authority, an Antient Philosopher, and a true Friend of the Gods, *Apollonius Tyaneus*, who is himself to be highly Celebrated as a God, appeared suddenly to him, in the Form, in which his Image is in the Temples at this day, and spoke to him these words: *Aurelian, Why should you think of Murthering my poor Countrymen? If you would Reign in Glory, abstain, Aurelian, from the blood of the Innocent. Aurelian be merciful, if you would Conquer and live your self.* Aurelian knew the Village of the Venerable Philosopher again, because he had seen it before in several Temples. He was very much struck at it, and immediately he returned to a better mind about his Treatment of the Town, and promised to erect a Temple to *Apollonius*, and to set up his Image and Statues. This account is what I have received from grave Men, and I have also often Read the same my self in the Books of the *Ulpian* Library; to which I give the more Credit; because I have a great respect for the Majesty of *Apollonius*: than whom, what Man hath there ever been more Holy, Venerable, Illustrious, and Divine? He raised the Dead to Life again. He wrought many things beyond the power of Mankind, and his Discourses were suitable to his Actions; which if any Person pleases to know more particularly, let him Read the *Greek Books*, that are written of his Life. My self

if I live, and if the favour of *Apollonius* will assist me in it, will give the World some short account at least of the Actions of so great a Person: not that they want the benefit of my Labour, but that things which are really to be admired, may be made universally known and famous.

After the taking of *Tyana*, *Aurelian* marched towards *Antioch*; proposing to all that submitted to him, Indemnity for what was past. At the Village of *Daphne*, which is near *Antioch*, he gave the Enemy a little Blow, and so came to that City. It is supposed, the Precepts of the Venerable *Apollonius* had made an impression upon him; for he used his Victory here with great Humanity and Clemency. The next Battel was a General one, and for no less than the Empire. It was fought at the City of *Emissa* in *Phœnicia*, against the Queen *Zenobia*, and *Zabdas* her General. *Aurelian's* Horse were spent, and ready to run, when some Divine Form suddenly appearing to them, and encouraging them on to the Charge, they took the Example of the Foot, who all the while stood firm, till at last they put both *Zenobia* and *Zabdas* to flight, and obtained a most accomplished Victory. *Emissa* readily yielded to the Conqueror; who no sooner entered into it, but he repaired to the Temple of *Heliogabalus*, or the Sun, to acquit himself of his Vows and Devotions, according to his Duty. But as he was there, the same Divine Form appeared again to him which he had seen assisting him in the Battel. Wherefore he there founded

Zenobia's Army defeated.

founded Temples, and made great Oblations. He Founded also a Temple to the Sun at Rome, of extraordinary Magnificence, whereof we shall have an occasion to speak hereafter.

Then he bent his Course against the City of *Palmyra*, the Capitol of the Country of the People of the same name, where *Zenobia* resided; that with the taking of it, he might put an end to his Labours in this part of the World. The *Syrian* Robbers annoyed his Army often in his March, and did him much mischief. But in the Siege of *Palmyra*, his Person was so far in danger, that he received a slight Shot of an Arrow. And the hot Work that he met with, is very plainly confessed by himself, in a Letter to *Mucapor*, thus.

THose at Rome deride my Expedition, and cry I make War against a Woman; as if I had to do with none but *Zenobia*, and that she opposed me upon her own Strength. But the case is the same, as if the War was with a Man; and Feminine Fear, and sense of her Demerits makes her besides so desperate, that she is by far the worst of Enemies. It cannot be expressed what Showers of Arrows, Darts, and Stones, she sends us; and how prepared she is for her defence here? There is no part of the Wall, that is not planted with two or three Batterers. She throws Fire at us out of her Engines. In fine, she Fights not like a Woman, but with the Audacity of a Man in Despair. However I trust, that the Gods, who never

never have been wanting to our Endeavours, will still assist the Roman Empire.

At length *Aurelian*, fatigued and weary of so troublesome a Siege, sent a Letter into the Town to *Zenobia* to require her to surrender, and he promised her her life. The Letter was this.

Aurelian, the Emperor of the Roman World, and the Protector of the East, to *Zenobia*, and those in Arms with her.

THAT which I require you now to do by my Letter, you ought assuredly to have done of your own Motion. I order you to Surrender, and I promise you your Lives, with impunity: You *Zenobia*, and your Children, shall only be obliged to lead your Lives there, where I, with the advice of the most Noble Senate, shall place you. Your Jewels, Silver, Gold, Silks, Horses, and Camels, must be disposed of to the Exchequer at Rome. The People of this Country of *Palmyra* shall be preserved in their Rights.

Zenobia receiving this Letter, wrote him Haughty back an Answer, which was more Haughty, mind of and more Proud indeed than the Condition of *Zenobia*. Her Fortune required: But I suppose it might be to amuse him, Her Letter was this.

Q

Zenobia

Zenobia the Queen of the East, to the Emperor Aurelian.

NO Man ever, before you, desired what you do, by a Letter. Bravery is the way to effect whatever is to be done in War. You propose my Surrender, as if you can be ignorant, that the Queen Cleopatra chose her Death, rather than to live in whatever Quality under Augustus. The Succours of the Persians are on their March to us. We expect them daily. The Saracens are for us. The Armenians are for me. The Syrian Robbers have beaten your Army, Aurelian, already. What then will become of you, when that Force arrives, which is expected by us, from all parts? Doubtless you will change your Countenance, and lay aside that Pride, with which you now so absolutely Command me to Surrender, as of you were the Conqueror of the Universe.

Zenobia Dictated this Letter herself in the Syriack Language; Nicomachus says, that he Translated it out of that Language into the Greek; the other Letter of Aurelian was sent in the Greek.

Aurelian did not Blush when he read Zenobia's Letter; but he was Angry, and immediately ordered his Army and his Officers upon a General Assault. He left nothing undone to reduce her, that could be thought upon by a brave

a brave Man. He Intercepted the Succours, which were sent to her from the Persians. The Saracen and the Armenian Troops he Beat, and partly by his Address, and partly by the force of his Arms, he brought them over to his own side. After many Fights, with great difficulty, he overcame this most Potent Lady at last; who was making her escape upon Dromedaries into Persia, when Aurelian sent a Party of Horse after her, and took her Prisoner.

This Victory gave Aurelian the Possession of all the East. He had at once Zenobia, the Persians, the Armenians, and the Saracens, his Prisoners; in which he did not a little Pride himself. And then it was, that all those fine Vestments beset with Jewels, which we see in the Temple of the Sun at Rome, those Persian Banners with Dragons, those Persian Tiara's, and a sort of Purple so fine, that the like hath never been since seen in the Roman Empire, were all taken by Aurelian. You may remember, that there was in the Temple of the most excellent and most high Jupiter, in the Capitol, a little Cloak of so very fine a Purple, that when the Matrons and Aurelian himself in Person compared with it the Purples which he and they wore, it lookt with so Divine a Light, that theirs were but like Ashes to it. Aurelian, and afterwards the Emperors Probus and Dioclesian, especially the latter, with great care sent into Persia Dyers, on purpose to find out how this Purple was made. But they could not do it. It is an Indian Vermilion

The Spoils of Zenobia.

lion, they say, that Dyes it, when it is well prepared.

But to the Purpose. *Zenobia* being taken, all the Army called for Justice upon her: *Aurelian* thought it unhandsome to kill a Woman. He put to death several that had been her Abettors in beginning, making, and continuing the War; but for her, he reserved her to adorn his Triumph, and to make her a Spectacle to the Eyes of the People of *Rome*. Amongst the rest, whom he killed, the Philosopher *Cassius Longinus* was much to be lamented. He had been *Zenobia's* Master, to teach her *Greek*: that which provoked *Aurelian* to cut him off, was, because he knew, that it was by his Counsel that *Zenobia* had dictated that haughty Letter in the *Syriack*, which hath been mentioned here above.

The Peace of the East being Established, *Aurelian* returned a Conqueror to *Europe*. He gained a Victory in his passage over the *Carpis*: for which the Senate in his absence would have given him the Title of *Carpicus*: but it being a word of an ill, and a diminutive sound, in comparison with those other of *Gothicus*, *Sarmaticus*, *Armeniacus*, *Parthicus*, and *Adiabenicus*; which denoted him Conqueror of the *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Armenians*, *Parthians*, and part of the *Assyrians*; he rejected the Title of *Carpicus*; and immediately sent the Senate word, that they might as well call him *Carpisculus*, as *Carpicus*; for he liked the one no better than the other: *Carpisculus* is Latin for a sort of a Slipper.

It is rare, and a hard thing for the *Syrians* to keep their Faith. No sooner was *Aurelian* imployed about the Affairs of *Europe*, but the *Palmyreni*, who were so very lately, and so well Beaten, broke out into another Rebellion. They killed *Sandarion*, whom he had left Governour of *Palmyra*, and six hundred Archers, that were in Garrison with him; designing to let up one *Achilleus*, a Kinsman of *Zenobia*, for the Empire anew. But *Aurelian* was not so engaged, but immediately upon the news he quitted *Europe*, and returned to *Palmyra* again; where he punished them, shall I say, as they deserved; or rather to an excess: How severely he used them, he confesses himself in this Letter.

The Palmyreni rebel, and are severely handled.

The Emperor Aurelian to Ceronius Bassus.

WE have had enough of the Blood of the *Palmyreni*: you shall forbid the Soldiers to draw their Swords upon them more. We have not spared Women, nor Infants, nor the Aged, nor the Peasants. So few, as are left, will, I believe, take warning by such a general Correction. We must spare those, or to whom shall we leave the Town and Country to be Cultivated? The Temple of the Sun, which is in that Town, and which the Officers and others of the third Legion plundered, I would have to be restored to the same condition in which it was. You will have three

Q 3

hundred

hundred pound of Gold out of the Coffers of Zenobia, and the weight of 1800 pound of Silver, and amongst the Booty, the Jewels and Precious Stones of the Queen. Out of all these, therefore let the Temple be well adorned; in which you will do a most grateful service both to the Immortal Gods, and me; and my self will write to the Senate, to desire them to send a Priest, to Dedicate the said Temple.

This Letter shews how fully he had satiated his Cruelty upon them.

Securer now therefore of the State of the East, than ever, he returned the second time back to Europe; and with his accustomed Bravery he defeated all the Parties of his European Enemies, that came in his way. He was very active about the Affairs of Thrace, and the Publick Good, when one Firmus arose in Egypt; who, not setting himself up as an Emperor, pretended to make that Province rather a Free-State. Aurelian made no delay to oppose this evil. Nor did his wonted Success abandon him. For he presently recovered Egypt again.

Firmus
quell'd.

Gallia continued as yet in its Revolt from the Empire, and in the Hands of Tetricus: which Aurelian, as he was naturally Fierce, and full of Designs, not being able with Patience to bear, he turned his Head to the side of the West: where Tetricus weary of Commanding a Vicious and an Insolent Army, yielded both himself, and his Army frankly to him.

Tetricus
yields.

The

The Peace of the West did conclude Aurelian the entire Master of all the Roman World. Every part of it now was reduced to him; and so he took his way to the City of Rome, to Celebrate a Solemn Triumph, at once over Zenobia and Tetricus, that is, the East and the West.

It will not be amiss to know the manner of the Triumph of Aurelian; for it was a very Noble one. There were three Chariots of State, worthy of the Magnificence of the greatest Kings. The first was the Chariot of Odenatus, curiously wrought and distinguished with Silver, Gold, and Jewels. The next was a Chariot of the King of Persia which was equally Fine. The third was Zenobia's Chariot, which she had made for herself, in hopes to make her Entrance into the City of Rome with: nor was she mistaken. For she did so; but it was in the Quality of a Captive, and both her Chariot and she were led in Triumph. There was a fourth Chariot drawn by four Stags, supposed to be the Chariot of the King of the Goths. In this Chariot, Aurelian Rode to the Capitol, to Sacrifice there those Stags, which together with the Chariot, when he took them, he had vowed to the most excellent and most mighty Jupiter. These Chariots were preceded by twenty Elephants, and two hundred tamed Wild Beasts of several kinds, out of the Countries of Libya and Palestine; all which Aurelian gave afterwards away amongst particular Persons. There were four Tygers. The Chamouises, Elks, and o-

Manner
of Aure-
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ther such Beasts followed in order. There were eight hundred couple of Gladiators. Then followed the Captives of the Barbarian Nations; as *Ethiopians, Arabians, Indians, Babylonians, Georgians, Saracens, Persians*; every one with their several Offerings: there were also *Goths, Alans, Roxolans, Sarmatians, Franks, Sueves, Vandals, and Germans*; all which Captives were chained by the Hand to one another: together with whom were the chief, that were left alive, of the City of *Palmyra*; and also a parcel of *Egyptians*, because of the late Rebellion in *Egypt*. There were ten Women Captives, led in the like manner, in this Procession: they were taken fighting in Men's Habit amongst the *Goths*; when many others of them, at the same time were killed. The Inscription over them, as all these Nations had their several Names and Inscriptions put up, spoke them to be of the Race of the *Amazons*. Then came *Tetricus*, well dressed in a Scarlet Robe, and a sort of a Pale-gold-coloured Tunick, and his Breeches of the Mode of the *Gauls*. By him marched his Son, whom he had declared Joynt-Emperor with him in *Gallia*. And next marched *Zenobia*. She was adorned with Jewels, and her Chains were of Gold, with Persons to bear them up. The Crowns of the Vanquished Nations in Gold, were displayed and carried in the Procession. Then marched the People of *Rome*, with all the Standards of the Colleges and the Camps, the Cuirassiers, the Train of the Court, all the Army, and likewise the Senate;

nate; but the Senate was a little concerned to see one of their own Body, which *Tetricus* was, led in Triumph. However it is, all together added much to the magnificence of the Pomp. It was almost three of the Clock before the Procession to the Capitol was over; and late before they went from thence to the Court. The next, and the other days following were spent in the pleasures of the Plays of the Stage, the Races of the Cirque, the Chases of Wild Beasts, the Fights of the Gladiators, and the Encounters or Fights of Gallies, in the Amphitheatre, represented sailing there as upon a Sea.

It is not, I think, to be omitted, what our Histories do often take notice of, and every one remembers, that when *Aurelian* set out upon the Oriental War against *Zenobia*, he promised to give the People, if he returned a Conqueror, Crowns of two pound weight. The People willingly understood him of Crowns of Gold. But *Aurelian* neither could, nor would be so liberal. He gave them every one Loaves of the whitest Bread of that weight, made in the form of Crowns; which he continued all his life, to them and their Children daily. He distributed also Portions of Pork amongst them, and this is done to this day.

Aurelian made several Laws, which were all Good and Wholesome. He augmented the Revenues of the Priests: he founded a Temple to the Sun; and set out Salaries for the support of the Priests that should serve it and for the Repairs of it, and for its other inferior Ministers.

After

After these things he went into *Gallia*, and raised the Siege of the City of *Amburgb*, which the Barbarians had formed. From thence he returned, and came into *Illyrium*; where having provided himself with rather a Valiant, than a Numerous Army, he declared War against the *Persians*; over whom he had received a very notable Victory, at the same time that he overcame *Zenobia*, who was their Ally. But as he was upon his march to advance his Enterprize, at a Castle called *Campbrurium*, which is in *Romania*, betwixt the Cities of *Heraclia* and *Byzantium*, through the Treachery of his Secretary, and by the Hand of *Mucapour*, he was killed.

Death of
Aurelian.

The occasion of his Murder, and in what manner it was brought about, that a matter of that Moment may not be concealed, I will tell you in short. It cannot be denied, but that *Aurelian* was a Severe, Truculent, and a Sanguinary Prince. His Severity had transported him so far, as to kill his own Sisters Daughter, for no great nor sufficient cause neither; which was the first thing that brought an odium upon him amongst his Friends. As Fate would have it, it happened, that he had one *Mneſtheus*, to be his Secretary; who, some say, was his late Slave, made Free. *Aurelian*, upon I know not what suspicion of something, had threatned this Man, which made him his Mortal Enemy. For knowing that his Master neither used to threaten to no purpose, nor to forgive very easily, where he once threatned, he writ down a List of the Names of

The Plot
upon him
how laid.

of such Persons, as he knew *Aurelian* had a real distaste against; and at the same time he intermixt it with the Names of others, of whom *Aurelian* never had the least suspicion, which should make him hate them, and amongst the rest, he added his own, to give the greater Credit to his concern for the common safety, in which himself was involved. When he had done this, he went and read the List to all those, whose names were there, and told them, that it was what he had privately found upon *Aurelian*, and it shews, that *Aurelian* was resolved to kill them all, and therefore, if they were Men, they ought to look to their Lives. The one party, who knew themselves to have contracted *Aurelian's* anger by what they had done, were spurred on by their fears to believe the matter and to prevent *Aurelian* if they could. The other, who had ever been kind and serviceable to him, and had deserved no such usage from him, were incensed at his supposed Ingratitude. So mingling their Complaints and Sorrows together, the one with the other, they fell upon him suddenly at the place before-mentioned upon the Road, and killed him.

This was the end of the Emperor *Aurelian*. A Prince, not properly so good, as his Reign was of use, and necessary to retrieve the Repose of the Empire. When the matter afterwards came to be discovered, how fraudulently the Conspiracy was procured to kill him, the Persons themselves that had agreed to it, built him a great Sepulchre, and Dedicated a Temple

Temple to him, and set up his Statues, at the place of his Death: And *Mneſtheus* was tied to a ſtake, and given to be devoured by Wild Beaſts; which is ſignified upon the place by Marble Statues of *Mneſtheus*, done in the Habit in which he was executed, and ſet up on each ſide of the Sepulchre of *Aurelian*.

The Senate regretted his Death very much, and the People of *Rome* more; who commonly ſaid, that *Aurelian* was the Tutor of the Senate. He reigned ſix Years, wanting a few Days; and for his great Actions was deified.

Not to omit any thing, that I meet within History that relates to him; many ſay, that *Quintillus* the Brother of *Claudius*, who when the News came to him of the Death of *Claudius*, was in a Garrifon in *Italy*, aſſumed the Empire, upon that News, to ſucceed his Brother. But when afterwards he found, that *Aurelian* was choſen Emperor by all the Army, and that when he harangued againſt the pretences of *Aurelian* to his own Soldiers, they did not much care to hear him, he cut his Veins himſelf, and died the Twentieth day of his Reign.

Aurelian did this Service to the whole Empire; that he purged away all profeſſed Lewdneſs, Irreligion and wicked Arts. He cleared it of Factions. His Juſtice purſued the falſe Moniers or Coiners, who to defend themſelves, joyned together in a Body, and made a ſort of a War, under the encouragement of *Feliciſſimus* a Receiver, within the Walls of *Rome*. But

Aurelian

Death of
Quintil-
lus.

Aurelian reduced them with a high hand; it coſt him the Lives of ſeven Thouſand of his Soldiers to do it; upon which occaſion he writ this Letter to his Father (by Adoption) *Ulpinus Crinitus*, who was then the third time Conſul.

The Emperor Aurelian to his Father, *Ulpinus Crinitus*.

AS if it is in a manner my Fate, to meet with aggravations of difficulties in every thing that I enterpriſe, a Sedition within the Walls of *Rome* hath riſen to a very ſad War. The Moniers, or falſe Coiners, at the ſuggeſtion of *Feliciſſimus*, the laſt of Slaves, whom I made a Receiver of the Exchequer, pretended to rebel. They are ſuppreſſed, but with the loſs of ſeven Thouſand of my Men killed by them; ſo that I may ſee, I have no Victory given me by the immortal Gods, which does not coſt me dear.

Aurelian, tho' he had made *Tetricus* a ſubject of his Triumph, beſtowed upon him afterwards the Government of the Province of *Lucania* in *Italy*, and continued his Son in the Senate. The Temple which he built to his particular Deity, the Sun, was moſt magnificent. He extended the Walls of the City of *Rome* ſo, that that they were almoſt fifty Miles in compaſs. He was a ſevere Enemy to Delators and falſe Accuſers of the Innocent. The publick Regi-

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sters of Proscriptions and Forfeitures to the Exchequer, he ordered for the common Security, to be burnt in the *Forum of Trajan*; and he granted an Act of Amnesty, for the past Offences committed against the State, the Example (whereof was taken from that of the *Athenians*, which *Cicero* mentions in his *Philippicks*. The Magistrates of the Provinces who appeared to be guilty of Bribery and Extortion, he severely prosecuted, not with regard to them, or himself as Soldiers, but he laid upon them greater and more tormenting Punishments. He bestowed much Gold and Jewels upon the Temple of the Sun. Seeing the Provinces of *Illyricum* and *Mæsia* laid waste by the incursions of the *Barbarians*, he withdrew the *Roman* Forces and Subjects out of *Dacia*, which *Trajan* had added to the Empire on the other side of the *Danube*; and relinquishing a Country that he despaired to keep, he planted the said Forces and People, in *Mæsia*; and he gave the Name of the *Aurelian Dacia*, to that Province that now divides betwixt the Upper and Lower *Mæsia*. It is said, that he was so cruel, as to charge several Senators with pretended Treasons and Conspiracies falsely, only to have an occasion to cut them off. Some add, that it was a Sister's Son, and not a Daughter, which he killed. Others, that he killed his Sister's Son and Daughter both.

The Senate and the Army, what with the Gravity of the one, and the prudent Submission of the other, made a great Difficulty of choosing a new Emperor to fill the Throne, vacant by the

the Death of *Aurelian*. The Army referred the choice to the Senate, because they thought, that they ought to avoid those, who had been concerned in the Murder of so worthy a Prince. The Senate on the other hand referred the Choice to the Army, knowing that the Soldiers do not always take very well those Emperors, that the Senate puts upon them. This was disputed betwixt them three times, so that for six Months the *Roman* World was without an Emperor, and all Persons in the interim continued in their Governments and Offices, as they were before, excepting that the Senate made *Falconius Probus* the Proconsul of *Asia*, in the place of *Aurelius Fuscus*. It will not be unpleasant to see the Letter which the Army wrote to the Senate upon this subject; it was this.

The Valiant and Victorious Army,
to the Senate and People of
Rome.

AUrelian our Emperor through the Fraud of one Man, and the surprizing Mistake of a mixture of others, good and bad that were drawn in by him, is killed. You will please, our good Lords and Fathers, to make Aurelian a God; and to send us a Person out of your own Body, to be our Prince; whom in your Judgments you shall think deserves to be so. For we,
as

as concerning those that have either wilfully or ignorantly been led to commit this Fact, will not suffer any of them to reign over us.

The Senate met upon the third Day of the Nones of February, and being sat, *Aurelius Gordianus* the Consul motion'd them to consider this Letter, which was arrived from the Army. The Letter was read. The eldest Senator, who was to deliver his Opinion the first, was *Tacitus*, who spoke thus. The same who was afterwards by the Consent of all made the Successour to *Aurelian*.

Fathers of the Senate,

WELL had the immortal Gods consulted the Happiness of the World, had they made the Persons of good Men invulnerable; that such as meditate base Murder in their wicked Hearts, could have had no Power to hurt them. Then had we enjoyed our Emperor *Aurelian* longer, who was one of the greatest use to our State; which after the misfortunes of *Valerian*, and the Luxury of *Gallienus*, began to take breath again indeed under the Reign of *Claudius*; but it had been perfectly restored to its pristine form by *Aurelian*, had he lived, because Victory every where waited upon his Arms. He re-possessed us of *Gallia*; he delivered Italy from the Invasion of the *Marcomanni*; he rescued *Ausburgh* from the Barbarian Yoke; he recovered *Illyricum* and *Thrace* to the obedience of the Romans; he recovered the East to
our

our obedience, which was shamefully before oppressed and held against us by a Woman. The Persians, while yet insulting in the Death of *Valerian*, he vanquished, put them to flight, and enslaved them. The Saracens, the Blemmies, and Auxumites, the Bactrians, the Seres, the Georgians, the Albanians, the Armenians, and even the Indians adored him almost as a God upon Earth. The Capitol is enrich'd with his Presents, and the things which he gained from the Barbarian Nations. Fifteen Thousand Pound weight of Gold, of his Liberality, lies all in one Temple. All the Fanes in Rome shine by his Gifts. Wherefore, Gentlemen, may I not justly expostulate with the Gods, why they have permitted the Massacre of such a Prince; unless it is perhaps, that they would rather have him in their own Number? I for my part vote him a God, and I presume, that all you will do the same. But as for the Election of another Emperor, it is a Matter in my Opinion, to be referred back to the Army again. For unless it were certain that the Person elected by us will be by them accepted, it will both be dangerous to the elected, and bring an envy upon his Friends.

The Senate approved the Opinion of *Tacitus*. But when the Army did persist to send to them again and again upon the same subject, they came at last to an Act, which you will see in the Life of *Tacitus*, whereby they made *Tacitus* Emperor.

Aurelian left only a Daughter, of whose Posterity there are some surviving at Rome at this

this Day. The late Proconsul of *Cilicia*, who is of the Name of *Aurelian*, and now lives sweetly in the Island of *Sicily*, a Senator of great worth, of an excellent Life, and the entire Master of himself, is her Grandson.

The few
good Em-
perors of
Rome.

What shall I say now to observe, that out of so many Persons, that have sat upon the Throne of *Rome* from *Augustus* down to *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, there hath hitherto been so few, that have been good Princes? The good Princes were these; *Augustus*, *Flavius Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Cocceius Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, *Antoninus* the Pious, *Marcus Antoninus*, *Severus* the African, *Alexander Severus* the Son of *Mammaea*, *Claudius* and *Aurelian*. It is true, *Valerian* was another good Prince, but he was in all respects so unfortunate, that he ought to be reckoned apart. You see, Sir then, how short the Number of the good Princes is; so that it was well said by a Jester in the time of *Claudius*, that they might all be easily drawn within the Circle of a Ring. On the contrary, what a Series have we had of ill Princes! For not to mention the *Vitellii*, the *Caligula's*, and the *Nero's* of former Ages, What do you say to the *Maximins*, the *Philips*, and that unsavory multitude, that drops, that came up afterwards? excepting only the *Decii*, whose Lives and Manners were comparable with those of the Antients.

It may be asked, what it is that debauches Princes, and makes them become so ill? And truly, my dear Friend, I will tell you. Licentiousness, in the first place; then the Plenty that

that surrounds them; then evil Counsellors, evil Guards, greedy Eunuchs, lewd or foolish Courtiers; nor can this last be denied, Ignorance in the Affairs of the Publick. I assure you, I have heard it from my Father, that the Emperor *Dioclesian* hath said, when he lived privately at *Salona*, after his resignation of the Empire, *That there is nothing more difficult than to Reign well*. For four or five Persons shall cabal together, to put upon the Prince, and tell him what is to be done; in the mean time, he who is shut up at home, penetrates not into the Truth, and is forced to know no more than they tell him; and so he makes Persons Magistrates and Officers, whom he ought to avoid, and turns others out, whom he ought to keep. In fine, as *Dioclesian* said, for these are also his words, *The Good, the Cautious, the Best Prince that is, is bought and sold*. Which I therefore remark, that you may please, Sir, to observe, that there is therefore not any thing more difficult than the Art of Reigning well.

Aurelian is many times accounted neither amongst the ill, nor yet amongst the good Princes, because Clemency, which is the first Honour of a Prince was wanting to him. His excessive Fierceness was a thing which diminish'd his Character with the Emperor *Dioclesian*; who, as he blamed the asperity of *Maximinian*, so he often said of *Aurelian* in the hearing of *Verconius Herennianus*, who was Captain of the Guards to him, that *Aurelian* ought rather to have been continued a General, than

to have been made a Prince. He said also, according to *Asclepiodotus*, that *Aurelian* once consulted with the *Druids* of *Gallia*, whether the Empire was to descend after him upon his Posterity. Their Answer was, that the Posterity of *Claudius* should carry the greatest Name of any in the Empire. And certainly the Emperor *Constantinus* is one of the Blood of *Claudius*, whose Line will one day attain, I doubt not, to that Glory, which was fore-told by the *Druids*. But I only mention this in the Life of *Aurelian*, because the Consultation and the Answer was made by, and to him. It may seem perhaps wonderful; as it is, I leave it to the Judgment of Posterity.

Farther
Character
of Aure-
lian.

Aurelian fixed the Tribute to be paid for ever by *Egypt* to the City of *Rome*, in *Glass*, *Paper*, *Flax*, *Tow*, *Corn*, *Oyntments*, and other Merchandizes. He had begun to make a Winter-Bath in the Quarter of the City, which is on the other side of the *Tyber*, because of their want of Water there. He had begun a great Work to bear his Name at the City of *Ostia*, to the Sea; which was afterwards perfected and made into a publick Hall of Justice. He enriched his Friends with moderation; setting them above the miseries of Poverty, and yet below Envy. A Garment of *Velvet* he never either wore himself, or allowed, in the way of their Salaries to any of his Officers. When his own Lady desired to have one only Gown of Cloth of Gold and Purple, he denied it, and said, *Far be it that we should weigh Gold against Thread*; be-
cause

cause a Pound of silken Thread purple dyed, was worth at that time a Pound of Gold. He had intended to forbid the Gilding of Rooms, and the working of Gold into Cloaths, and the Gilding of Leather, and the Gilding of Silver. He said, *There is a greater Stock of Gold in Nature, than there is of Silver; but the quantity of the Gold in passing into the several uses which it does, in Leaves and Thread, and Meltings, perishes more than the Silver, and is more lavished.* As for Vessels and Cups of all Gold, he gave leave that any might use them, who pleased. Gentlemen, he gave leave to have their Coaches silvered over, which before were only adorned with Brass and Ivory. He allowed the Gentlewomen to wear fine Purples, whereas before they went in flowered and mixt coloured Silks, or at the most, something that was only a little near to Purple. He was the first that suffered the Common Soldiers to have their Buttons gilt. He was the first that gave them Linens. For before they had only Ruffet Coats, which were adorned with some one, or two, or three, or some five Trimmings. He added the weight of an Ounce, upon the Fond of the Tribute *Egypt*, to the Dole at *Rome*; in which Charity, in the following Letter he is pleased to glory thus.

R 3

The

The Emperor Aurelian to Flavius Arabianus, the Commissioner of the Stores for the Publick Relief.

Amongst other things, in which by the help of the Gods we have done good to the Roman State, nothing is to me a greater Pleasure and Honour, than that I have increased by the addition of an Ounce, the publick Dole of the City of Rome. To make which perpetual, I have accordingly appointed Officers in Egypt upon the Nile, and others at Rome, to see to the Importation of the Corn from Egypt. I have built up the Banks of the Tyber. I have digged the Channel deeper. I have offered my Vows to the Gods, and to Eternity. I have consecrated these things to the blessed Ceres. It is your Duty now, my good Arabianus, to take great care that my Orders be not issued in vain. For nothing to me can be more pleasant, than to see the People of Rome with their Bellies full, and their wants satisfied.

Together with the Oyl, Bread and Pork, which these People received by the Donations already established, Aurelian was for giving them Wine, for which he would have made a perpetual Fund by this means. The Country of *Hetruria* in Italy on the side of *Aurelia*, as far as to the *Maritim Alps*, hath large Grounds which

which are covered with Woods, but otherwise fruitful enough. Aurelian would have bought these incultivated Grounds of the Proprietors, as many as were willing to sell; and he would have employed upon them Numbers of Persons, that were Captives, who should plant the Mountains with Vines, and the Product, without paying any thing to the Exchequer, should go entirely to the use of the People of Rome. An Account was taken of the Expence that this Work would cost, and what quantity of Wine it would bring in. But either Aurelian was prevented by Death, before he could go on further with it; or, as some say, he was diverted again from it by the Captain of the Guards, who was against it, and said, *If we find the People of Rome Wine, it only remains next that we give them Geese and Chickens.* Aurelian in the time that he reigned, thrice carested that *Palace* with Largeesses. He gave them Tunicks of several sorts, according to the Fashions of the Provinces from whence he had them. He gave them of the Linens of Egypt, and other parts of Africa. He was the first that gave them Handkerchiefs, which at the Publick Shews of the Cirque they express their Applauses and their Acclamations by, that is, shaking and tossing them over their Heads.

When he was at Rome, he did not love to live always in the Palace; he diverted himself much in the Gardens of *Salust*, or those of *Domitia*. The great Gallery which is in the Gardens of *Salust*, consisting of a Thousand Pillars, he adorned; and every day fatigued himself

Munificence of Aurelian.

himself and his Horses there, for his Health, which was but indifferent. He caused his Slaves and Servants, when they had done ill, to be killed or beaten in his sight; either because it kept up Discipline, and made the Punishment the more exemplary; or, because he loved to feed his Eyes with the Cruelty. His Maid committing Adultery with one of his Slaves, he punished her with Death. Other of his Slaves, that committed things against the Laws, he delivered over to the Authority of the Laws, and the Publick Justice. He was for setting up a sort of a Senate of the Women, or rather for reviving a Privilege, which the Matrons antiently had of assembling themselves upon certain occasions. In which Assembly, the Priestesses, that is, such as were by the Law devoted to the Services of the Gods, had the preheminance. He forbad all Men, the wearing of Red, or Wax coloured, or White, or Green Shoes; leaving it only to the Women to have such. He allowed the Senators their running Foot-men, and the same Livery as himself gave. Concubines of Women Free born, he forbad. He limited the Number of the Eunuchs, which the Senators bought, because they were risen to a great Price. He had no Vessel of Silver in his Household of above Thirty Pound weight. His Eating was generally of roasted Meat, and red Wine his Drink. When he was sick, he never made use of a Physician, but cured himself chiefly by abstinence. He gave his Wife and his Daughter no better Rings than if he had been a private Person. He gave

gave his Slaves the same Cloaths, after he was Emperor, as he did before; excepting two old Men, *Antisthius* and *Gallio*, whom he treated as Gentlemen, and who after his Death were made Free by the Authority of the Senate. He was seldom present at the Pleasure of the Circus, but he was wonderfully delighted with Mimicks and Jesters. In fine, *Aurelian*, excepting in some domestick Seditions, had a very fortunate time. The People of *Rome* loved him. The Senate both loved him, and feared him.

THE

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
TACITUS.

BY
FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

An Inter-
regnum
of six
Months.

After *Aurelian*, there followed an *Interregnum* for six whole Months. Not occasioned by any Breach betwixt the Senate of *Rome* and the Army; but on the contrary, the Senate deferred the Election of the new Emperor to the Army, and the Army deferred it again to the Senate, and the dispute betwixt them was grateful and very handsome. There was, as our Eldest Annals inform us, formerly an *Interregnum* after the death of *Romulus*, in the Infant-State of the Empire of *Rome*.

Rome. But the differences betwixt that *Interregnum* and this, are many. For in the former, till such time as a fit Person was pitch'd upon to succeed the good *Romulus*, an *Interrex* was expressly from time to time appointed to Govern out of the Senate: which then consisting of one hundred Members, each Member, whose Health did not disable him, took it in his course to be the *Interrex* for three or four, or five days: So the whole Year and more, that the *Interregnum* lasted, passed under the Government of the Senators; who reigned one after another, all of them, from the first to the last, without distinction, because as they were all of equal Dignity, so they should all have an equal Taste of the Empire. Likewise during the Government of the Consuls and the Tribunes of the Soldiers, which last had the Authority, but only not the Name of Consuls, whenever it happened that the Government was vacant, an *Interrex* was appointed to Act, till such time as the Government was filled again. And though it may be objected to this, That once, at that time, for the space of four Years, we had no Persons in the Chairs of the Consuls, nor any Magistrates presiding in the Nature of them; yet I answer, that there were then Tribunes of the People, endowed with such a Power, that the Emperors who have enjoy'd the same Power since, have thought it one of the brightest Jewels in their Crown. Nor is it any where averred, that then there was no *Interrex* neither who acted besides these Tribunes. Because our most Authentick

Authentick Histories say, that when afterwards the Consuls were re-continued, it was the *Interrex*, who by his Authority summoned the Assemblies of the People to do it; and therefore there was an *Interrex* then in the State. So that in this respect the State of *Rome* was never so vacant, as it was after the death of *Aurelian*: For here there was a perfect *Interregnum* without any *Interrex* for six Months; whereas before the State was never without an *Interrex*, so much as for two or three days.

This was a rare and a difficult Conjunction. It was no less remarkable, if we observe the perfect Concord of the Army, the profound Peace of the People, and the venerable Authority of the Senate in all that time. No Usurper started any where up. The whole World waited the Orders and the Judgment of the Senate, the Soldiers and the People of *Rome*: There were no Fears nor Jealousies of one Person for other. Every one kept to his Devoir, and which is one of the best Principles in the Conduct of humane Life, in reverence to himself. The Temperament of Men was admirable, and made the Delay it self happy and worthy to be for ever remembered; That those who seek after Crowns, may learn, that Empires ought not to be ravished, but to be deserved.

The occasion and manner of the Delay that was made, was thus. *Aurelian*, as the last-written Life shews, was killed by the Treason of a wicked Secretary, who, as Fictions and Falsities go a great way with Soldiers, if they are told them either in their anger, or many

many times in their drink (though it is always next to a madness to believe them) drew in a Party of the Great Men of the Army, by an Incredulity on their sides, into a Plot with him, to kill him. But all these Persons being returned to a better Sentiment, and severely confuted of their Error by the Army, it was begun to be considered, whom next to make Emperor. The Army, who had used to set up an Emperor in a trice, hated those who had had a hand in the Murder of *Aurelian*, and who at the same time were of the Top of their Body. So they sent to the Senate the Letter which you have in the Life preceding, wherein they desired that the Senate would, out of their House, make choice of a Person to be their Prince. But the Senate knew, that the Princes chosen by them, do not always please the Army, and they remitted the Choice to the Army again. This was repeated so often in reciprocal Complements from one to another, that it was six Months before the Senate came to the Election of *Tacitus*, which was in the manner as follows.

Upon the 7th. day of the Calends of *October*, the Senate being met in the *Curia Pompiliana*, *Valius Cornificius Gordianus* the Consul, spoke thus to them:

Fathers of the Senate, What we have often referred to you already, we must now do it again; to choose an Emperor; without whom, the Army cannot well subsist longer, and there is a Necessity which obliges us to it besides. For the Germans have

have broken into the Quarter on the side of the Rhine, and have possessed themselves there of Strong, Noble, Rich, and Powerful Cities. And though there is nothing mentioned of any Motions of the Persians, yet you may easily imagine, how light the Minds of the Syrians are, when rather than suffer our Government, which is so Just, they have desired Women to Reign over them. What shall I say to you of Africa, of Illyricum, of Ægypt, and the Armies in all those Parts? How long do you think can they subsist without an Emperor? Wherefore, Gentlemen, go now about it, and Name one: Either the Army will Accept him whom you shall choose, or themselves will choose some other, if they refuse him.

Tacitus: was the Chief and Prince of the Senate, and to give his Opinion the first. But as he was going to speak, all the Senate prevented him, and cryed;

We Salute Tacitus, our Emperor. The Gods save you. We Choose you. We make you our Prince; We commit the Care of the State and of the World to you. Take the Empire, given you by the Authority of the Senate. Your Place, your Life, your good Intentions deserve it. The Prince of the Senate is very justly to be created the Sovereign. The Senator of the First Voice is deservedly preferred to be Emperor. And who is better to Reign, than a Person of Gravity as you are? Who is better to Govern, than one that is so knowing as you? We think it is an Happiness and an Excellency in you to be Congratulated, That you have been long a Private Person. You,

who

who have gone through the Reigns of other Princes, know how to Reign your self. You know very well how to Command, who have observed and judged of the Government of others before you.

Tacitus Answered:

I am astonished, Fathers of the Senate, That in the Place of the most Valiant Aurelian, you are willing to make such an Old Man Emperor. How am I fit, with these Limbs which you behold, to manage the Dart and the Spear, and to rattle it in Armour, and to be often riding in exact Form for an Example to the Soldiers. Scarce can I fulfil the Duties of the Senate; I am hardly able to do that, to which my particular Place confines me. Consider then more carefully, what an advanced Age you take out of the Chamber and the Shade, to send it into Frosts and Heats? Can you believe, that the Army will approve of an Old Man to be at the Head of them? Think upon some other, who will better answer the Expectations which you have of him, and let me be contented in a Private Life with this, That you have unanimously Loved me.

The Senate return'd him these Acclamations.

Trajan came pretty Old to the Empire. This was repeated ten times.

And Hadrian came Old to the Empire. This was repeated ten times.

Antoninus the Pious, came an Old Man to the Empire. Repeated ten times.

You

You remember that of Virgil, *Æn.* 6.

— — — *Incanaque menta*

Regis Romani: Or, The Hoary Head of a King of the Romans. This was repeated ten times.

Who Governs better than a Man of Years? This was repeated ten times.

We make you an Emperor, not a Soldier. This was repeated twenty times.

Give the Word only, and the Soldiers will Fight it out. This was repeated thirty times.

You are Prudent, and you have a good Brother living with you. This was repeated ten times.

It is the Head that Governs, and not the Feet, said the Emperor Septimius Severus. This was repeated thirty times.

We choose you for your Parts of Mind, and not of Body. This was repeated twenty times.

The Gods save you, our Emperor Tacitus.

Then they went to take the Suffrages of each Senator in particular. The next to Tacitus was Mæcius Falconius Nicomachus, who was of the degree of a Consul. He being ask'd his Opinion, discoursed the Senate in these words.

Fathers of the Senate, This most Noble House hath ever rightly and prudently consulted the Good of the State: Nor is there any Nation upon the Earth, from whom one ought to expect a greater share of solid Wisdom, than from you. But yet I must say, That of all the Instances of your Wisdom, there never was a Determination pass'd by you, more Grave and more Judicious, than what hath been

been done in this present Assembly. We have chosen a Person of an advanced Age to be our Prince, and one who may consult the Good of us all as a Father. Nothing from him that is immature, that is unadvised, that is ill, is to be feared. We may promise our selves a Reign of all Sobriety, all Gravity, and as the State would in a manner have it. For he knows, what a Prince he hath always wished to himself to have; and he cannot give us a different one in his own Person, from what he hath desired to find in another. Certainly if we will reflect upon those Prodigies of ill Princes of the Ancient Times, I mean the Nero's, the Heliogabalus's, and the Commodus's, it will appear, that their Crimes were not more the Vices of the Men, than the Vices of their Age. The Gods defend us from having Boys to be our Sovereigns, and Children to be called the Fathers of our Country; who must have Masters to hold their Hands when they Sign their Orders, and will be invited to make Persons Consult, by the Sugar-plumbs and the Cakes, and every Childish Pleasure that is given them. What Reason, I pray, is there to have an Emperor, who does not know how to take the care of his Reputation? who does not understand what a State is; that fears his Educator, is Commanded by his Nurse, and lies under the Magisterial Lash and Terror of the Hands of his Master? What Consuls, what Commanders, what Magistrates is he like to give us, when as to the Lives, Merits, Ages, Families and Actions of the Persons whom he prefers, truly he understands nothing at all of them? But why am I here drawn to bestow, Gentlemen, so many words

words upon this subject? Let us rather Congratulate the choice, which we have made of a Prince, who is a Man of Years, than to iterate those things that have been beyond measure deplorable to the Persons that have suffered under them. I give therefore my repeated Thanks to the Immortal Gods for this Choice. I offer the same likewise in the Name of the whole State. And to you, Tacitus, our Emperor, I turn my self to beg of you, to beseech you, to intreat you, generously in the behalf of our Common Country, that if it shall be the Will of the Fates that you die whilst your own Sons are yet but young, you would not make those Children Heirs, after you, of the Roman Empire; nor in such a nature leave this State, this Senate, and the People of Rome, as if the first was no more than your Villa, and we all your Tenants and your Slaves. Consider very well, and imitate the Examples of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian. It is a great honour in a dying Prince, to love his Country more than his Issue.

Tacitus was extremely moved, and the whole Senate struck with this Speech; and presently they cryed, *We All, All, say the same*; and so the House rose. They went from thence unto the Field of Mars: where Tacitus having placed himself upon the Tribunal, *Ælius Cæsetianus* the Governour of the City, spoke thus to a General Assembly, there met, of all the People:

Gentlemen-Soldiers, and you the good Citizens and Commons of Rome; You have here the Prince, whom by the consent of all the Roman Armies, the

the Senate hath made choice of to fill the Throne. The most Noble Tacitus, I say; who, as he hath hitherto assisted by his Suffrages to the good of the Senate, so he is now chosen to do the same by his Command and Consultations.

The People cryed, *All Happiness to the Emperor Tacitus. The Gods save your Majesty, and the like, as usual.*

It is not here to be omitted, what several have writ, That Tacitus was in his absence, and whilst he was in the Campagna, nam'd to be Emperor; which I cannot deny to be in some measure true. For as soon as the Rumour had broken out, that he was the Person intended to be Elected, he retired from the Town, and went and kept himself two Months at *Bajæ*. But they fetch'd him from thence again, and he was present at this Act of the Senate; as altogether a private Person, and really did decline his Elevation. For that no body may think, that I have rashly given Credit to the Testimony of any either Greek or Latin Writer as to this Matter, there is in the *Ulpian* Library in the Sixth Apartment, a Book in Tables of Ivory, in which this Act of the Senate is registred at large, subscribed by Tacitus himself in his own hand. It was a long time; a Custom to Register such Acts, as concerned the Crown, upon Tables of Ivory.

From the Assembly of the People, Tacitus next went to the Camp of the Guards; where having taken his Place upon a High Tribunal, *Mæsus Gallicanus* the Captain of the Guards, directed himself to the Soldiers in these words:

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My

His unwillingness to assume the Empire.

My very good Fellow-Soldiers, The Senate hath given you the Prince whom you desired. That most Noble House hath readily comply'd with the Will of the Camp. It is not for me to say more to you, in the presence of the Emperor himself. Therefore bear him, who is our Master, attentively, whilst he speaks to you.

Then Tacitus spoke thus:

When Trajan came to the Empire, it is true, he was pretty well in Years, and he was appointed by only one Person neither. But as for my self, in the first place, you my excellent Fellow-Soldiers, who know what Princes you do approve of, and in the next, the most Honourable the Senate hath adjudged me to this Place. It shall be my care, I will make it my endeavour and my business, to furnish you, if not with great Atchievements, yet at least with Counsels worthy of you and your Emperor.

He promised them a Bounty and their Pay, according to Custom; and the first Harangue which he made afterwards to the Senate, was this:

Fathers of the Senate, So let me ever in such a manner Govern the Empire, as that I may appear to owe my Election to you, by whose Advice and Authority I have resolved to do all things. You will therefore please to Command and to Enjoin me, what you think to be for the Common good of your

*your selves, the Army, and the People of Rome. He proceeded in the same Speech to tell them, That he resolved to set up a Statue of Aurelian in Gold in the Capitol, with others of Silver, in the House of the Senate, in the Temple of the Sun, and in the Forum of Trajan. These latter were accordingly Dedicated; but that of Gold was not. In the same Speech he provided, That if any Person publicly or privately adulterated Silver with Brass, or Gold with Silver, or Brass with Lead, it should be Capital, and loss of Estate. Also, that Slaves should not be Witnesses against the Lives of their Masters; no, not in Cases of Treason. He obliged all Persons to have Pictures of Aurelian. He order'd a Temple to be built, where they should set up the Statues of such of the Deified Emperors as Reigned well; and offer Sacrifices to them, upon their several Anniversaries, the Birth-day of the City of Rome, and the Calends of January. In the same Speech, he desired the Consulship for his Brother Florianus; but the Senate could not grant it; because all the Consuls, Ordinary and Extraordinary, that is, the Consuls for the whole Year and the Consuls for every two Months had been already appointed by the Senate. Tacitus was much pleased with the liberty which the Senate took to deny his Brother the Consulship, though himself had asked it; and said, *The Senate knows whom they have made their Prince.**

He turn'd his Estate, which was worth seven Millions of Crowns, over into the Exchequer; and the ready Money that he had

His public Acts
and Orders.

by him, he applied to the Pay of the Soldiers. He wore the same Cloaths as he did when he was a Private Man. He put down the Publick Bawdy-houses within the City of Rome; but this could not hold long. He order'd all the Baths to be shut up before Candle-light, for fear of Disturbances being committed in them in the Night. He acknowledg'd *Corn. Tacitus*, the Roman Historian, as his Relation, and commanded his Book to be set up in all the Libraries; and for the more careful preservation of it to Posterity, he order'd it every Year to be Copied over Ten times, and the Copies to be reposed in the Libraries and in the Cabinets of the Ingenious. He forbade all Men the wearing of Velvet. He pulled down his late Dwelling-House, and order'd a Publick Bath to be built in its place, at his proper expence. He gave a hundred Columns of the Numidian Marble, of three and twenty foot each, to the City of Ostia. The Possession which he had in *Mauritania*, he Assigned to the Repairs of the Capitol. His Table Plate of Silver, which he had used in his private Life, he dedicated to the services of the Feasts, made in the Temples. He granted an Enfranchisement to all his Slaves that he had at Rome, of both Sexes, under the Number of a Hundred; but no more, because he would not exceed the stint of the *Campanian* Law. He lived a very sober Life; never in a whole day drank a Quart of Wine, and many times not a Pint. One Pullet, a Swine's Cheek, and Eggs, sufficed for his Dinner, with an abundance of Herbs,

His moderate Diet.

Herbs, and especially Lettuces, in which he passionately indulged himself; because he said, that that was a profuseness which purchased him Sleep. He loved the bitterer Herbs; seldom Bathed, which I believe made him the stronger in his Old Age: Delighted extraordinarily in the curious-wrought Glasses, and the several sorts thereof, that are made in *Egypt*. His Breakfast was never any thing, but a piece of dry Bread seasoned with Salt, and the like. He was a great Master in Architecture. He loved fine Marble, and stately Buildings, and Hunting. In fine, his Table was Coarse, and presented you with no Rarities: Not with a Pheasant, unless it was upon the Birth-day of himself or some of his Relations, and upon extraordinary Holidays. The Sacrifices, which he had offered in the Temples, he always redemanded home, and order'd them to be eaten by his Family. He suffered his Wife to wear no Jewels: He forbade all the wearing of any Embroidery in Gold: For it was he, who had advised *Aurelian* to forbid the same, and to forbid the Gilding of Rooms, and the Gilding of Leather. It would be tedious to particularize in every thing concerning him, especially after *Suetonius Optatianus*, who hath written his Life at large. If any Person be so curious to know more, I refer him thither. As Old as he was, he read the least-written Hand to a Wonder; and he never intermitted a Night, but he either read or writ something, excepting the day after the Kalends of a Month, which he look'd upon as Unfortunate.

The great Joy of the Senate, to be re-possessed again of the Right of the Choice of the Emperor, was such as I cannot forbear to mention, nor is it scarce ever to be forgotten. They order'd Publick Processions to be made upon it, and every one promised to offer a Hecatomb: They writ of it to their Friends, and not only to their Friends, but to Strangers abroad; and into the Provinces, for all their Allies and all Nations to know, that Rome had now recovered its Antient State, and now the Senate chose the Emperor, and Reigned in a manner with him; and made the Laws; and the Kings of the Barbarians were to supplicate to the Senate, and War and Peace was to be Treated by the Authority of the Senate. Some of these sort of Letters, for the greater satisfaction, I will give you here, as follows:

The most Noble Senate of Rome to
the Magistracy of Carthage, sendeth
Greeting.

THE Rights of Conferring the Empire, and of Nominating and appointing our Prince, which we pray, that it may ever be Good, Happy, Fortunate and Wholesome to the Senate and the whole Dominion of Rome, is again returned to us. To us therefore direct the Reports, which you make of things of great moment. All Appeals arising from the Proconsuls, and other the ordinary Magistrates, are to be made to the Governour of the City

of Rome! Herein we believe, that also your Honourable Body hath regained its Antient Dignity: For this is the prime Order of things, which by being observed in its proper force, will preserve all the rest in their Rights.

The most Noble Senate of Rome to
the Council of the City of Trier.

AS you are and always have been a Free People, we do not doubt, but you are Happy. The Authority of Creating the Emperor is returned to the Senate: Together with which it is Decreed, that all Appeals shall be made to the Governour of the City of Rome.

In the same manner, they writ to the Cities of Antioch, Aquileia, Milan, Alexandria, Thessalonica, Corinth, and Athens: These were the Publick Letters. The following are Private ones, from particular Senators to their Friends.

Autronius Tiberianus to Autronius Justus,
his Father, wisheth Health.

My Good Father,

NOW it is for you to come to be present, and give your Suffrage in the Senate; its Authority being encreased to the degree, of which it was in the former Times. We now make our Princes, Name and Constitute our Emperors: Therefore pray

pray be careful to recover your Health and come, and bear a part with the Senate in its Antient Glory. The Right of Creating the Proconsuls, and ordering the Proconsular Provinces, is remitted to us; and the Appeals of all Magistrates and Officers are returned into the hands of the Governour of the City of Rome.

Claudius Capellianus to Cereius Mæcianus, his Uncle, wisheth Health.

WHAT we have always so much wished for, we have now gained, good Sir: The Senate is returned to its Antient State. We make our Princes, and dispose of the Governments of the Proconsular Provinces. Thanks to the Roman Army. They have shewn themselves truly Romans, and have restored to us the Power, which hath been ever our due. Leave Baja, and Pozzuoli, and your Retreat there. Come to the Town, come to the Senate; Rome Flourishes, and so does the whole State. We now appoint our Emperors. We make our Princes. We, who have begun to make them, can disallow them too. *A word to the Wise is enough.

It would be too long to adjoyn all the Letters of this kind, which I have seen and read. I only say this, that all the Senators were so elated with Joy for the return of their Antient Power, that in their Houses they all slew their Sacrifices, and exposed their Images, and clothed themselves in White, and Feasted, as if

if they thought, that the days of their happy Forefathers were revived upon them.

All the Murderers of *Aurelian*, as well the better, as the worse, after *Tacitus* was settled in the Empire, he made it his business to put to death; notwithstanding the baseness of that Murder had been already revenged in the Execution of *Mnestheus*, the chief contriver of it. The Barbarians on the side of the Lake *Mæotis*, in great numbers made an Eruption. But *Tacitus* partly by force, and other means, obliged them to retire.

In fine, the chief Glory of the Reign of *Tacitus* was in the manner of his Elevation. For the time that he lived afterwards being so short, what liberty had he for any thing that is Great? So that what *Cicero* says, *That it is more for our Honour, to have it told, how a Man hath managed a Consulship, than how he came by it*, it takes no place here. *Tacitus* dyed in the sixth Month of his Reign, some say of a Sickness; some, that he was killed by the Soldiers. It is certain, that he was oppressed with Factions, and this work'd much upon his Mind and Spirits.

He was both Born, and made Emperor in the Month of *September*: For which reason, he had a fancy to change the Name of that Month to his own. His Brother *Florianus* succeeded him.

He scarce gave the People of *Rome* a Largest in all his six Months. His Picture is drawn in five several Dresses, upon a Table in the House of the *Quintilii*; in a Gown, in a Vest, in Armour, in

Omens of
his Reign
and Death

in a Cloak, and in a Hunting Habit. The Presages of his Reign were these. In the Temple of *Sylvanus*, one in a Fit of Frenzy, in which the Priests delivered their Oracles, stretching out his Arms, cryed with all his force, *The Purple of Tacitus! The Purple of Tacitus!* seven times. A Vine, which used to bring forth white Grapes, the Year that he came to the Empire, began to bring forth Purple-colour'd Grapes: several other such things changed to that Colour. The Presages of his Death were, That his Father's Sepulchre flew open of itself; his Mother's Ghost appeared in the day-time, both to him and to *Florianus*, just as if she was Living. All the Gods in the Oratory of his House, whether by an Earthquake or some other accident, fell down: An Image of *Apollo*, which he and *Florianus* worshipped, was found laid upon the Bed, without any hand to put it there known. These are things that a great many mention: But I conclude this Life.

T H E

A. Christi
CCLXXVIII.

THE
EMPEROR
FLORIANUS.

By FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

There is but little to be said of this Prince more, than that being the Brother of the Emperor *Tacitus*, he after his death seized upon the Empire, not by the Authority of the Senate, but of his own Motion, as if the Empire was to go to him by Inheritance: though at the same time he knew, that his Brother was Conjur'd in the Senate, that when he dyed, he should not bequeath the Empire, no, not to his own Children.

Florianus had scarce held it two Months, but he was killed at the City of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, slain by his Soldiers; hearing that *Probus* was set up, and that all the Army had declared for him. Indeed *Probus* was so great a Man in the matter

ter of War, that as the Army had chose him, so the Senate wished for him, and the People of Rome made open Acclamations to have him.

Florianus, though he had otherwise much in him of the Temper of his Brother, was very different from him in this Ambition, and this Thirst for the Empire. He was profuse by sides, which his Thrifty Brother blamed in him. They both together reigned so short a time, that they look almost like two Interrexes, acting betwixt the Reigns of *Aurelian* and *Probus*. Their Statues were set up at *Terni*, in *Ombria*, in Marble, thirty Foot high; and likewise their Sepulchres did sometime stand there upon their own Grounds; but they were afterwards struck down with Thunder and Lightning, and shattered to pieces.

Commen-
dation of
Probus.

I come in the next place to *Probus*: a Prince, conspicuous at home and abroad; and in whom are united all those great Excellencies, which *Aurelian*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, the *Antonini*, *Alexander Severus*, and *Claudius*, divided amongst them. He came to the Empire with the concurrent Judgment of all Men of goodness. He governed it most happily. He extinguished the Barbarian Nations in their Incursions, together with divers Usurpers who would have set themselves up in his time. He was worthy of his Name: which the People would have imposed upon him, if it had not been his own by his Birth. Several say he was promised to the World in the Books of the *Sibyls*. Had he longer lived, he had left

no Barbarians on the Earth. This Taste of so great a Prince I give you here; lest as we are dayly, hourly, and every moment subject to the stroke of Fate, I may dye, before I can present you with his whole life: which I shall the less care now, if I do; because I have satisfied my Ambition, and my great Desire, thus far, to honour his Memory.

THE

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
PROBUS.

By FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

IT is very true, what the Historians *Sallust*, *Cato*, and *Gellius* have sometime said; that the Praises of all Men are altogether such, and so raised, as those please, who describeth their Actions to the World. Therefore *Alexander the Great* of *Macedon*, when he came one day, and saw the Sepulchre of *Achilles*, complained and said, *Happy Thou who hadst such a Herald to Proclaim thee!* Meaning *Homer*, who hath set out his Virtues

and



and formed his Character, with the utmost force of his Will. And who, at this time had ever known of the glory of *Pompey the Great*, and his three Triumphs for the War of the Pyrates, the War of *Sertorius*, and the War of *Mitridates*, and many other Actions which he did, that ennobled him, if *Tully* and *Livy* had not been his Historians to Record his Fame? The *Scipio's*, *Africanus*, *Nasica*, and all of that Noble Name, had been laid under a perpetual darkness, and for ever covered with oblivion, but for the Historians that have arisen to commend them. It would be tedious, neither need I mention all the Examples, that might be brought of this Nature, which every ones own observation will furnish him with. You will rather ask me perhaps, my dear *Celsus*, why do I take notice of this here? It is truly, because I see here a Prince, who though the East, West, North and South obeyed his Empire, and all the parts of the World were reduced into an entire repose by him; and though neither the Punick Wars, nor *Gallia*, nor *Pontus*, nor *Spain* have produced his equal, yet his History being unfortunately perished, he is in a manner unknown for want of Writers to perpetuate him. This however I am not willing to see, without contributing my Service to redress it; and therefore having to my power, as I was desired, finished the Life of *Aurelian*, and to that added those others of *Tacitus* and *Florianus*, I shall not be silent upon the Actions of so great a Prince as *Probus*; and if my life serves me, I

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will

will also carry on the History, as far as to *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*: not that I pretend to Eloquence, but only matter of Fact, which I cannot suffer to perish. The Books that I make use of to this purpose, that I may not in any thing appear to impose upon a friendship which is so dear to me, Sir, as yours, are those especially in the Library of *Trajan*, which is lodged at present in the Baths of *Dioclesian*, and the *Thiberian* Library. Together with which, I have consulted the Registers of the Scribes of the Porphyry Gallery, and the Acts of the People and the Senate. And because in the Collecting the History of so great a Prince, the Journal of *Turdulus Gallicanus* hath very much assisted me, I ought not to be silent of the obligation which I have to the friendship of that very good and worthy Person. All therefore that I would declare upon the whole, is this; that it is the matter of Fact only which I write; which if any one pleases to set out in a Higher, and a more Eloquent Style afterwards, he is welcome. For it hath not been my design to imitate *Salust*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, or any of those most Eloquent Historians; but *Marinus Maximus*, *Suetonius Tranquillus*, *Fabius Marcellinus*, *Gargilius Martialis*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Alius Lampridius*, and others who have written upon these sort of things, not to say, so Eloquently, as with a great deal of Truth. For it is my Curiosity to bring to light the Truth of many unknown and hidden matters concerning our Emperors; incited by your example, who the more you know,

know, the more still you desire to know of them.

Without further Preface then, this great and famous Prince *Probus*, who hath scarce his equal, in the Roman History, was born at the City of *Sirmish* in *Sclavonia*, or the Lower *Pannonia*. His Father was not of so good Quality as his Mother was. His Estate was indifferent; Affinity not great; however as well in his private Life, as after he was Emperor, he made his Noble Actions speak for him. Some say, his Father's name was *Maximus*; who after he had served very well in the Office of a Centurion; rise to be a Tribune, and died in *Egypt*, leaving a Wife, a Daughter, and this Son. There is one Greek Author, who says, that *Probus* was a Relation of the Emperor *Claudius*, who was a most Excellent and most Noble Prince: which may perhaps be the more Credited, because I find in the Journal of *Turdulus Gallicanus*, that after his death he was buried by *Claudia*, who was the Daughter of *Crispus*, who was the Brother of *Claudius*. But I leave this to the Reader.

Probus signalized himself so in his Youth, and was so agreeable in his Person and Manners, that the Emperor *Valerian* early conferred upon him a Legion, when he was in a manner Beardless. The same Emperor in a Letter to *Gallienus*, proposes him to the imitation of all the Youth: by which, by the way, one may take notice, that no Man becomes very great in his Age, but who lays down a good Foundation for it in his first years; and

Probus's Birth, place and Parentage.

How esteemed by Valerian.

then gathers within himself those Seeds, which afterwards produce the Fruit of Great Actions.

The Emperor *Valerian* the Father, to the Emperor *Gallienus*, the Son.

HAVING always had a good Opinion of *Probus*, as young as he is I have made him a Tribune, following therein both my own Judgement, and that of all others; who say he is worthy of his Name; that is, as *Probus* is his Name, so *Probity* is his Nature and Character. I have given him the Command of Six Cohorts of the *Saracens*, together with the Troops of the *Auxiliary Gauls*, and that Body of *Persians* which *Artabassus* the *Syrian* hath submitted to us. I desire you, my dearest Son, that as I would have this Youth to be the Example for all Young Persons to imitate, you would take that care of him, and receive him with that respect which his Virtue, his Merits, and the Splendour of his Natural Parts do deserve.

The Emperor *Valerian*, to *Mulvius Gallicanus* the Captain of the Guards.

YOU may wonder perhaps, That I have made a *Beardless Youth* a Tribune, contrary to the Constitution of the Emperor *Hadrian*. But you will soon Cease to do so, if you consider what a truly deserving Youth *Probus* is. I never think of him, but I compare together his Name and his Qualities; they do so justifie one another. If it had not been his name, he might have been entitled *Probus*, because of the *Probity* of his Temper and Actions. You will therefore order that there be given him, being but of an indifferent Fortune, to make up the Occasions of his Station, two *Russet Tunicks*, two *French Robes* with Clasps, two *Linen Jerkins*, one Vessel of *Silver* of ten pound weight *Ingraved*; one hundred *Antonine's* in *Gold*, one thousand *Aurelian's* in *Silver*, and ten thousand *Philips* in *Brass*. And for his ordinary Pension, ten Pound of *Beef*, ten Pound of *Pork*, ten Pound of the *Flesh* of the *Goat*, a *Pullet* every two days, one *Quart* of *Oil* every two days, ten *Quarts* of *Old Wine* every day, with *Salt*, *Herbs*, and *Wood*, as much as he wants. You shall withal order him the same Quarters, as to the *Tribunes* of the *Standing Legions*.

Premi-
ums given
him.

In the War against the *Sarmatae*, in which he was a Tribune, he passed the *Danube*, and acted with so much bravery so many things, that he was publickly in a Council of War presented with four Spears; two Crowns, in the form of a Trench; (being of that sort which are given to such as first enter the Enemies Camp;) one Civick Crown, four Standards, two Bracelets of Gold, a Chain of Gold, and one Piece of Plate of the weight of five Pound. The Civick Crown was given him because he retook out of the Hands of the *Quadi*, a Noble Youth, called *Valerius Flaccinus*, who was a Relation of the Emperor *Valerian*. These *Premiums* were all delivered to him, by *Valerian* himself, who at the same time raised him to the Command of the Third Legion, with this Elogium.

My well beloved *Probus*,

THough it may seem Early, in respect of your Age, that I prefer you to a Command in the Standing Forces of the Empire, yet in respect of the Actions done by you, I may rather be thought to have made it later, than I ought. Receive therefore into your Trust, the Third Noble Legion, which I have never given before but to a Person of more years, and my self was in Gray Hairs, when I first was preferred to it. But Age is a thing I have no reason to wait for in you, whose Bravery is so shining, and your Manners so Charming. I have ordered three Suits of Cloaths to be given you; doubled your Pay, and appointed you Standard-Bearer.

It would be too long a Work, to run through the several Actions of this Great Man in the Reigns of *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, *Aurelian*, and *Claudius*, whilst he was yet in a private Capacity. How often he Scaled the Walls, entered the Enemies Trenches; how many of them he hath killed Hand to Hand, what Presents he received from the Princes, his Masters, and how he laboured by his Service to promote the good of the State. A Letter of *Gallienus* speaks thus of him.

The Emperor *Gallienus* to the Tribunes of the Forces, of the Province of *Illyricum*.

ALthough the Fatal Necessity of the Persian War hath concluded my Father a Prisoner in the Hands of the Enemy, yet I have a Kinsman, *Aurelius Probus*, in whose Services I can confide with security: That never to be named Tyrant, had never usurped upon the Empire, if *Probus* had been Present. Wherefore I desire you all to obey the Counsels of a Man, who is approved by the Judgement of both my Father, and the Senate.

Now though *Gallienus* was a soft Prince, which may seem to lessen the Authority of what he says; yet it cannot be denied, but that a Prince be never so soft, he will not how-

ever trust himself, but to one, whom he knows to be very well qualified to serve him. But though we should set aside the Testimony of *Gallienus*, what is to be said to that of *Aurelian*, who delivered over his own, which was the Tenth, and of all the bravest Legion in the Army, with whom he had done such great things himself unto *Probus*, with this Elogium of him.

The Emperor *Aurelian* to *Probus*, wistheth Health.

THAT you may know, how great an account I make of you, I give into your Hands my Tenth Legion, which was given to me by the Emperor *Claudius*. They are Men, who by a certain Prerogative of Happiness are not accustomed to have other Commanders, than what afterwards are Emperors.

By this one would conclude, that it was in the mind of *Aurelian*, if he had died his own death, and had not been killed as he was by surprize, to have made choice of *Probus* for his Successour in the Empire too, as well as in his Legion.

Now it would be tedious to adjoyn to this the judgments of the Emperors *Claudius* and *Tacitus*. The latter, it is said, in the Senate when the Empire was offered to him, declared, that it ought rather to be given to

Probus:

Probus: and the first Letter, which after he was Emperor, he sent to *Probus*, was this.

The Emperor *Tacitus* to *Probus*.

THE Senate bath indeed, with the good will and consent of the Army, made me the Emperor. But however you are to think, that as we all know, and the Senate knows your Worth and Abilities, the Burden of the Publick Affairs would have been better reposed upon your Shoulders than mine. Assist me in my Necessities, and continue as you do to Assert the Interest of the State. All the East is by our order reposed under your Government: wherefore we have encreased your Salary to five times as much as it was; we have doubled your Military Ornaments; and appointed you to be the Consul the next year in Conjunction with my self. Your Merits call for no less at my Hands.

The love of the Soldiers towards *Probus* was always very great; he again loved them, and kept them in their Duty, purely by his kindness to them. He oftentimes had rescued them from the great Cruelty of *Aurelian*: he visited the several Maniples, and examined their Cloaths and their Shooes; and whatever Booty was at any time taken, he divided it all amongst them, and reserved nothing to himself, but the Darts and the Arms. Amongst other things, whether taken from the *Alans*, or some other of those Barbarians I know not; but

but there was a Horse, which was neither Handsome nor Large, but the Prisoners said, that he was so good a Runner, that he would go a hundred Miles a day, and continue it for eight or ten days together. Every one thought that *Probus* would have kept this Beast to himself; but *Probus* said, that such a Horse was fitter for one that was for running away, than a brave Man. He ordered the Soldiers to draw Lots for Him. They writ their Names and put them all into an Urn. Four that were in the Army; were of the same Name with himself. But he, for his part, put in no Name. They drew, and the first Name that came up was, *Probus*. The four Soldiers of the Name of *Probus* not agreeing to which of them the Horse should go, because each Challenged the Lot, he ordered all the Army to draw again: the Lot that came up the second time was *Probus* again, and so it was a third time, and a fourth time. Which was so strange, that all the Army, together with those of that Name who had drawn the Lots, Dedicated the Horse to their Commander *Probus*.

His Va-
tour.

Probus did great things in *Africa*. He bravely engaged and overcame the *Marmaricans*. He came to the City of *Carthage*, and cleared that of the Rebels. He fought a single Combat with one *Aradion* in *Africa*, and slew him; and when he had done, because *Aradion* was an extraordinary Stout and Resolute Man, he honoured him with a great Sepulchre, which is extant yet, two hundred Foot high from the Ground, built by the Soldiers;

diers; for those he never suffered to be idle. There are of his Works in several Cities of *Egypt*, which he built by his Soldiers. He did so many things upon the River of *Nile*, that he much promoted the Affairs of the *Corn*, which is Imported into *Italy* in Tribute yearly from *Egypt*. He built Bridges, Temples, Portico's, Basilica's, by the Hands of his Soldiers. He opened the Mouths of Rivers in many places, and drained several Fens, which he fitted for Tillage and Pasture. He Fought the *Palmyreni*, who in the behalf of *Odenatus* and *Zenobia* defended *Egypt* against the Empire. The first time he came off with Success. The second time, he was a little Ralh, and was near being taken. But afterwards recovering his Strength, he reduced *Egypt* and the greatest part of the East, unto the Obedience of *Aurelian*. Since therefore upon the account of so many and so great Virtues, he shined in the Eyes of the Empire, at the time of the death of *Tacitus*, though *Florianus* immediately pretended to succeed his Brother, yet all the Oriental Army declared *Probus* Emperor.

The manner of his Elevation may be something pleasant, which was thus. When the News came of the death of *Tacitus*, the Forces in the East were for preventing those in *Italy*, and also for preventing the Senate's making the Emperor a second time. The Question was, whom they should pitch upon. The Tribunes went about the Camp, and discoursed the Soldiers, Maniple by Maniple, and Battalion

His Ele-
vation to
the Em-
pire.

talion by Battalion; Saying, we must have one, who is a Man of Courage, Goodness, Modesty, Clemency, and Probity. Probity to be sure, brought up the Rear of all the Virtues, which they desired to find in him; till repeating the same so often, the whole Army took the Hint, and unanimously, as if they were Inspired to it, cryed a *Probus*. We Salute *Probus* our Sovereign; the Gods save your Majesty. Then they ran and erected a Tribunal of Turf, and took *Probus* and proclaimed him Emperor, and put upon him a Cloth of Purple, which was taken for the purpose from off a Statue in the Temple, and from thence they carried him to the Palace; he all the while moving against his will, and drawing back, and often saying to them. Gentlemen, *This is not Convenient for your selves. You will not do well under me. I cannot flatter with you.*

Unwilling to take it up on him.

The first Letter, which he afterwards sent to *Capito*, the Captain of the Guards, was this.

AS I have never Coveted the Empire, so I have taken it upon me against my will. It is a most Invidious thing; and yet it is not free for me to help my self. I must Act the Person, that the Army hath imposed upon me. I beseech you, *Capito*, enjoy, as you do, with me the share, and the Command that you have, in the Interests of the State; and provide Convoys and Provisions, and whatever is necessary every where for the Soldiers. I, for my part, if you take the care, that all things be done well, shall be

glad

glad to have no other Captain of the Guards, than you.

The Guards therefore, and the Army in Italy, hearing of the Elevation of *Probus*, than whom they knew, that no Person was more deserving, they killed *Florianus*, who had pretended to take upon him the Crown, as it were by Inheritance; and without more Disturbance the whole Empire was deferred to him, by the consent of both the Soldiery and the Senate. For to the latter *Probus* sent the following Harangue, which they answered with all the marks possible of Joy and Approbation.

Florianus slain.

Fathers of the Senate,

IT was very well, and very regularly done the last Year, that the Roman Emperor was created by your Excellencies, and out of your own Body, who both are, and always have been, and will in your Posterity ever be the Sovereigns of the World. I wish that *Florianus* had waited for the same again from you; and that he had not Challenged to himself the Empire, as if it was his Inheritance; or, that he or any other Person had been exalted to it by you. But he having seized it on his own Head, and the Army having deferred it to us, and punished upon him an attempt in which he did Usurp, I refer my self wholly to the Commands of your Excellencies to judge of my Deservings, and to do with me as you please.

The

The Senate being met upon the third day of the Nones of February, in the Temple of Concord, passed the Act in the favour of Probus, in this manner.

The Consul *Alius Scorpianus*, said to them. Gentlemen, You have heard the Letter of *Aurelius Valerius Probus*. What say you to it.

They cried, *The Gods save the Emperor Probus. We welcome his Majesty to the Crown. You have been long a worthy, Brave, Just, and Good Commander and General. As you are an Example to the Army, be an Example to the Empire. The Gods save you. Reign in Happiness; an Assistant of the State, and a Master of War, Reign in Happiness. The Gods preserve you and yours. The Senate had already Chosen you in their minds. You come after Tacitus in respect to the Age which you are of; but you are before all in all things else. We thank you, that you have undertaken the Empire. Defend us, defend it. We may well commit our selves to you, who have already preserved us. A Conqueror of the Franks, Goths, Sarmathians, Parthians: you are all things, and always have been worthy of the Empire, worthy of Triumphs. Proceed and Reign in all Happiness.*

Then

Then *Manlius Stilianus*, who was the eldest Senator, spoke thus.

Fathers of the Senate,

THanks to the Immortal Gods, and above the rest to the most excellent Jupiter, who hath given us such a Prince, as we have ever wisht to enjoy. If we consider it well, we have no want now of either Aurelian, or Alexander Severus, or the Antoninusses or Trajan, or Claudius. We have all things, and all their Virtues in this one Prince. The knowledge of War, Clemency, a good Life, an exemplar of a Patriot, and Bravery to the highest Perfection. What part of the World is there, to which he hath not made known his Victorious Arms? witness the Marmoricans in Africk, vanquished by him; witness the Franks, whom he hath overthrown in their own unpassable Fens; witness the Germans and the Almaines; whom how far hath he repulsed from the Banks of the Rhine? What shall I say more of the Sarmatians, the Goths, the Parthians, and all the Country upon the Euxine? Every where do the Trophies of the Valour of Probus flourish. It would be too long to tell how many Kings of great Nations hath he put to flight? What Captains hath he killed with his own hand? What numbers of Arms hath he taken in his time? The Letters of our Emperors which are upon the Records, shew what Publick thanks, he hath received from all those for his signal Services. My good Gods! How many times hath he been crowned with the Military rewards? What Elogiums hath he had from the Soldiers? Whilst

Whilst he was but a Youth, he was a Tribune of the Auxiliaries; and not long after, he was made the same in the Roman Legions. Wherefore, thou most excellent and most powerful Jupiter, and Juno the Queen, and thou Minerva the President of Arts, and thou the Goddess Concord, and the Goddess Victory, grant ye this Favour to the Senate and People of Rome, to our Allies, and to Foreign Nations, that Probus may Reign as Happily, as he hath served. I, Gentlemen, with all your Consents, do Decree to him the Style and Title of our Cæsar and our Emperor; and I add thereto the Proconsular Power, the Honour of the Title of Father of our Country, the Sovereign Pontificate, the right of a third Reference, and the Tribunitian Power. They cried, We all, all, say the same; and so the House rose.

Probus having received this Act of the Senate, sent a second Letter to them; by which he permitted them to Judge of Appeals; to Create the Proconsuls; to Create Lieutenants with Consular Power, over Legatorian Provinces; and Presidents with the Power of Prætors; to Confirm and Consecrate by their Decrees, the Acts which he thought fit to make himself. Then he by several ways punished as many as were yet alive, of the Murderers of *Aurelian*; and yet he did it with more Tenderness, and more Moderation, than either the Army, or *Tacitus* had done before. He punished also those who had been the Murderers of *Tacitus*. He pardoned the Accomplices of *Florianus*; because he thought, because he thought that they

they followed him not as an Usurper, but as their last Princes Brother. He accepted the Obedience of all the European Forces, that had made *Florianus* Emperor, and killed him when they had done. In the next place he set out with a Puissant Army for *Gallia*; which first fell into Confusion upon the Death of *Posthumius*; but was over-run with the Germans since the death of *Aurelian*. He fought there several great and happy Battels; insomuch that he recovered sixty Noble Cities which were fallen into the Hands of the Barbarians: He retook all the Prey beside, and all the Riches which they had sucked out of the People, and vaunted themselves insolently in: he slew of them, whilst they were roaring up and down the Country in security, as far as to the Borders of *Italy*, nigh four hundred thousand, and the remainder he drove beyond the Rivers of *Elbe* and *Necker*. He took as much Booty from them, as they had before taken from the Romans; besides which he planted Roman Colonies and Garrisons on the Barbarian Soil, and placed his Soldiers upon them. He assigned Fields, Barns, Houses and Magazines for all the Forces, which he fixt on the other side of the *Rhine*: Heads of the Barbarians were daily brought to him at the Price of a Crown of Gold a Head: nor did he forbear his Pursuit of them, till Nine of their Petty Kings of several Nations came, and threw themselves at his Feet: from whom he first demanded Hostages, which were presently given: *thert Corn; Cattel and Sheep*; some say, he

Probus his Successes against the Barbarians.

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com-

commanded them, not to use a Sword again, but to expect the defence of the Roman Arms, in case they were attack'd by any Enemy. But this is so hard, that I think it cannot be; unless the Conquests of the Romans had been more extended, and all Germany had been reduced into a Province. However he severely punished such with the consent of those Roy-
 telets themselves, as continued to keep back any of the Spoil, which they had taken upon the Roman Provinces, and did not faithfully return it. He accepted of a Draught of sixteen thousand Young and Fresh Men out of the Forces of these Barbarians; which he dispersed into several Provinces of the Empire, and inserted them into the Legions, and into the Garrisons upon the Frontiers, by about fifty or sixty in a Legion; saying, *That though it is good for the Romans to serve themselves of the assistances of the Barbarians, yet that assistance ought rather to be felt, than seen.* So having settled the State of Gallia, he sent the following Letter to the Senate.

Fathers of the Senate,

I Give thanks to the Immortal Gods, that they have approved and justified your Judgements, in your Choise of me: all that broad and extended Country of Germany is subjugated. Nine Kings of the several Nations have in the humblest manner cast themselves at my Feet. Nay rather, I should say, it is at your Feet. They all now Plow, and Sow for you; and they fight for you against the rest of your Enemies. You will therefore ap-
 point

point the Processions and Thanksgivings to the Gods as usual. Four hundred thousand of the Enemy are slain; and sixteen thousand others, with their Arms, are come into our Service. Sixty Noble Cities are recovered out of the Slavery of the Enemy, and all Gallia is entirely set at Liberty. The Crowns of Gold, which all the Cities of Gallia have presented me with upon this occasion, I have remitted to you, my Fathers, to be by your Hands Consecrated to the most Excellent, and most mighty Jupiter, and the rest of the Immortal Gods and Goddesses. All the Spoil, which they had taken from us, is retaken, and a great deal more and better to it. The Fields of Gallia are plowed with the Cattle of the Barbarians, and the German Beasts yield their Captive Necks to our Yokes. All their Sheep graze now upon our Pasture, and their Horse are with our Horse, and our Barns are full with their Corn. What shall I say more? If we have left the bare Soil perhaps, it is all: their Goods are all in our Possession. We have been sometime thinking, my Fathers, to appoint a new President of Germany. But we have deferred it, as yet to another opportunity, when the Divine Providence shall still further have prospered our Arms.

From Gallia, he went into Illyricum. In his way to which he so secured and established the Peace of Rhetia, as not to leave the least suspicion of any Danger from thence. In Illyricum, he so severely beat the Sarmatians, and others who had thrust themselves in there, that he easily recovered all the Places and Spoil, which
 His Con-
 quest of
 the Sar-
 matians.

which they possessed, without almost making more War. He carried his Arms into *Thrace* and *Dacia*: where all that *Gothick* People, affrighted with only the Fame of his Actions, and seeing the antient Power of the Empire revived in him, submitted to him, and became his Friends. Then he went into the East, he took and slew, in his way, a Robber, of great Power, called *Palfrurius*; which was a means of the recovery of all the Province of *Isauria* in the *Lesser Asia*, to the Obedience of the Laws of the *Romans*. He entred either by force or friendship into the Places possessed by the Barbarians in that Province; and when he had done, he said, it was a Country in which, it was easier to drive the Robbers that infested it, from one place to another, than to extirpate them, and to rid the Country of them. All the Avenues and Straights he gave to be enjoyed and inhabited by Veterans, and Superannuated Soldiers, under a Law, that they should send their Sons to the War at the Age of Eighteen, lest they take to be Robbers, before they come to be Soldiers.

His Eastern Expedition.

He reduced unto a peaceable subjection all the parts of *Pamphylia*, and the other Provinces adjoining to *Isauria*, and so followed his Journey into the East. He Conquered the *Blemmyæ*, of whom he sent some Prisoners to Rome, who were a wonderful Spectacle and an Admiration there to all the People. The Cities of *Coptos* and *Ptolemais* in *Egypt* he took, and delivered them from the Barbarian Yoak, and adjoyned them to the Empire. The Fame

whereof

whereof wrought so upon the *Persians*, that they sent Embassadors to him, confessing the fears which they conceived of his Arms, and desiring a Peace. He received those Embassadors very proudly, and sent them home with worse thoughts than they came. He refused the Presents, which they brought him from the King their Master, and writ thereupon this Letter to *Narsens*, the Governor of *Armenia*, for the King of *Persia*.

ALL that you have, will be mine; I wonder therefore, that you should think to gratify me with such a Handful of things. You may please to take to your self again, what you so much delight in: when we would have them, we know how we ought to possess our selves of them.

This Letter was a matter of great Consternation to *Narsens*, especially as it was accompanied with the News of the taking of the Cities of *Coptos* and *Ptolemais* from the *Blemmyæ*, and the putting those People to the Slaughter; who before had made themselves a Terror to all their Neighbours.

After the Peace of *Persia*, *Probus* returned again into *Thrace*; where, upon the Lands of the *Roman* Empire he planted one hundred thousand of the *Bastarnæ*, who all kept their Faith with him: but others of the Barbarian Nations, of whom he transplanted great numbers in like manner, that is, of the *Gepidi*, the *Grothungi*, and the *Vandals*, all these broke their

U 3

Faith,

Faith, and whilst *Probus* was imployed in the Wars with *Saturninus*, and those who pretended to Usurp the Empire from him, they rose, and found a means to over-run almost all parts, by Sea or Land, to the trouble and the dishonour of the *Roman* Name; till *Probus* at length by several turns set upon them, overcame them, and oppressed them, and left to few of them the happiness of getting home in safety.

These were his Actions with the Barbarians. His other Troubles were such, as he suffered from the attempts of particular ambitious Subjects, who were for setting themselves up for the Empire: one of whom was *Saturninus*, who usurped the Empire of the East, and who engaged *Probus* in several Battles; till *Probus* by his known Gallantry overcame him, and with the same Conquest established such a firm Peace in the East, that not a Mouse dared to stir more there. The others who pretended to the Empire in like manner, were *Proculus* and *Bonofus* at the City of *Cologne*; who challenged to themselves all the Provinces of *Britain*, *Spain*, and *Gallia*. But the *Germans* refused to assist them in their Enterprize. The Arms of *Probus* prevailed over both these, of whom, as also of *Saturninus* and *Firmus*, a more particular account will follow afterwards by themselves. After this, *Probus* permitted to all *Gallia*, *Spain*, and *Pannonia*, the liberty of Planting Vines, and making Wine: he set his own Soldiers upon digging the Mountain *Almus*, which is by the City *Sirminum*.

Sirminum in the *Lower Pannonia*, and he planted it himself with an excellent Grape.

Coming to *Rome*, he entertained the People there with the Publick Games and Pastimes in a manner which was very magnificent; besides the Largesses, which he gave amongst them. He Celebrated a Triumph for his Conquest of the *Blemmyæ*, and the *Germans* in which he had Troops, to the number of fifty in a Troop, of Men of all Nations that marched before him. He gave an Entertainment of a Chase of Beasts in the Cirque, which was very Generous. The People first Hunted, and then shared the Beasts amongst them. The manner of it was thus; the whole Cirque was turned into the nature of a Forest. Great Trees pulled up by the Roots by the Soldiers, were Planted up and down, on Beams covered with Earth, the Trees green and fresh; and then by the several Passages which opened into the Cirque, entred a thousand Ostriches, a thousand Stags, a thousand Boars, a thousand Deer, Evecks, wild Sheep, and other Herbatick Animals of as many kinds as could be had; all which the Populace being let in upon them, encountred, and killed, and took every one what they could. Another day he caused a hundred great Lions to enter into the Cirque at once, who raised a sort of Thunder with their Roaring. All these were killed upon the place, and in these Encounters many of the Men, that fought with the Beasts, by accident have killed one another. Then came forth a hundred *Likyan* Leopards, a hundred other

His Return to Rome.

other *Syrian* Leopards, a hundred Lionesses, and three hundred Bears; the sight of all which was not to be said so grateful, as it was great. Next appeared three hundred couple of Gladiators, amongst which were several of the *Blemmyæ*, who had been led in Triumph, several *Germans* and *Sarmatians*, and some also of the Robbers that had been taken and brought out of the Province of *Isauria*.

His Death
and the
Occasion.

After these things, as *Probus* was preparing for a War with *Persia*, and was come, on his way, as far as to the City *Sirmium* in *Sclavonia*, the Soldiers plotted together and killed him. The occasions whereof were these. First because he never suffered them to lie idle: for he employed them upon many other Works, besides those of the War, which he finished by their Hands; and said, that Soldiers ought not to eat the Bread of the Country for nothing. The next thing was, that he said, that he hoped in a short time he would make it so, that the State should have no need of Soldiers. Which is a great saying, and expresses an extraordinary force of Spirit. *Have no more need of Soldiers!* Why, what is it but to say, that the *Romans* shall universally Reign and Possess all things in safety? Secure of the whole Earth for their Empire, there shall be no more of making Arms, nor gathering Magazines, nor Convoying Provisions; the Ox shall be kept for the use of the Plow, and the Horse for the Services of Peace; an Universal Peace! There shall be no more Wars, no leading

leading into Captivity; the Laws of the *Romans* and their Magistrates shall every where prevail in vigour. My Affection to so excellent an Emperor would Transport me further, than the Quality of the Style in which I write, does require or permit. But I shall only add a third thing, which above all hastened the Fatal End of this Great Man. When he came to *Sirmium*, desiring to Fructifie and to Dilate the Borders of the place of his Nativity, he set several thousands of his Soldiers upon the draining a Fen; which was to be done by making a great Foss to receive the Waters, and exonerate them by an Out-let into the Sea; and so the Ground might become of use to the People of *Sirmium*. The Fatigue of this Piece of Work so enraged the Soldiers, that they assaulted him; and as he fled for safety into an Iron Tower, which himself had built there for a Watch-Tower very high, they killed him in the fifth year of his Reign: however afterwards the Army unanimously built him a lofty Sepulchre, whereon in Marble was Inscribed this Inscription: *Here lies the Emperor Probus; who was a Prince of true Probity, according to his Name. The Conqueror of all the Barbarian Nations, and the Conqueror of the Pretenders to the Empire in his time.*

When I compare the Emperor *Probus* with others of the *Roman* Princes his Predecessors, and almost with all our Great Captains of the former time, whose Fortitude; whose Clemency; whose Prudence; whose extraordinary Actions have signalized them to Posterity.

I am

I am apt to think that this Person was equal to them, or if I may speak it without envy, he excelled them. In the five years of his Reign, he finished so many Wars, in so many several parts of the World, and all in his own Person, that it is a wonderful thing, which way he rendered himself sufficient for all those occasions. He did many Valiant Actions in Battle with his own Hand. He formed several famous Commanders. *Carus, Dioclesian, Constantius, Asclepiodorus, Annibalian, Leonides, Ciceronius, Pisonianus, Herennian, Gaudiosus, Ursinian, Herculus, Maximian*, and others whom our Fathers have admired, and of whom some have since approved themselves good Princes upon the Throne, were All formed by the Discipline of *Probus*. Now let any one, who pleases, compare with this the twenty years of the Reigns of *Trajan* and *Hadrian*: let him compare as many of the *Antoninusses*; or what shall I say, of the Emperor *Augustus*, because the years of his Reign are scarce very well determined? Not to mention all such as have been ill Princes! That famous Expression alone of *Probus*, That in a short time there should be no need of Soldiers, shews his vast design, and what he hoped to have been able to effect. He feared neither the Barbarians abroad, nor Usurpers at home; he was assured of his own Conscience. And to what a happiness had we all arrived, if he had lived to make good his words? to have seen all the Provinces free from Taxes, no Army to pay, the Roman Treasures abiding Eternal and unexhaustible, nothing

nothing spent by the Prince, nothing taken upon the Subject! Certainly it would have been a golden Age. We had had no more to do with Camps: no more of the noise of Arms, nor of the Hammering them: The Soldiers that now disquiet the State with Civil-War, would have Cultivated the Fields or followed Navigation, or sought their Employ in the Arts, and no more blood shed! Ye good Gods, in what hath the Roman State offended you so, that have taken from us such an Excellent Prince. We now run upon Civil-Wars, and Arm Brother against Brother, and the Son against the Father: but well have our Emperors done to Consecrate *Probus* a God, and set up his Image in the Temples, and to Celebrate him in the Procession to the Games of the Cirque.

The Posterity of *Probus*, to avoid Odium or Envy, retired from Rome and Publick Business, and placed themselves about the City *Verona*, and the Lakes *di Garda* and *Como*, and those parts. I cannot omit to observe, that when an Image of *Probus* at *Verona* was so struck with Lightning, that the Robe, in which he was done, changed its Colour, the Soothsayers answered thereupon, that those of his Family should be all of them one day of great Note in the Senate, and come to be raised unto the highest Honours: which may perhaps hereafter be; but we see nothing of it as yet.

The Senate received the News of the death of *Probus* with great displeasure, and so did the People. But when they heard of the Succession

sion of *Carus* in his place, who though he was a good Man, was far distant however from the Merits of *Probus*, and had a Son beside, (*Carinus*) that had always lived ill; both the Senate and the People were struck with a horror; because they apprehended the humour of the Father a little; but his wicked Heir much worse.

This is what we have met with, and have thought worthy to be committed to future Memory, concerning *Probus*. It remains, that we give next a short, but a distinct account of *Firmus*, *Saturninus*, *Bonofus*, and *Proculus*. Because it was not fit to mix those four Pretenders to the Empire, together with the account of this good Prince. Afterwards, if my Life serves me, I may undertake the History of *Carus* and his Son.

THE

F I R M U S.

IT is very seldom I know, that we find, that any particular Account is given of such Petit Emperors, as Usurping that Name, have set up themselves in vain against the Received Prince, in some parts or other of the *Roman* Empire. The most that is done is to touch lightly upon them in a word, *en Passant*, after the manner with which *Suetonius Tranquillus* contents himself, who is a very Correct and very Candid Writer, in relation to *Antoninus* and *Vindex*. Nor do I admire at this in such an Historian as *Suetonius*, to whom it was familiar, to love Brevity. But why *Marius Maximus*, who is the most Verbose of all Men, and who hath not forbore to embarrass himself with tedious Accounts of things, and to descend even to Fictions and Fables, to fill up his History; why he hath not been more particular than he is, in his Descriptions of *Avidius Cassius*, *Claudius Albinus*, and *Pescennius Niger*, who pretended to the Empire, the first against the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, the others against *Septimius Severus*, I do not understand? On the contrary, *Trebellius Pollio* hath thought fit to be so diligent and so careful in his Collections

lections as to those Princes, whether Good or Bad, undertaken by him, that he hath laid together a separate History of Thirty Pretenders to the Empire, who set up themselves in, or much about the Times of the Emperors *Galienus* and *Valerian*. And in imitation of his Example, since I have already passed through the Trouble of the Reigns of *Aurelian*, *Tacitus*, *Florianus*, and that great and singular Prince *Probus*, I am very willing before I proceed to those of *Carm*, *Numerian*, and *Carinus*, who succeeded the next to the Empire, not to omit to say something of *Firmus*, *Saturninus*, *Proculus*, and *Bonofus*, who set up themselves in the time of the Emperors *Probus* and *Aurelian*.

You know, my dear *Bassus*, what a Dispute we lately had with one, who is a great lover of History, that is, *M. Fonteius*; when he said, that *Firmus*, who possessed himself of *Egypt* in the time of *Aurelian*, was a Robber and not a Prince. Against which, I, together with me *Rufus Celsus*, *Cejontus Julianus*, *Fabius Sossianus*, and *Severus Archontius*, affirmed, that *Firmus* did both actually wear the Purple, as a Prince, and had a Coin stamped in his Name, whereof some Pieces were produced, and also by the *Grecian* and the *Egyptian* Writings it appears, that in the Edicts which he published, he is remarked by the Title of Emperor. The only Reason which *Fonteius* had to offer against this, was; That *Aurelian* did not say in his Edict, speaking of *Firmus*, that he had killed a Tyrant or a Pseudo-Emperor, but that he had deliver'd the State of a Robber. As if it could be

be expected, that so Renowned a Prince as *Aurelian* should have given him any better Name. Or, as if all great Princes did not call those Robbers, who Invade their Crowns, and are beaten besides in the Attempt. Not but that, I remember very well, that in the Life of *Aurelian*, I have represented *Firmus*, as one, who did not pretend to the Purple, as an Emperor. For I must confess, that when I writ that, it was, because I had not then the knowledge of all the things concerning him, which I have attained to since. But to be short;

Firmus was a Native of the City of *Seleucia*. Several *Grecian* Writers do give him to another place indeed; but that is a mistake, into which they are led by this, that there are three at the same time of the same Name of *Firmus*; whereof one was the Governour of *Egypt*; the other a Proconsul and a General on the Frontiers of *Africa*: But this *Firmus* was a Friend and an Associate of the Lady *Zenobia*; for whom he, with the assistance of the *Egyptians*, took the City of *Alexandria*, and was at length happily defeated by *Aurelian*, and the wonted bravery of that Prince.

There are many things reported of the Riches of this *Firmus*. It is said, that he had the Walls *Vast* of his House Wainscoted with Squares of Glass, *Wealth* fastned by *Bitumen*, and other Medicaments. *of Firmus*. He was the Master of so much of the Manufacture of Paper, that he often publicly said, he could maintain an entire Army out of only Paper and Glue. He entertained a great Friendship with the *Blemmyæ* and the *Saraceni*. He sent

sent Ships of Merchandize oftentimes into *India*. He had two Elephant's Teeth, ten Foor long; with which, and two others added to them, *Aurelian* who took them, designed to make a Chair, wherein to place a Statue of *Jupiter* in Gold, covered with Jewels and a Robe of State, and illustrated with Inscriptions: Which Statue was to be set up in the Temple of the *Sun*, and to be entitled, *Jupiter the giver of Good Counsel*. But *Carinus* afterwards possessing himself of those Teeth, made a Present of them to a certain Lady, who used them for the Feet of a Bed. I say no more, because we of this Age know her; and for Posterity, it signifies nothing. But thus that *Indian* Rarity, which was Consecrated to the most Excellent and Mighty *Jupiter*, was by a lewd Prince made at once the Purchase of a Mistress, and the Scene of the Exercise of her too.

His Personage.

Firmus was of a large Stature, with great and prominent Eyes, frizled Hair, Scars and Wounds on his Face, a blackish Visage, the rest of his Body fair enough, but Hairy and Bristly; so that a great many called him a *Cyclops*. He eat a vast deal of Flesh; some say, a whole Ostrich in a day. He drunk not much Wine, but very much Water; and was a Man of a strong Brain and so robust Nerves, that one might allow him to be stronger than the Gladiator *Tritannus* in *Varro*. For he would bear a Smith's Anvil, with Persons with all their force knocking upon it, upon his Breast, as he lay bent in his Body backwards, and only resting upon his Hands and Feet, without touching the

the ground with his Back. There was once a dispute betwixt him and some of the Officers of *Aurelian* about Drinking. *Burburus*, a most noted Drinker, and an old Soldier, challenged him to Drink with him. *Firmus* drank up two large Vessels full of Wine, and remained all the time after sober. Says *Burburus* to him, *Why have you not drank up the very Grounds too? You silly Creature*, answer'd *Firmus*, *no body drinks Earth*.

This *Firmus* therefore assumed to himself the Quality of an Emperor, in opposition to *Aurelian*; and maintained the Parts which as yet were remaining to *Zenobia* in the East. *Aurelian* beat him, in his return from *Hera* in *Mesopotamia*. Some say, *Firmus* afterwards Hanged himself. But this is disproved by the Edict of *Aurelian*, which he sent to *Rome*, together with the Notice of his Victory, which was thus.

The Emperor *Aurelian* to his most dearly beloved People of *Rome*, sendeth Greeting.

WE have reduced all the Parts of the Roman World whatever, unto a peaceable subjection to us. *Firmus* the Egyptian Robber, who was in motion with a Company of Barbarians, and was gathering up the reliques of the Forces of *Zenobia*, in short, we have defeated, taken him, and killed him. There is nothing more for you, my Romans, now to be afraid of. The Tri-
bute

bute of Egypt, which that wicked Robber had suspended, will now come entire to you. Be you at Concord with the Senate, and in good Amity with the Gentry, and the Soldiers of the Guard. I will take care, that nothing shall hurt you. Entertain your selves at the Pastimes and the Shews of the Cirque. Follow your Pleasures, whilst we are taken up with the Necessities of the State. Wherefore, my most Excellent Romans, and so he goes on with his Edict.

This, Sir, is what you may know, we have collected, that is worthy of Remembrance, concerning Firmus. If you would desire to understand further all the light and frivolous things which *Aurelius Festus*, a Servant of the Emperor *Aurelian*, hath written of him, I must refer you to read that Author your self. I come next to *Saturninus*, who set up for the Empire against *Probus*, in the Parts of the East.

SATUR.

SATURNINUS.

SATURNINUS was by Nation a Frenchman, who are a most Unquiet sort of People, and always ambitious of setting up for Empire.

This Man, being known to *Aurelian* to be an excellent Commander, was preferred by that Emperor to be the General on the Oriental Frontier. At the same time he wisely commanded him, never to see Egypt. For reflecting, as it is thought, upon the Nature of the Gauls on the one hand, and of the Egyptians on the other, he was afraid, that should *Saturninus* come amongst so troublesome a People as those of the Egyptians, he might by their Conversation be spurred on to those Attempts, to which his French Genius it self enough inclined him.

The Egyptians, you know very well, are a Character Ventose, Outragious, Proud, Injurious sort of People, Loose, Libertines, lovers of Novelries; they will dare to sing Seditious Songs publicly in the Streets; Versifiers upon the Persons of their Princes and Magistrates; Astrologers, Soothsayers, Empiricks, sometimes Christians, sometimes Jews, always displeased with the present

present Times, against which they give themselves a strange Liberty. I would not have any *Aegyptian* to blame me for this Character, nor think that I write it of my own head; for I will insert here a Letter of the Emperor *Hadrian*, which I have met with in the Books of *Pblegon*, who was a Servant to him, that fully detects the Lives of the *Aegyptians*.

The Emperor *Hadrian* unto *Servianus* the Consul, Greeting.

I Have given my self a perfect Understanding of *Aegypt*; which you, my well beloved *Servianus*, did sometime recommend to me. They are a light inconstant People, always in suspense, and changing at every stroke of Fame. Those who Worship the God *Serapis*, are nevertheless *Christians*; and Men who call themselves the Disciples of *Christ*, are *Votaries* to *Serapis* too. There is no Ruler of the *Synagogues* of the *Jews*, no *Samaritan*, no *Presbyter* of the *Christians*, no *Astrologer*, no *Soothsayer*, no *Physician*, but he Worship *Serapis*. The *Patriarch* himself of *Alexandria* when he comes hither, is by some obliged to adore *Serapis*, by others to adore *Christ*. A sort of Men they are, extremely *Seditious*, *Vain* and *Injurious*. *Alexandria* it self is *Splendid*, *Rich*, and *Fruitful*; no body lives Idle in it. Some make *Glass*, others *Paper*; others work on *Linen*: every one appears to be of one Art or other. Not so much as the *Gouty*, either in *Hand* or *Foot*, but are employed, and have something that they do. The Blind

are employed. *Serapis* is a common God to them all. Him the *Christians*, the *Jews*, and Persons of all Nations Worship. I wish that it was a better govern'd City. It deserves certainly, by its Population and Magnitude, to hold the Reins of all *Aegypt*. I have granted to this City all things. I have restored it to its antient Privileges, and have added new ones to them; for which they thanked me, whilst I was present with them; but I was no sooner departed, but they spoke a thousand things against my Son *Aelius Verus*, and what they have said concerning *Antinous*, I believe you have heard. So I leave them to their Eggs and Chickens; which how they Hatch, that is in a Dunghil, it is a shame almost to mention. I have sent you three *Aegyptian* Cups of changeable Colours, which a Priest of the Temple made a Present of to me. I dedicate them particularly to you and my Sister: I would have you to use them upon the Festival Days, and take care that your young Son does not handle them too roughly and break them.

So the Emperor *Aurelian* reflecting upon this various and unsteady Temper of the *Aegyptians*, commanded *Saturninus* not to come amongst them, to avoid the consequences which he foresaw, might follow upon it, if he did. In which he was in the right. For no sooner did the *Aegyptians* see him afterwards in Power, in the time of *Probus*, but they cried, *We make Saturninus Emperor*, *The Gods save your Majesty*. It is true, he prudently retired presently from *Alexandria* again, and went into *Palestina*. But finding there, that it was not safe for him to live

live after this in the Quality of a private Man, he suffered the Soldiers that were about him to put upon him the Purple, and adore him as Emperor. The Purple was a Cloak, taken off for the purpose of a Statue of *Venus*. My Grandfather was in the Company when he was Adored: I have often heard him speak of it. *Saturninus*, he said, wept, and expressed himself thus:

If I may speak it without Arrogance, the Government hath lost an useful Subject. It is certain, I have re-established Gallia. I have recovered Africa out of the possession of the Moon. I have appeased Spain. But what's this? It is all lost, and the Merit of it will be abolished by this one Honour, which you unhappily affect to give me.

The Company that was about him, animating him on to the Enterprize, he said;

*You know not, my Friends, what a troublesome thing it is to be a Prince? Drawn Swords by nothing but a Hair hang over our Heads; every where Poniards and Darts threaten us. Our Guards, our Companions themselves are fear'd by us. We eat not our Meat with pleasure, and we are forced to Wars and Arms, many times, contrary to our Judgments. Whatever one's Age is, it be sure, it meets with Reproaches upon the Throne. Is a Man Old? he is disabled, and past Service. Is he Young? he is Wild and Rash. What shall I say of *Probus*, who is so universally Amiable? For whilst you make me Rival to him, to whom I willingly Cede, and whose Officer I desire rais'd to be, you draw me into a necessity of Destruction, I shall have only this Comfort, that I cannot perish alone.*

This,

This, says *M. Salvendiennus*, was truly his Speech. Indeed he was one, who had no small knowledge of Letters. He had studied Rhetorick in *Africa*, and at *Rome* he had frequented the publick Academies. To be short, I see some are mistaken about him, to think, that he was the *Saturninus* who pretended to the Empire in the time of *Gallienus*, whereas this was altogether another Person. This *Saturninus* was set up in the time of *Probus*, and killed against almost the inclinations of that Prince. For *Probus* writ several kind Letters to him, and promised him his Pardon. But the Soldiers who were about him, would not give him leave to hearken to those Offers. So the Party of *Probus*, which was sent against him, besieged him in some Castle in which he was, and killed him in the Action. It would be tedious to descend to all the particulars of his Stature, his Person, his Shape, his Eating and Drinking, which others may, that please, trouble themselves about, though the Example of them scarce signifies any thing. But I shall proceed to the following Account of *Proculus* and *Bonofus*.

Saturninus slain.

X 4

P R O.

PROCULUS.

*His Ex-
traction
and
Wealth.*

PROCULUS was a Native of the City of *Albenga*, in the Republick of *Genoa*, amongst the *Maritime Alpes*; of a Gentleman's Family: but as well himself, as his Ancestors, were great Robbers; so that what with the Cattel, the Slaves, and such things as he had gotten by that means, he was very Rich. It is said, that at that time that he took upon him the Empire, he Armed two thousand of his own Slaves.

He had a Virago to his Wife, who precipitated him into the Madness of putting up for the Empire. Her Name was at first *Viturgis*; afterwards she was called *Sampson*. They had a Son called *Herennianus*; to whom if *Proculus* could have supported himself in his Enterprize but five Years, he said, he would have secured the Empire after him.

It cannot be denied, but that *Proculus* was an extraordinary and a very brave Man; and had always passed his Life under Arms. He had Commanded in the Quality of a Tribune over several Legions, and had done Actions of great Valour. Not to omit a pleasant Passage, which he glories in, in the following Letter, which I had rather give you in his own words, than represent it my self.

Proculus

Proculus to *Matianus* his Kinsman,
wistheth Health

I Have taken Captive out of the Country of *Sarmatia* one hundred Virgins. Ten of which I lay with in one Night. To the best of my power, in fifteen days, I have made Women of them all.

This is a Ridiculous Action you see, and extremely Libidinous, and yet he glories in it, and reckons as a fine thing, what was otherwise his Crime. However, being, notwithstanding his Wickedness and his Lewdness, a considerable Officer, and one that acquitted himself always with great Courage, the Colony of *Lyons* in *France*, who had been severely Treated by the Emperor *Aurelian*, and were very much afraid again of *Probus*, soliciting him to it, he set himself up to be Emperor. *Onesimus* says, which I do not remember that I have read in any one else, That he was made Emperor in Raillery, as it were, first at a Game of Chess. For being one day at an Entertainment, at Play at Chess, in which he went out King ten times, one of the Company who wanted not Wit, saluted him upon it as Emperor, and said, *The Gods save your Majesty*. And fetching him a piece of Purple, put it upon him, and then Adored him. This gave occasion to the Company that was privy to it, to joyn with him, and they went next to gain the Army, and so set up for the Empire.

Proculus

Proculus was not a little serviceable to the *Gauls*. For though he never fought, but in the way of the *Brigundages*, which he continually committed, he gained himself and them some glory over the *Germans*.

Probus coming against him, and ready to drive him almost out of the World, he desired to take Refuge in the assistance of the *Franks*, from whom he pretended to derive his Original. But as it is familiar with the *Franks* to break their Faith, and make no more than a Jest of it, they betrayed him, and so *Probus* overcame him and slew him. His Posterity are at this time living at *Albenga*, who in raillery will often say, that they neither like being Robbers, nor Princes. So much concerning *Proculus*.

He is
slain.

BONOSUS.

His Ex-
travasion.

BONOSUS was of a House of Spain, but Born in Britain. His Mother a *Gaulese* or a French Woman. His Father either a Professor in Rhetorick, as he (the Son) said, or as I have found from others, a Grammarian; who dying when this his Son was very young, his Mother, who was a Woman of Wit, educated him and taught him something of Letters.

He

He served as a Soldier first in the Foot, and afterwards in the Horse. He rose to be a Centurion, then to be a Tribune, and at last to be the General on the Frontier of *Rhaetia*.

No Man ever drank like *Bonosus*. The Emperor *Aurelian* said often of him, That certainly he was born, not to say to Live, but particularly to live to Drink. That Emperor however long had him in esteem, because of his experience in the matter of War. And when any Embassadors arrived from the Barbarian Nations of what Parts soever, it was the business of *Bonosus* to drink with them, till in their drink he discover'd out of them many times their secrets. For *Bonosus*, let him drink to what excess he would, was never concerned: But on the contrary, as *Onesimus* says in his Life of *Probus*, he was even the more prudent and more discreet for drinking. Withal he had this particular Quality with him, that as much as he drank, it passed from him again. It never was any burden to his Stomach, or his Belly, or his Bladder.

His Ability at
Drinking.

It happening one time, that the *Germans* had burnt the Shipping which the *Romans* used upon the River *Rhine*, *Bonosus*, to avoid the punishment which he feared for his Neglect in that matter, set up himself Emperor. He supported himself with that Quality longer than it was well to be expected. He engaged the Emperor *Probus* in a severe Battel: but being overcome, he Hanged himself; and they Jestd upon him, and said, It is a Hog's head, and not a Man, that hangs here.

His De-
feat and
Death.

He

He left two Sons, and a Wife. The Sons, *Probus* forgave. The Wife he was very obliging to, and allowed her a Pension to her death. For besides, that she was a Woman, as my Grandfather hath said, of Wit and of singular Merit; she was a Princess of the Royal Blood of the *Goths*, and one whom the Emperor *Aurelian* had purposely married to *Bonofus*, that through her and him he might the better penetrate into all the Affairs of the *Goths*. I will give you here a Letter of *Aurelian* written to the Lieutenant of *Thrace*, concerning that Marriage, and the Presents which *Aurelian* gave upon this occasion.

The Emperor *Aurelian* to *Gallio Avitus*, Greeting.

I Writ to you in my last, to Assemble the Persons of Quality of the *Goths*, at the City of *Heracla*, for whom I have order'd an Entertainment. For I have a mind that *Hunila* shall be Married to *Bonofus*. You shall present the Bride with all things, according to the underwritten Order, and you shall Celebrate the Nuptials out of the Publick Money.

The Presents were, Fine Gowns of a Violet Colour, of Silk: one of Silk, embroider'd with Gold. Two fine Smocks, and all such other things as are proper for a Lady of Quality. You shall give her one hundred Philips in Gold, One thousand Antonines in Silver, and Ten thousand Sesterces in Brass.

This

This is what I remember, that I have read as to *Bonofus*. I might have omitted all these four last Persons, and perhaps no body would have missed them. But because I would not be wanting in any thing to my Trust, I have taken the care of intimating as much as I have been able to learn, concerning these also.

The remaining Princes, are *Carus*, *Numenianus* and *Carinus*: For as for *Dioclesian* and those that follow, it is fit, that they should be Represented by a better Pen than mine.

THE

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
CARUS.

BY
FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

HOW the Power of Fate reigns over the Commonwealth of *Rome*, and sometimes raises it to the greatest height, and then humbles it again, and throws it down as much the other way; the Death of the Emperor *Probus* is a sufficient demonstration. *Probus* had succeeded to the Empire after *Aurelian*, by the joyn't Voice of the Senate and the People; and

whilst

whilst the Laws and the Government were lodged in so just a Hand, we seemed secure, considering that we had now enjoyed a few good Reigns together of a continued Series of Happiness to relieve the State, after all the different Calamities, and after so many changes of Fortune with which it had been tossed and varied in the course of time, in that manner, that it hath suffered almost all the Events which are incident to any Man, by the Mortality of his Nature.

But by a fatal Passion of the Soldiers, this so acceptable Emperor, *Probus*, was cut off; whose loss was so great, that we were no less struck at it, than a Man in a Fire or in a Shipwrack; and the Publick was reduced to that despair, as that every one feared the Succession of some *Domitian*, *Vitellius* or *Nero* in his place. It is natural at any time rather to have Fears than Hopes from the manners of an uncertain Prince: But especially well might a People do so, whose Wounds were yet green, and who not long since had had one of their Emperors (*Valerian*) carried into Captivity; another (*Gallienus*) given up to Luxury, and about Thirty pretended Princes, in the mean time starting up, and rending the Empire in Pieces by a Civil War, according as every one challenged the Sovereignty to himself.

If we take a view of the Changes which the Commonwealth of *Rome* hath suffered from the Foundation of the City, we shall find, that never any People hath flourished more by good Fortune, nor yet laboured under worse.

Romulus

Various
Fortune of
Rome un-
der diffe-
rent Prin-
ces.

mulus, to begin with him, our true Father, who as I may say, begat, founded, constituted, and confirmed this State, had the singular Happiness above all other Founders to leave a perfect City. *Numa* afterwards added Triumphs to this City by his victorious Arms, and at the same time strengthened it with Laws of Religion. So we flourished to the time of *Tarquin* the proud; and then a Storm fell upon us, occasioned by the arbitrary Vices of that King, which we revenged; but it was not without much hazarding our own Ruine. From thence we passed and increased to the War of the *Gauls*, when we were over-run with a Flood of the Enemy, the City of *Rome*, excepting only the Capitol taken; and we suffered well nigh more hurt now, than we ever enjoyed good, since our very Foundation. However, our Commonwealth recovered itself from this Blow; but yet it was so plagued with the *Carthaginian* Wars, and the Terror of King *Pyrrhus*, that it could not be at any rest for its miserable Fears. At length, we conquered *Carthage*, and extended our Empire far beyond the Seas; the Sense of which Felicity was extenuated to us, by our Social Discords, and our Civil Wars, under which we spent our time, unto *Augustus Caesar*, who repaired the State for us anew, if we may call that yet a Reparation, which was wrought at the Expence of our Liberty. However it is, although we were sometime troubled at home, amongst foreign Nations our Name flourished; and after several ill Emperors that afflicted us, the State lifted up its Head again under

under *Vespasian*. The Happiness of *Titus* was no sooner enjoyed than lost; to whom succeeded the cruel *Domitian*, whose Wounds went deep. Under *Nerva* and *Trajan*, and so to *Marcus Antoninus*, our Condition was better than ordinary; but then came the mad and cruel *Commodus*, and excepting in the Reign of *Septimius Severus*, the State received no good from all its Princes, from thence unto *Severus* the Son of *Mammaea*. It would be tedious to recount all the following History: *Valerian* was cast out of a Capacity of being enjoyed. *Gallienus* afflicted us fifteen Years. Fortune, who loves variety, and is almost always an Enemy to Virtue, envied *Claudius* a long Reign; and thus *Aurelian*, thus *Tacitus*, thus *Probus* were cut off and destroyed; that we may see, there is nothing so grateful to Fortune, as to turn things of the most publick Nature and Consequence variously upside down.

But why do I complain of these Matters here, and delay my self upon such inconsistencies of the times? I come to the Emperor *Carus*, who was a Prince, as I may say, of a middle Character; but rather to be placed among the Good, than the ill ones; and he would have been much better, if he had not left such an Heir as *Carinus*.

The Country of the Nativity of *Carus* is Birth-
so ambiguously reported by a great many, that place of
cannot be precise to determine, on whose Carus un-
side the Truth lies. *Onesimus*, who hath writ. certain,
in the Life of *Probus* very carefully, says,
that he was both born, and brought up to Let-

ters at Rome; but that his Parents were of the Province of *Illyricum*. *Fabius Cyrillianus*, who hath taken no less Pains about the History of the times of *Carus*, *Numerianus*, and *Carinus* says, that he was not born at Rome, but in *Illyricum*; and not there of *Illyrian*, but of *Carthaginian* Parents. Now I remember I have seen in some Journal, that he was a *Milanese* born; but by his Grandfather incorporated into the City of *Aquileia*. Himself, it cannot be denied; pretended as if he was of *Roman* Blood, as the following Letter shews, which when he was a Proconsul, he writ to his Lieutenant, reminding him of his Duty.

Marcus Aurelius Carus the Proconsul of *Cilicia*, to *Junius* his Lieutenant.

OUR Ancestors, the great Men amongst the Romans, have observed a Custom in the creating their Lieutenants, to give the World a Specimen of their own Manners by those of whom they make Choice to act under them in the Service of the Government. But yet if this Custom had not been, I had done no otherwise than I have in my Choice of you. At the same time, I have observed this Custom too, unless you deceive me. You will please to take care, that you do not make us different from our Roman Ancestors.

His Speech which he first sent to the Senate, after he was created Emperor, signifies the same thing. A part of it was thus.

IT may be a Matter of some Joy to you, Fathers of the Senate, that one out of your own Order, and also of your own Original is preferred to be Emperor. It shall not be by my means, that Strangers and Foreigners shall make better Princes, than those who are chosen out of you.

Through the several degrees of Offices in the Army and the Civil List; this Person came (as the Titles upon his Statues shew) to be the Captain of the Guards to the Emperor *Probus*; in which Post, he gained himself so much the Hearts of the Soldiers, that after *Probus* was killed, they thought him the Man the most worthy of the Succession. Not that I am insensible, that several have suspected, that *Probus* was killed by an Intrigue of *Carus*. But, as *Carus* did constantly and severely revenge the Death of that Prince, so neither the Manners of *Carus*, nor the Obligations which were laid upon him by his Master, will suffer me to give Credit to such a Suspicion. The Honours which *Probus* did him, and the Opinion which he had of him, you may read in this Letter to the Senate.

The Emperor *Probus* to his entirely beloved Senate wisheth Health.

Amongst other things, he says, happy would it be for our Empire, if we had many more such Persons to execute the publick Offices, as *Carus* is, or as a great many also of you. I desire that his Statue, if you please, may be set up on Horse-back, to the Honour of a Man who is comparable to the Antients; and also that a House may be built for him at the publick Charge; the Marble whereof shall be provided by me. It is fit, that we should so reward the Integrity of such a Person. And so he goes on.

In short, not to multiply things of lesser moment, and such as are to be found elsewhere, as soon as *Carus* had entred upon the Empire, he with the Consent of all the Army prosecuted the Design of the Persian War, which had been enterprised by *Probus*. To his two Sons *Numerianus* and *Carinus*, he gave the Title and Power of *Cæsars*; the latter of which, he sent with chosen Persons to the Government of *Gallia*. The former, who was a very sweet and ingenious Youth, he took along with himself. He often afterwards repented of sending *Carinus* into *Gallia*; and he would much rather have sent *Numerianus*, only he was not of an Age sufficient, because it is a place which especially requires a steady Governour;

nour; for he was displeased with the Manners of *Carinus*, and complains of him in a Letter to the Captain of the Guards, insomuch that he really had it sometimes in his mind, what *Onesimus* says, to depose him for his ill deserts, from his *Cæsarean* Dignity again.

Carus served himself of the great Preparations and all the Force of *Probus* for the Wars, which he had before him. He dispatched first in great part, that with the *Sarmatians*; and then marching against the *Persians*, without any opposition, he took the Country of *Mesopotamia*, and came as far as to the City of *Ctesiphon*; whilst the *Persians* were engaged at home with their domestick Seditions. This gave him the Title of Conquerour of the *Persians*. He was in himself greedy of Glory, but his Captain of the Guards spurred him further on to it, seeking the Destruction both of him and his Son, because he coveted to succeed in the Empire after them. So being for extending the progress of his Arms even beyond *Ctesiphon*, he marched and died presently after; some say of Sickness, others, that he was struck dead with Thunder and Lightning. It is true, that at that time, there arose on a sudden such a vast Tempest with dreadful Lightning and more dreadful Thunder, that several were almost killed with only the Fright. But as for the real manner of the Death of *Carus*, the Letter following of *Junius Calphurnius*, one of his Secretaries, written to the Governour of the City of *Rome*, gives this Account of it.

AS Carus, says he, our truly dear Prince lay sick in his Tent, on a sudden there arose such a Hurricane and a Storm, that all things darkened, and we could not discern one another. Then followed Thunder and Lightning, like the continued falling of fiery Meteors from Heaven, which astonished us so, that we did not know what we did, nor where we were. However, on a sudden, it was cryed, the Emperor was dead, which happened just after the greatest clap of Thunder, that had frightened all. The Servants of the Emperor's Bed-Chamber, in grief for his Death, set Fire to his Tent. The Flame whereof joyned with the Lightning, occasioned a Discourse, that he was killed with the Lightning. But as much as I know of the matter, I think it is certain, that it was of his illness, that he died.

I have the rather inserted this Letter, because it is often said, that by a certain Power of Fate, the Roman Emperors are restrained from passing beyond the City of Ctesiphon; and that Carus was for that Reason destroyed by Lightning, because he offered to transgress that limit. But let timidity cover it self under what Arts it pleases, the Brave will despise them. The most excellent Caesar, Maximian, does not, nor will ever think it unpermitted to him to conquer the Persians, and to penetrate beyond them too; which I am of Opinion, he will effect, if we be not wanting ourselves to the promised Favour of the Gods.

There

There are many things which speak Carus a good Prince, and amongst the rest this; that presently after he was possessed of the Empire, the Sarmatians who were grown so insolent upon the Death of Probus, as to menace not only Illyricum, but Thrace and Italy with an Invasion, these Men he so defeated, and broke chiefly by his Policy, that in a few days he settled the Security of Pannonia, killed sixteen Thousand of the Enemy, and took twenty Thousand more of both Sexes Prisoners.

This I presume, may be enough to say as to Carus.

Let us pass on next to Numerianus: For tho' Carinus was both the elder Brother, and the elder Caesar, yet it is necessary to discourse of Numerianus the first, inasmuch as he was the nearest at that time to his Father, and followed his Death; and his Story also is something the more admirable, because of his Father-in-Law's Avarice. After him will follow that of Carinus, with whom the Emperor Dioclesian fought several Battels, and had the Fortune at last to kill him.

NUMERIANUS, CÆSAR.

BY
FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

NUMERIANUS, the Son of *Carus*, was a Person extremely well disposed, as to his Manners, and truly worthy of the Empire.

His Parts
and
Learning.

He had a singular Genius for Eloquence, both in Prose and in Verse. He declaimed in Publick, and was the Author of several things extant, which are Noble in that kind. In Verse he exceeded all the Poets of his Age. He disputed the Bays with the famous *Olympius Nemesianus*; and he as far outdid the *Iambicks* of *Aurelius Apollinaris*, as the Sun outshines every thing else. A Speech which he once sent unto the Senate, was filled with so much Eloquence, that they Voted him a Statue, to be set up in the *Ulpian* Library, not as to a *Cæsar*, but as an Orator. The Inscription

was,

was, *To Numerianus Cæsar, the most Powerful Orator of his Time.*

Accompanying his Father to the *Persian* War, he created himself a Sickness with the excessive grief, which he took at his Death; which gave an opportunity to *Arrius Aper*, his Father-in-Law, to kill him as he was in a Litter, by which *Aper* designed to mount the Throne himself in his stead. He kept the Murder private for several days; telling the Soldiers, when they enquired about his Health, that *Numerianus* was not to be seen, because he was obliged to keep out of the Wind and the Sun for his sore Eyes, which he had; till at last the Body stinking, and the Treachery of *Aper* not being possible to be longer concealed, they took him and brought him to the Head of the Army; where after a great Harangue upon the occasion, and a Tribunal raised, it was proposed, who should be the just Avenger of the Death of *Numerianus*, and who the Prince to succeed to the Throne. All with a Divine Consent cried, *Dioclesian*, who then Commanded the Forces of the Household, and had received before already many Presages of his future Reign.

He is
murdered.

Dioclesian was a Personage of great Note, politick, well affected to the State, a lover of his Friends, prepared for all Events as occasion required; his Counsels always raised, yet never Extravagant nor Impudent, because he stifled within him the Motions of his unquiet Breast, with an extraordinary Obstinacy. He mounting the Tribunal, and being proclaimed Emperor,

*His Death
revenged.*

peror, the Question next was, How *Numerianus* was Killed? *Aper*, who had been the Captain of the Guards, stood by. *Dioclesian* drew his Sword, and striking it through the Body of *Aper* upon the place, said, *This is the Author of the Death of Numerianus*. So *Aper* was served but as his Actions deserved. My Grandfather hath told me, that he was in the Company, when *Dioclesian* killed him with his own Hand; and he said, as *Dioclesian* made the Blow, he cryed to *Aper*, *Be proud, that you fall by so great a Hand as mine*.

It is Matter of Curiosity, and not commonly known, I mean the Story, which is proper to be told in this place, of a Presage that happened to *Dioclesian*, of his Elevation to the Empire. My Grandfather hath told me, that he received it from *Dioclesian* himself. When *Dioclesian* served at the City of *Tongres* in the *Netherlands*, where he was then a young Soldier, and in an inferior Post, talking with a Woman who was a *Druid*, about his daily Expences at the Inn in which he lodged, says she to him, *Dioclesian, you are too Covetous, you are too good a Manager: Dioclesian* in jest answered, *But I will be Generous when I am an Emperor*. Says she, *Dioclesian, you need make no Jest of it: Yes, yes, you will be an Emperor, but you must first kill a Boar*. From that time *Dioclesian* always had thoughts in his mind of the Empire, as both *Maximian* and my Grandfather knew; to whom he himself told this Story; and laughed at it, but not a word to any body else. Therefore in Hunting, wherever he could, he always

always killed the Boars with his own hand: so when *Aurelian*, *Tacitus*, *Probus*, and *Carus*, were all made Emperors before him, says he, *I always kill the Boars, but another runs away with the Dish and the sweet Bit*. But when he had killed *Aper*, which is a Latin Name for a Boar, Now, says he, *at last I have killed the Fatal Boar*. And my Grandfather hath said, that *Dioclesian* declared, that he had no other reason for killing *Aper* with his own hand, but to fulfil the Saying of the *Druid*, and strengthen himself in the Empire: for otherwise, especially upon the first day of his Reign, he did not desire to appear so Cruel, if such a Necessity had not thereunto compell'd him.

Now I come to *Carinus*.

THE

A. Christi
Cclxxxliii.

THE
Life and Reign
OF THE
EMPEROR
CARINUS.

BY
FLAVIUS VOPISCUS.

CARINUS was one of the impurest of Men. I am ashamed to repeat, what *Onesimus* hath written of him. An Adulterer, vicious with Boys whom he frequently debauched, and passive in an Act which is it self contrary to the Nature of his Sex.

His Father, going to the *Persian War*, left him to be the Governour over *Gallia, Italy, Illyricum,*

Illyricum, Spain, Britain, and Africa, under the Title of a Cæsar, but with the full Power of an Emperor. In this Government he strangely dishonoured himself with enormous Vices and Actions. All the best Persons about him, *His filthy Vices and Luxuries.* he banished; and took and kept others in their room, who were of the worst of Mankind. He made one of his Porters the Governour of the City of *Rome*, than which nothing can be thought nor mentioned, more shameful. The Captain of the Guards, which he had, he killed, and into his place he put *Matronianus*, an old Pimp. His Secretary, another of his Pimps, who was always privy to his Lusts, and assisted him in them, he made a Consul against the expresse Orders of the Emperor his Father. He writ haughty Letters to the Senate; threatened to give away their Estates amongst the Mob of the City. He married Nine Wives, taking one and putting away another; several of which he put away big with Child. He filled the Court with Mimicks, Courtezans, Actresses, Singers and Pimps. He disdained the signing of Dispatches himself; so that he kept a wretch who was his Jester, always at Noons, to sign them for him; and many times he played upon him agreeably for imitating his hand well. He wore Jewels upon his Shooes; never wore a Button, but what was of a Jewel. His Belt was often set with Jewels. He never did the Consuls or the great Officers of the State, the Honour to step to meet them coming. The Lewd were much in his Favour, and always invited to his Table. He had ordinarily a hundred

hundred Pound of Birds, the same of Fish, and a thousand of Flesh of several sorts at a Meal. He spent a great deal of Wine. He swam (as I may say) amongst Fruits and Melons. He strew'd his Chambers and his Beds with Roses. His hot water Baths, when he bathed, were no more than Lukewarm. His cold Baths were of Snow-water. Coming in the Winter to a place where there was a Spring of very warm Water, as it naturally uses to be the warmer in the Winter, and the Bath being supplied with the same, says he to the Waiters, *You give me here Woman's Water*; which (they say) was one of best things he ever said. It would be tedious to tell at large the rest of his Luxuries. *Fulvius Asprianus* hath also already done it: Let the Reader who desires to know every thing so particularly go to him. The Emperor *Carus* his Father, when he heard how he behaved himself, disowned him, and cried, *He is none of mine*. And had he lived, he would have deprived him of his *Cæsarean* Dignity and Power again. *Onesimus* says, he would have put him to Death, and advanced *Constantius* to his place, who was then the President of *Dalmatia*, and was afterwards made Cæsar, than whom no Man was fitter for that Honour.

Carinus, after both his Father and his Brother were dead, and *Dioclesian* was set up to be Emperor, gave himself more than ever to Vice and Extravagance, as if he was now more free, and eased of the Tyes of the Examples and domestick Admonitions of his Family.

However,

However, he wanted not the Vigour of mind to challenge the Empire. He fought for it against *Dioclesian* several Battels. In the last *He is de-* of which, a Town in *Mæsia*, he was conquer- *feated* ed and killed. *and slain.*

This was the end of these Three Princes, *Carus*, *Numerian*, and *Carinus*. The Gods have given to us, since them, the Emperors *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, to whom they have worthily joyned *Galerius* and *Constantius*, whereof the former was born, to deface the ignominy of the Captivity of *Valerian*, and the other to restore *Gallia* to the Obedience of the Romans. These are the four great Princes of the World, Valiant, Wise, Benign, Generous, of one Sentiment for the Good and Interests of the State, always reverencing the Senate, Moderate, Friends of the People, Grave, Good, Religious, and such in fine, as we have ever prayed to have; whose Lives are severally written by *Claudius Eusthenius*, sometime Secretary to *Dioclesian*, which I therefore mention, because I would not that so great a Work should be expected from me, considering the Difficulty of speaking upon living Princes, blameless.

One thing yet is very memorable in the Government of the Emperor *Carus*, and of his two Sons, *Numerian*, and *Carinus*. They adorned the Publick Games, with which they entertained the People before they went to the *Persian* War, with Shews altogether new and strange, which we see are painted upon a Gallery in a part of the Palace, to continue the memory of them to Posterity. There was a Rope-

Strange
Shows
made to
the People.

Rope-Dancer, who seemed, as if he moved or flew in the Air; the Cord on which he danced was so very small, you could scarce see it. Another Man ran upon the edge of a Wall with Dancing Bears at his Heels. There was a Symphony of a hundred Trumpets, a hundred Haut-Boys, a hundred Pipes, a hundred Flutes, with Voices to them; a thousand Pantomimes, who danced all sorts of Anticks; others, that were Wrestlers, Runners, Leapers. There was an Engine which represented the Burning of Towns, the Flames whereof taking hold on a part of the Amphitheatre, *Dioclesian* afterwards repaired it, and made it more Magnificent. Mimicks from all Countreies, were provided to be here. Then there was a sport performed by the *Sarmatian* Captives of Vaulting upon Horses, which is as pleasant as any thing in the World. Then there were those that acted the *Cyclopaean* Postures; and all these Musicians, Players, Sports-men, and the *Graecian* Artists had Gold and Silver given them, and Garments of Silk. I cannot tell how much the People are ingratiated by such kind of things. But sure I am, that several other good Emperors have made no great Account of them. *Dioclesian*, when an Officer commended to him these very Theatrical and *Circensian* Games of *Carus*, replied only, *Then Carus had laughing enough in his time.* And when *Dioclesian* himself exhibited his Games according to the Custom, he was much more sparing in the Liberty which he took, and in the Expence which he was at; he said, those

Diversions

Diversions ought to be Chast and Modest, considering the presence at least of the Censor.

Now I leave this last Passage to be read by *Junius Messala*, whom I dare be free to blame upon this occasion. Because he hath spent all his Estate upon Players, and denied it to his own Heirs. A Gown of his Mother's he gave away to one, a Coat of his Father's to another; a Garment of his Wife's, of Purple, embroidered in Gold, on which her Name was wrought, he gave to a Piper; who triumphs in it, as in a Spoil of the Nobility of the Donor. What shall I say of the Linens from *Egypt*? The bright *Tyrian* and *Sydonian* Purples, embroidered with admirable Art and Pains? The fine Stuffs from *Arras*, the Russlets of *Canosa*, and other Cloaths from *Africa*? Riches which were never seen upon the Stage before! I am willing to speak all this to the World, purposely, that the Gentlemen who give those Publick Sports for the future, may be a little ashamed to spend their Estates, in prejudice to their lawful Heirs, upon such a Company of Poltrons.

Thus, my honoured Friend, you have now the little Present, which I presume to offer to you, of this History. I have often said, that I pretend not to shew any thing of Eloquence in the writing, but only a Curiosity to preserve and to relate Matter of Fact. And therefore if any eloquent Hand shall hereafter please to go over, and better illustrate the

Z

the

the Lives of these Princes, and shall supply himself with Materials for the purpose, out of what I have said, I shall be very well satisfied. In the mean time, I desire you to be contented with my Services, and to believe that it was my Choice to write in this manner, without Disputing whether or no, I was able to have done it better.

THE
Lives and Reigns
OF THE
EMPERORS
DIOCLESIAN
AND
MAXIMIAN.

THE

By J. BERNARD.

DIOCLESIAN was born at an obscure Village called *Dioclea* in *Dalmatia*, and his Mother was of the same Name with the Village. Wherefore before his Elevation he was called *Diocles*; but being once set at the Head of the *Roman* Empire, he gave his Name a turn to the Form of a *Roman* Name and called himself *Dioclesian*.
Z. 2. He

He was for some time in the beginning of his Youth, a Servant under *Anullinus*, a Senator. Then he went into the Army; where by his Diligence, his Bravery, and his Conduct, he raised himself so, from one Post to another, by degrees, that after the death of *Numerianus*, of which he protested he was altogether Innocent, and after the Revenge, as hath been said, which he took upon *Aper* for that Murder, the Army Proclaimed him Emperor.

He is proclaimed
Emperor.

He accepted the Empire, and the Tribunician Power was conferred upon him, on the 11th. of the Kalends of May in the Year of Rome 1036, and of Christ, 284. Which Year he ordered, by his Sovereign Power, to be made a Publick *Ara*, or Date, from whence to Account the following Times. The Christians used it as far as to the Reign of *Justinian*. But upon their score, the same *Ara* is likewise called the *Ara of the Martyrs*, and with great Reason. For from the first Year of the Reign of *Dioclesian*, the Persecution which the Christians suffer'd under him, may very well be dated. It is true, his Reign was not so Unhappy to them, at the first, as it was afterwards. But yet no Year scarce passed, but what was defiled with Christian Blood: which was as the droppings of Rain before a violent Tempest, and as a Prologue to the dismal Tragedy that followed after.

He Persecutes the
Christians.

Sabinus Julianus, who had set up for the Empire in Italy, after the death of *Carus*, was beaten to *Dioclesian's* hand by *Carinus*, and slain in the Plains of *Verona*. In the next place, *Dioclesian*

clesian having entirely defeated *Carinus* also, in *Mæsia*, he then remained the sole Lord of all, and was left to enjoy the whole Empire to himself, without the least Competitor.

One thing is very New and Unexpected, which is to be observed in the beginning of this Prince's Reign; which is, That he Pardoned all Persons that had been engaged on the side of either *Carinus*, or *Julianus*. He deprived none of them of their Fortunes, Fame, or Honours. A Clemency, that after a Civil War, had not in the Memory of Man been known to have been shewn before.

He created *Maximian Cæsar*, and sent him with an Army into *Gallia*, to suppress the Disorders, that were there occasioned by *Amandus* and *Helianus*, being at the head of a Party of Rusticks and Robbers. *Maximian* discharged himself well of this Commission. By slight Skirmishes, which he took his opportunity to make with them, he quieted all things in *Gallia*, without any damage to his Army. The Rebels were frightened with the bare report of his march to them. At the same time, the *Franks* and the *Saxons* annoyed the Quarters of *Belgium* and *Armorica*: against whom *Carausius* was employed, who repulsed them, and took from them a great deal of Riches and good Booty; the profit whereof he ingrossed to himself, without laying it out for the good of the Provinces, or returning it, as he ought, into the Publick Treasury. Therefore *Carausius* was ordered to be seized and put to death. But he escaped immediately into *Great Britain*, and

Maximian
pacifies
Gaul.

and gathering together there an Army, he revolted, and was declared Emperor.

There were now many Wars growing together upon the hands of *Dioclesian*, which he knew not, whether he might be able to sustain alone. The *Sarmatians* made great impressions upon *Pannonia*, the *Persians* Usurped upon the Provinces of the East, the *Allemands* and the *Burgundians* were preparing to break violently into *Gallia*, *Carausius* continued to maintain the Quality of Emperor in *Great Britain*. So *Dioclesian* advanced *Maximian* from a Caesar, to be Emperor in conjunction with him: and against the *Sarmatians* he repaired in Person himself, to whom having made appear the Power and Glory of his Arms, he passed on from thence into *Armenia*, where he broke the Force of the *Persians*, and obliged them to sue for a Peace. *Maximian* in the mean time opposed the Motions of the *Barbarians* in *Gallia*, till they even mouldered away of themselves, and were destroyed by Famine and Pestilence. But yet others of them renewing their Incursions the next Year, and passing over the *Rhine* upon the Ice into *Gallia*, *Maximian* had the honour of driving them back to whence they came; and not that only, but he followed them over the *Rhine* by a Bridge which he erected, and laid *Germany* waste as far as to the Fountains of the *Danube*. With the like success *Dioclesian* being returned out of *Armenia*, expelled the *Goths* from *Thrace*, and secured the Passage of the River against them by three Forts, which he built.

Whilst

Whilst these things passed, *Achilleus* assumed the Purple upon him, at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*; and likewise a People called the *Quinquegentians*, or a Confederacy of five Cities in *Africa*, were upon the Revolt, and other Wars threatened from other Parts the *Roman Empire*. Hereupon *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* gave a Meeting to each other at the City of *Milan*; where they agreed upon two Persons, whom to create *Cæsars* for their assistance; who were *Constantinus Chlorus*, and *Galerius Maximianus*. The first was appointed for the direction of *Gallia* and the recovery of *Great Britain*, the other for the defence of the Banks of the *Isther*; whilst *Dioclesian* charged himself with the Affairs of *Egypt* and the East, and *Maximian* had the care of *Italy* and of the War of *Africa*. All three reverencing *Dioclesian* as their common Father.

Constantinus and Galerius made Cæsars.

Pursuant to this Distribution, *Dioclesian* repaired to *Egypt*, and there levelled the Cities of the *Thebais* to the ground.

Constantinus expelled *Carausius* out of *Gallia*, whither he was then advanced; but as *Carausius* by flight, arrived again in *Great Britain*, he was killed by one of his own Friends and chief Officers, *Alectus*, after he had held the Government of that Province almost seven Years; and *Alectus* set up himself in his stead, Against whom *Constantinus* prepared a Fleet in order to attack him at once by Sea and Land; assisted by *Asclepiodorus* the Captain of the Guards; who overcoming *Alectus*, after he had reigned about three Years, that Victory finished the

Reduction of the Island of Great Britain.

Maximian, passing with his Forces into *Africa*, easily drove before him the *Quinquegentiani*. They fled for shelter into their inaccessible Fastnesses: but being forced to come to a Battel in the next Season, he Vanquish'd them, took them Prisoners, and disposed of them at his discretion.

Likewise *Galerius* obtained a signal Victory, in his Division, over the *Bastarnæ* and the *Sarmatians*; in which *Constantine*, the Son of *Constantius Chlorus* by *Helena*, so Nobly signalized his Youth, as to take the *Sarmatian* General Prisoner, and bring him alive to *Galerius*.

After this *Dioclesian* Commanded *Galerius* out of *Pannonia* into *Egypt*, and sent him to Encounter the Tyrant *Achilleus*, who was not as yet oppressed there. *Galerius* Engaging and overcoming him about *Pelusium*, or *Belvais*, *Achilleus* fled for refuge into *Alexandria*; but *Galerius* followed him and besieged him in *Alexandria*; and obliging that City to surrender to him upon discretion in eight days, by the order of *Dioclesian* it was demolished, and exposed to free Plunder, and *Achilleus* was cast to the Wild Beasts.

Egypt reduced.

The War of *Egypt* having detained *Dioclesian* in those Parts no less than six Years, *Narses* the King of *Persia* was encouraged in the mean time to commence a new War in the East, and to make his Incursions into *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*. Wherefore *Dioclesian* sent *Galerius* away into the East; who came to *Antioch* with a good Army, and had the better

better of *Narses* in two Battels. But rashly venturing the fortune of a third, on a time when his Force was become much reduced, he was so well beaten, that he lost almost entirely all his Men, and with difficulty escaped with his own Life. He came to *Dioclesian*; who received him in a manner, which was to let him know, that he highly resented his Conduct, and he was scarce willing to trust him with another Army to give him an opportunity to repair his disgrace. However *Galerius* obtained the leave to try his Fortune once more against *Narses*; and this time he gave the *Persians* such a rout, that he took the Wife, Sisters, and Children of *Narses* Prisoners, and obliged him to a Peace upon the Conditions, of returning back to the *Romans* all the Provinces that he had Usurped from them, and to take the *Tygris* for the Boundary of the *Roman* Empire.

The Persians totally routed;

Altogether the same Fortune did *Constantius* meet with in the East, of being first overcome by, and then of overcoming the *Germans*. They passed the *Rhine* upon the Ice, and gave him such a blow on a sudden, that he fled wounded to the next Garrison in that precipitancy and that danger, that the Gates being shut, he was forced to be haled upon the Walls by a Rope: but yet Rallying again presently, and engaging the Enemy with some fresh Men and a fresh Courage, he killed to the number of Sixty thousand of them upon the place.

and likewise the Germans.

These great and repeated Victories elevated the Pride of *Dioclesian* to a height, that not contented,

contented, neither with the Habit which had been usually worn by the *Roman* Emperors, nor with the accustomed Reverences that were paid them, he decorated his Person with Jewels and Cloth of Gold; he caused his Enamell'd Shoes to be kissed, and himself to be Adored, and to be called a God and Lord; which none of his Predecessors had done, since *Caligula* and *Domitian*.

When he triumph'd in great Pomp at *Rome*, in conjunction with *Maximian*, he entitl'd himself *Fortius*; and *Maximian*, *Herculus*: As if himself was a second *Jupiter*, and *Maximian* a second *Hercules*. He Triumph'd over the *Goths*, *Bastarnæ*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, *Egyptians* and *Persians*: *Maximian* over the *Franks*, *Allemani*, *Britains* and *Mauritanians*. And their Triumphal Chariot was preceded by the Captive Sisters and Children of the King of *Persia*.

This is what hath occurred to me, as to the Military part of the Life of *Dioclesian*. For by the loss of the Commentaries of *Claudius Eusebenius*, his Secretary, before mention'd by *Vopiscus*; and by the deplorable loss of other the like Originals, it is very visible, that a great many Particulars of both *Dioclesian*, *Maximian*, *Constantius* and *Galerius*, are wholly buried in Oblivion.

To proceed therefore, to what remains. These two Emperors published an Edict, which bears date from *Alexandria*, the day before the Kalends of *April*, and which is directed to *Julianus* the Proconsul of *Africa*, against the base and infamous Sect, as it calls them, of the

Manichees

Manichees. They order them to be entirely extirpated; the Heads and Chieftains of them, together with their abominable Writings, to be burnt; their Followers to be sent to the Mines, or otherwise punished with Death; and all their Estates to be confiscated into the Treasury.

As to the Christians, they published an Edict in the Year 286. whereby they forbade any Person to be allowed to Buy, or Sell, or Grind, or draw Water, who refused to burn Incense before the Statues of the Gods. But this Edict touched only, for the present, the Christians who lived at *Rome*. It is not understood to have been enjoined to be observed over all the Empire. The Fire was kindled by degrees: till being continually blown up from the mouths of the Gentile Priests and the Philosophers and others, who could not persuade themselves to forego the Trade of the gainful Sacrifices and Idols of the Gentile Religion; and there never wanting more and more Fuel to feed the Flame, it came at last to an Universal Conflagration.

*The Edict
against
the Chri-
stians.*

The Particulars, it is not for this place to recount. It is sufficient to say, That it was the most Unmerciful, Inhumane, Dire, Outragious Scene of Barbarity, that ever the Sun beheld; and spilt more blood, in a manner, that was to the last degree base and dishonourable to the Actors, but glorious to the Sufferers, than had been spilt before in a thousand Wars.

A Legion of *Theban* Soldiers, who had been employed in *Syria* against the *Persians* and *Parthians*, and by having been used to Winter in *Palæstine*, had been brought to embrace the Christian

Christian Religion, was in the Year 297, Commanded out of the East to serve under *Maximian* in *Gallia*. The Tribune was *Mauricius*, the Standard-bearer *Exuperius*, and among the rest there was one *Candidus*, a Senator. They were a compleat Legion of 6666 Stout Men, well appointed. So *Maximian*, going to meet the Enemy, commanded the usual Sacrifices to be offered to the Gods, the whole Army to be purged, and all the Soldiers to burn Incense; which this Legion, being Christians, refusing, they were decimated once: that is, every tenth Man drawn out and put to death. But this could not alter their Principles. They were decimated a second time: but neither so, were they to be removed from their Religion. Then they were surrounded by the Army, and all slain in their own Camp, at a Place called *Agaunum* in *Gallia*, whither they were retired, the distance of eight Miles from the Camp of *Maximian*; but assuring him, that excusing them their Religion, they were always ready to return unto his Camp again, and to Act as bravely as any against the Enemy.

It was by the Hands and Labours of the Christian Soldiers, that *Maximian* raised those immense Structures of the Baths of *Dioclesian* at *Rome*, the Baths of his own Name at *Carthage*, the Palace at *Aquileia*, and the Amphitheatre at *Verona*. For he condemned them to any the most servile Offices.

As he assisted, upon the fifteenth of the Kalends of *May* in the Year 301. at the Games
of

of the Cirque, the Populace, who knew very well that they could not do any thing to oblige him more, cryed, *Let the Christians be cut off*: and repeated it twelve times. *May it please your Majesty, let there be no Christians*. They repeated this ten times. Therefore *Eugenius Hermogenianus*, the Captain of the Guards, proposed the Matter to the Senate; who resolving it in the Affirmative, *Maximian* issued out his Rescript for their Excision, directed to *Venustianus*, the day before the Kalends of *May*.

In the next place, came out the General Edict of *Dioclesian*, to *Abolish the Assemblies of the Christians in all places wheresoever they were*; to *raze their Churches to the ground, to burn their Scriptures, to secure their Ecclesiasticks, to deprive them of all Honours, Offices and Liberties, and by all the means imaginable to force them to comply to the Worship of the Gods*. Infinite Numbers upon this, in all Parts, perished. In *Agypt* alone 140000 were Martyred, and 700000 Banished. Columns were set up over all the Roman Empire in the Names of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, and sometimes *Dioclesian* and *Galerius*, vainly boasting, that they had extinguished the Christian Name. Whereas, on the contrary, they had propagated it, and confirmed it. For the Blood of the Martyrs was the Seed of the Church; and the Christians surmounted all this with a Virtue, never to be forgotten, never to be expressed.

Dioclesian himself lived to know, that his Enterprize was impracticable. He fell into a Melancholy,

Death of
Dioclesian

Melancholy, quitted the Purple which others have so dearly bought. Created *Galerius* at *Nicomedia* Emperor in his stead, and retired for his own part to the City of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*: where after a Private Life of 9 Years, he died, some say he Poisoned himself, and the *Romans* consecrated him a God. He had reigned 20 Years, and lived to the Age of 68.

Maximian
and re-
sumes.

Maximian, at the perswasion of *Dioclesian*, concurred with him in this his last unprecedented Action. They both Abdicated the Empire in a day. *Maximian* created in his stead *Constantius* Emperor at *Milan*, and went and lived a Private Life in the Province of *Lucania*: till the *Romans* perswaded him to resume his Dignity again, in order to determine a great Quarrel that was arisen betwixt *Maxentius* his Son, and *Severus* the Kinsman of *Galerius*. *Maximian* endeavour'd in like manner to have perswaded *Dioclesian* to have resumed his former Dignity again also. But *Dioclesian* detested it, and said, *I wish you could see my Gardens, that I have Planted with my own hand at Salona: you would never have thought this a thing to be proposed to me.* However *Maximian* put himself at the Head of an Army, and went to the Siege of *Ravenna*; and getting *Severus*, by Treachery, within his Power, he slew him; whose Body was interred afterwards in the Sepulchre of *Gallienus* upon the *Appian Way*, 9 Miles from *Rome*. Quitting the Army, when this Work was done, because he was not over-welcome to Command it longer, he visited *Dioclesian* at *Salona*, and then went into *Gallia*, where

where he matched his Daughter *Fausta* unto the Emperor *Constantine*, the Son of *Constantius* by *Helena*, who had succeeded to the Powers of his Father. But yet as he was at *Treves*, it was found, that he practised his Arts upon the Soldiers, with a design, if he could, to expel *Constantine* and possess himself of the Empire a-new. *Constantine* was advertised of it by *Fausta*; and pursuing him as far as to *Marseilles*, he besieged him, took him, and ordered him to be Strangled, and his Body was interred at *Milan*. He had reigned 18 Years, and lived to the Age of 60.

His Death

He was born at *Sirmish* in *Scythia*, of mean Parents. His Wife was *Eutropia*, a Syrian Woman, by whom he had Issue *Maxentius* and *Fausta*. He was a very Rough, Stern, and Barbarian-like Man: but a great Soldier, and a faithful Friend to *Dioclesian*, and one that had been his old Companion in Arms. And he was Incontinent, and Treacherous.

THE

THE
Lives and Reigns

OF THE
EMPERORS

Flavius Constantius Chlorus,

AND

Galerius Maximianus Armentarius.

BY

J. BERNARD.

THERE is the less to be spoken of these two Princes in this place, because a great part of their Actions hath been represented already in the Account of the Emperors fore-going, under whom they served, and who advanced them successively

to

to the Dignity first of Cæsars, and then of Emperors.

Therefore I shall only here take notice, that at the same time that they were created Cæsars, they were obliged to put away their Wives, to whom they were already married; and to re-marry, for a Tye of Affinity, into the Families of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*. *Constantius* dismissed himself from *Helena*, by whom he had had *Constantine*, who was afterwards the Emperor *Constantine the Great*; and he re-married to *Theodora*, who was Daughter-in-Law to *Maximian*. In like manner *Galerius* re-married to *Valeria*, who was the Daughter of *Dioclesian*, but she did not live long with him; and to consecrate her Memory to futurity after her Death, her Father imposed her Name on a part of *Pannonia*, which he called the Province of *Valeria*; and also he gave her Name to a City situated upon the Banks of the *Danube*.

Constantius was the Son of a Daughter of *Crispus*, who was the Brother of the Emperor *Claudius*. He was created the Cæsar, properly to *Maximian*, to whom he succeeded in the Government of the *West*; and *Galerius* was the Cæsar properly to *Dioclesian*, to whom he succeeded in the Empire of the *East*. But as *Constantius* was a Prince endowed with all the fine and good Qualities in the World, it is certain that he neither when he was a Cæsar, nor when Emperor, dipped his Hands in the Blood of the Christians, which all the other Three laboured to spill with so much greediness.

A 2

ness.

ness. He could not indeed contradict the Edicts of those about them, but yet he moderated the matter in their Favour as much as possible, and the Destruction was always the less where he came. *Galerius*, one day, urging him on to be as violent upon it as his Brethren, he published an Order for all Persons to depart his Court, who would not sacrifice. But such Christians, as for fear, and the advantage of staying in his Court, complied, he blamed and turned out of it; and such as had chosen rather to depart, than Sacrifice, he recalled and retained them, saying; *He could not doubt of their Fidelity to him, who were so True to God.*

There is this other Passage, that shews the Goodness of *Constantius*, not to be omitted. *Dioclesian* had blamed very much his Negligence, and reproached him with being a poor Prince, because he had no Money in his Treasury. *Constantius* desired the Envoys, who had brought him that Message, only to stay a little, and they should see more of this matter. In the mean time, he signified his desire to all his States, to furnish him with Money. They filled his Coffers immediately, and with a Zeal, in which every one had an emulation to excel. Then shewing to the Envoy of *Dioclesian* his Riches, he said, *His Subjects Money was all at his Devotion; but he never thought it safer, than when they were the Keepers of his Treasury.*

Galerius was by his Birth a *Dacian* of mean Parentage. He was called *Armentarius*, because

cause at the first in his Youth, he was but a Keeper of Cattel. His Mother's Name was *Romula*, from which he took an occasion to call the place of his Birth *Romulianus*, and he pretended to say, that his Mother when she conceived of him, was impregnated by a Dragon. He was of a tyrannical Disposition, and much addicted to the Magicks. He was particularly bloody upon the Christians of *Nicomedia*. But coming to die by a Disease which consumed his Secret Parts, and rotted out his Eyes, and parted his Flesh from his Bones, he was so sensible of the Hand of God in it, that he countermanded the Persecution, and begged the Prayers of the Christians unto God for him.

Whilst the moderate *Constantius* contented himself with the Administration of no more than *Gallia*, *Spain* and *Great Britain*, *Galerius* thought fit to create two Cæsars, the one to preside over *Italy*, the other to go into the *East*, who were his two Sister's Sons, *Flavius Valerius Severus*, and *Galerius Maximin*. In which Promotion, pretermittting *Constantine* the Son of *Constantius* by *Helena*, who had all along served under him; and *Constantine* together with his Resentments of that, suspecting a Design against his Person, he made his escape from him, and fled into *Great Britain* to his Father, who was arrived there out of *Gallia*, in order to make War upon the *Caledonians* and the *Picts*. His Father with Joy embraced him, and by the Consent of all the Forces appointed and declared him his Successor; and presently

sently after that, his Father dying at the City of *York* the Eighth of the Kalends of *August* in the Year Three Hundred and Six; then commenced the Reign of the Emperor *Constantine the Great*.

Constantius was Emperor not much above one Year, *Galerius* reigned about six; and both had been before thirteen years Cæsars. They finished the vast Structure of the Baths of *Dioclesian*, which was a Work from the beginning, of seven years. *Galerius* did a great deal of good to the Province of *Pannonia*, by cutting down the Woods, and converting them into Fields, and by opening a Mouth for the Lake *Pelso*, to fall into the *Danube*. He created *Licinius* Emperor in Conjunction with him, towards the end of his Reign, and set him over *Illyricum* and *Thrace*; being one who was his Country-man, a *Dacian*, and who had signalized himself well under him in the Wars of *Persia*. And then *Galerius* died in the manner which hath been said, in the Year three hundred and eleven.

FINIS.

A
CHRONOLOGY
TO BOTH
VOLUMES.

A
CHRONOLOGY
TO THE
First Volume.

Ann. Christi,

96 **D**omitian *kill'd*, Sept. 18.
N E R V A.

97 **C**onspiracy of Calphurnius Crassus *a-*
gainst him.
Adopteth Trajan.
98 *Dies*, Jan. 27.

TRAJAN:

100 **T**HE Dacian War of five Years.
103 *His Bridge over the Danube.*
104 Arabia reduced by Palmas.
105 Decebalus the King of Dacia kills himself.
A a 4 107 Death

CHRONOLOGY.

A.C.

- 107 *Death of Licinius Suras.*
- 108 *The Parthian Expedition.*
- 111 *Deposition of Parthamalyris from the Crown of Armenia.*
- 112 *Armenia, Mēopotamia, Assyria conquered.*
- 114 *Rebellion of the Jews.*
The Forum and Column of Trajan finished.
- 115 *Earthquake at Antioch.*
- 116 *Trajan's Voyage on the Red-Sea.*
Revolt of his Conquests.
- 117 *Adopteth Hadrian.*
Dies, Aug 10.

HADRIAN.

- 118 *P*almas, Celsus, and others killed.
- 119 *He relinquishes the Conquests of Trajan.*
- 122 *Adrianople built.*
- 123 *Expedition into Great Britain.*
- 125 *At Athens initiated in the Eleusinian Myseries.*
- 126 *Passeth into Africa.*
- 127 *Again visiteth Athens.*
- 129 *Erects a Tomb to his Horse.*
- 131 *Death of Antinous.*
- 134 *Sepulchrum Hadriani built.*
- 136 *Adopteth Ælius Verus.*
- 137 *Ælius Verus dies.*
- 138 *Hadrian adopteth Antoninus Pius.*
Dies, July 10.

ANTON.

CHRONOLOGY.

ANTONINUS PIUS.

A.C.

- 139 *A* *Adopteth Marcus Antoninus, Feb. 25.*
- 141 *Repairs the Pons Sublicius at Rome.*
Death of his Wife Faustina.
- 144 *The Britains reduced by Lollius Urbicus.*
- 145 *The Moors, Germans, Dacians, and Alans reduced.*
- 147 *Matches his Daughter to Marcus Antoninus.*
Apollonius the Philosopher of Chalcis invited to Rome.
- 152 *An Inundation of the Tyber.*
- 156 *Attilius Titianus proscribed.*
- 161 *Death, March 6.*

Marcus Antoninus the Philosopher.

- 161 *A* *Associates Verus to him in the Empire.*
The Parthian War of five Years.
- 162 *Agricola sent into Great Britain.*
- 166 *Commodus declared Caesar, Octob. 12.*
- 168 *A great Pestilence.*
- 169 *The Marcomannick War.*
Death of Verus.
- 174 *Victory over the Quadi and Marcomanni.*
- 175 *The Revolt of Cassius.*
- 176 *M. Anton. passeth to Athens.*
- 177 *Triumphs.*
Commodus declared his Associate in the Empire, November 27.
- 178 *Matches Commodus to Crispina.*
- 180 *Death, March 16.*

COM.

CHRONOLOGY.

COMMODUS.

A.C.

- 180 **T**riumphs.
 181 *The Ministry of Perennis,*
 183 *The Britains reduced by Ulpus Marcellus.*
 184 *Assumpt of Pompeianus against the Life of*
Commodus.
Lucilla, Sister to Commodus put to death.
 185 *The Baths of Commodus built.*
 186 *Perennis killed.*
 187 *The Ministry of Cleander.*
 190 *Cleander killed.*
Commodus putteth his own Head upon the
Coloss of the Sun.
 192 *Acteth Hercules.*
Death.

PERTINAX.

- 126 **B**ORN.
 167 *Defeateth the Germans under the Reign*
of M. Antoninus.
 193 *His Death, March 28.*

DIDIUS JULIANUS.

- 193 **D**eposed and killed, June —

SEVERUS.

- 194 **D**efeats and slays Pescennius Niger.
 196 *Victories in the East.*
Declares Caracalla Cæsar, June 1.
 198 Over-

CHRONOLOGY.

A.C.

- 198 *Overcomes, and kills Albinus.*
Declares Caracalla Emperor with him, and
Geta Cæsar.
 200 *His Expedition against Parthia.*
 202 *Edict as to the Christians and Jews.*
 203 *Marrieth Caracalla to Plautilla.*
Triumphs.
 205 *Plautianus killed.*
 208 *Expedition into Great Britain.*
 210 *His Wall there built.*
 211 *Death, Febr. 4.*

CARACALLA.

- 212 **G**ETA killed, Febr: 5.
And Papinian.
 213 *His Journey into Gallia.*
 214 *Banishes the Senate from Rome.*
 215 *Marries his Mother-in-Law.*
 216 *Commits a vast Slaughter in Alexandria.*
 217 *His Death, April 8.*

OPILIUS MACRINUS.

- 218 **C**oncludeth a Peace with the Parthians.
Overcome, and killed.

HELIOGABALUS.

- 219 **A**rrives at Rome.
 221 *Adopteth Alexander Severus.*
 222 *Death, March 6.*

ALEX-

CHRONOLOGY.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

A.C.

- 225 **M**inistry of Ulpian under him.
Finishes the Baths of Commodus and
Caracalla:
226 Ulpian, killed.
230 Expedition against Artaxerxes.
232 Taurinus executed,
233 Cashes a Legion.
234 Triumphs, Sept. 25.
235 His Death, March 18.

A.

CHRONOLOGY

TO THE

Second Volume.

Ann. Christi,

- 235 **M**aximin lays waste Germany.
236 The Gordiani set up in Africa.
237 Maximus and Balbinus set up by the Senate.
Siege of Aquileia.
Death of the Maximins.
238 The Death of Maximus and Balbinus.
240 Revolt of Sabinianus against Gordianus
the Third.
241 The Marriage of Gordianus the Third.
242 His Expedition into the East.
243 Death of Mysitheus.
244 Gordianus the Third, Deposed and Killed.
250 The Philips Overcome and Slain.
251 Valerian Elected Censor, Octob. 27.

Death

CHRONOLOGY.

A. C.

- Death of the Decii.*
 252 — of Gallus and Volusianus.
 253 — of Æmilian.
 254 Valerian Associates Gallienus with him in the Empire.
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of

The Lives of the

of Antoninus Caracalla, but without any Dedication. As for that of Antoninus Geta, we find it addressed to Constantinus Augustus. It seems also from the beginning of the Life of Ælius Verus, as if he had written the Lives of those Emperors, who reigned before Adrian. And about the latter end of the Life of that Emperor, he gives us a view of what he had designed, in these words; Having proposed to my self to write the History of all those, who since the time of Julius, have been called *Cæsars*, or *Augustus*, or that have been Princes adopted, or Natural Sons of the Emperors, or * Consecrated as *Cæsar's* Kindred. But we have no Reason to believe that he ever finished that Design, since Vopiscus, who lived after him, affirms in the Life of Aurelian, that the Life of that Prince had never been written by any one before himself. As to the rest, the Learned Salmasius tells us, that in the Collection of Spartian's Works, which he found in the Palatine Library, there were further attributed to him the Life of Antoninus Pius, and those of Antoninus the Philosopher, of Verus, of Pertinax, of Clodius Albinus, and of Macrinus, which are published under the Name of Julius Capitolinus, and also that of Avidius Cassius, commonly supposed to be written by Vulcatius Gallicanus; and moreover, the Lives of Commodus, of Antoninus Diadumenus, of Heliogabalus, and of Alexander Severus, which are attributed to Lampridius. But I shall have occasion to speak hereafter of those which are supposed to be written by Vulcatius and Lampridius. As for the other that go under the Name of Julius Capitolinus, Vossius

* This relates to their Apotheosis.

Six Historians.

had this Opinion of them, viz. that the particular Collection of Lives, above mentioned, in the Palatine Library, is no sufficient Reason for us to recede from the commonly received Opinion that Capitolinus was the Author of them; nor ought we to be at all surprised that we find here as many Books as there are Lives, nor yet at what Capitolinus himself somewhere tells us, that he would if he saw it convenient, include the Lives of two or more Emperors together in one Volume; for in fine, he was not always of the same mind, having in the beginning designed a similar Book for each Life, and afterwards put several Lives in one, as is evident from the beginning of the Lives of the Gordiani, whereof we will treat more largely in the Life of Capitolinus. As for the Style of Spartianus, and the other Composers of the following History, which we find commonly joyn'd together. Erasmus has this of them in his Ciceronian. One can find nothing, besides the Truth of the History, in those Authors that is useful or entertaining; for, to speak the Truth of them, they retain very little of the Purity of the Latin Tongue. But here Erasmus is a little too severe, and what Reputation soever he may have acquired for Learning, and particularly for his Knowledge in the Latin Tongue, yet in this case, we ought no more to rely on what he says, than on Horace in the Case of Plautus, or on Quintilian in that of Seneca and some others, who, notwithstanding their Reflections, have continued to preserve an inviolable Reputation.

Vulcatius Gallicanus

THE SENATOR.

TO understand how far Vulcatius Gallicanus had engag'd himself to give us the History of the times wherein he lived, we need only have recourse to those words of his, in the Life of Avidius Cassius, which is the only one he has left us, viz. I design, says he, to Dioclesian Augustus, to write the Lives of all those, who, either justly or unjustly, have been stiled Emperor, to the end, to represent as it were at once to your view, all that have arrived to the Imperial Dignity, or been honoured by the Title of Augustus. But it is certain that he never accomplish'd that Design, since Vopiscus (as I before mentioned) tells us, speaking of himself, that he was the first that ever writ the Life of Aurelian; and we may safely conclude that Vopiscus lived some time after Vulcatius, since he makes mention of Trebellius Pollio, at the beginning of the Life of Aurelian, and of Julius Capitolinus, and Ælius Lampridius,

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dus at the beginning of the Life of Probus. But those were all contemporary with Vulcatius. But it may not be unworthy our observation, that among the antient Collections of the Works of Spartian, in the Palatine Library, we find that of Avidius Cassius, attributed there to him, as the Learned Salmaſius has remarked, who seems inclinable to think that they are one and the same Author, both by reason of the time wherein he lived, and of the Stile, and same Design of the History; because, as Lampridius relates, he had propos'd to himself to write an History of all the Emperors who lived since Julius Cæsar, who had been stiled by the Title of Cæsar's or Augustus, and to make thereof as many Books, as he should write Lives. Which you may also read in the third Chapter of the Life of Avidius Cassius; The Lives of all those who had either justly or unjustly been stiled Emperors, as we have already remarked. We may add to this, that as it is certain that Lampridius never accomplish'd his Design, so the Author of the Life of Cassius has also left his imperfect: For as I have already said, Vopiscus maintains that no one before him had written the Life of Aurelian, and he has made no mention at all of Vulcatius, when he had a very fair Opportunity of doing it, where he tells us; That in his Memoirs, he would content himself to imitate Gargilius Martialis, Julius Capitolinus, Ælius Lampridius, and others, who, in what they had transmitted to Posterity, had been more observant of the Truth of the History, than of elegance of Style. But it may be said, that he also comprehended Vulcatius in these words, and

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others, &c. and that he would not express the Name of this Author, because though he might propose to himself to write of all the Emperors, yet that might only be perhaps out of some sort of Emulation of Spartianus, and that there is great probability, he contented himself with only the Life of Avidius, or perhaps some one more that may be since lost. To this also may be added, that if this Life of Cassius had not been written by Vulcatius, how comes it about that it never went under the Name of Spartianus, of Lampridius, or of Capitolinus? Or if there had been any Error in the Manuscripts, it is probable some would have gone under one Name, and some under another, and yet we find in all the Copies, and all the Editions, the Name of Vulcatius Gallicanus prefixt to them, which we find no where else; and in that it is evident, the Copiers were not mistaken.

Julius

Julius Capitolinus.

HE has written the Life of Antoninus Pius, and addressed it to the Emperor Dioclesian; whose Name he makes use of for the Life of Marcus Antoninus the Philosopher, tho' none of the Editions have any Dedication prefix'd to them. He dedicates also to Dioclesian the Life of the Emperor Verus; to which, if that be not rather to be attributed to Spartianus, we may further joyn the Life of Pertinax. For the Life which we have under the Name of Claudius Albinus, is dedicated to the Emperor Constantinus, and not to Dioclesian, as Casaubon thinks in the beginning of his Notes on Spartian. We have also by him the Life of Macrinus, and those of the two Maximini, and of the three Gordiani, dedicated to the same Constantinus. As for those of Maximus and Balbinus, which we have also under his Name, they are without any Dedication, and as for the rest which he writ of other Emperors, they are lost. It is evident that he has not carried on the same Design throughout his Work, of making a particular Book for each Life, as he proposed at the beginning, but has fallen into another Method, as he acquaints us himself at the beginning of the Lives of the Gordiani, where

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he tells us expressly, that he had changed his mind as to that, and afterwards gives us his reason for so doing.

Ælius Lampridius.

THIS Author is one of those whom Vopiscus pretends to imitate in his Life of Probus. We have Four Lives done by him, viz. those of Commodus Antoninus, of Antoninus Diadumenus, of Antoninus Heliogabalus, and of Alexander Severus; the Two latter whereof are dedicated to Constantinus Augustus. But we have some reason to doubt whether Lampridius was the Author of the Life of Alexander Severus. It is true, it is attributed to him in the Edition of Milan, which is the first that was ever extant, but that excellent Manuscript of the Palatine Library, ascribes it to Spartianus, as does also Robertus à Porta of Bologna. But that Collection of Spartianus's Works in the Palatinate, whereof Salmasius speaks, does not only, ascribe this Life to him, but also those of the Three Antonini, which I have just now mentioned; which if it be true, there will not one remain for Lampridius. But, be it as it will, we have no Reason to give more Credit to the Palatine Collection, than to so many other

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other Manuscripts of Spartianus which have been published. Which notwithstanding if it seem to bear too much upon those of the contrary Opinion, I shall be willing to persuade my self that Ælius Spartianus, and Ælius Lampridius were the same Person, it being easie to apply that of Aulonius to the present Case.

Three names are commonly affected by Persons of Quality.

Moreover, besides those three or four Lives, Spartianus writ some other between them and that of Marcus Antoninus, whereof he makes mention in the beginning of the Life of Commodus: and yet notwithstanding did not Compose the Lives of all the Emperors down to Constantinus, or to Dioclesian, as one may easily guess from the Life of Aurelian written by Vopiscus.

Thus, as far as I see, we may without much difficulty Concede that Ælius Spartianus, and Ælius Lampridius were the same Person, under three names, as I have said before. And if this, or both, were of the Family of the Æliani, from which the Emperor Adrian also was descended, their Original was illustrious enough: but this is all very uncertain, and we can draw no satisfactory Conclusions from it.

. Trebellius

Trebellius Pollio.

IN the first Edition of this Author which was at Milan, we find him called Trevellius, and not Trebellius, according to Aventinus's Correction, in the second Book of his Annals, where he speaks of Ancient Writers: But that, in the Opinion of Vossius, was not at all necessary, For among Ancient Inscriptions, says he, you may find, Trebellius Pelidianus, Trebellius Marinus, Proconsul, Trebellia Tyche, and such like. We may add that Trebellius is formed from Trebius, which is very frequently found among the said Inscriptions, as Trebius Germanus, Trebius Longus, Trebia C.F. Filumena. Nay, as Salmasius remarks, there are some Ancient Manuscripts to be seen, wherein this very Author is called Trebius Pollio. Be it as it will, This Pollio, says Flavius Vopiscus in the Life of Aurelian, Has Composed an History of the Emperors both those that have render'd themselves famous, and those that have led obscure Lives, down from the two Philips to Claudius, and his Brother Quintilius. But there remains of this Authors, neither the Lives of the Philips, nor the Life of Decius, who succeeded the Philips; neither those of Gallus and Volusia-

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Volusianus, who came after Decius. Also we have only one part left of the Life of Valerianus the Father, towards the end: but we have that which follows, and also the Life of Valerianus the Son, the Lives of the two Gallieni, and of the thirty Tyrants who usurped the Empire in the time of Gallienus.

As to his Book, which he Entitles of the thirty Tyrants, it seems to have a respect to the thirty Tyrants which Commanded in Athens after Lyfander; and without doubt this Author had a fancy to parallel the Roman Empire with that State, in having also thirty Tyrants in the time of Valerianus and Gallienus, because there were several. But he reckons no more than twenty nine, wherefore to make up the number of thirty he adds Valens to them, who liv'd before, and indeed he himself owns that he revolted in the time of Decius. But if we may exceed the time of Valerianus, and Gallienus, we may add a great many more besides Valens. Howsoever so small a fault as this scarce deserves Criticising upon the Judgment of this Historian: and there is yet less reason to reflect on him for his admitting two Women into his List of Tyrants, viz. Zenobia and Victoria: for it is common to denominate things from the Nobler Gender; thus you see Women admitted into the number of Illustrious Poets, as Sappho and Corinna; but for this Trebellius excuses himself at the latter end of his Work. He liv'd in the time of Constantius Chlorus, Father of Constantinus,

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stantinus, as we may easily Conjecture, since he mentions him in the beginning of the Life of the Emperor Claudius, Brother of Quintilius. Which agrees very well with what he says of his Uncles being a Familiar Friend of the young Tetricus one of the thirty Tyrants.

Vopiscus commends the diligence of this Historian at the beginning of the Life of Firmus. Furthermore, if we consider the time wherein he lived, his Language and Stile are not unworthy of praise, whereof Gesner in the first Tome of his Bibliotheca, gives this Encomium, that they are not without both Politeness and Nicety; but that in some places his Stile rises a little too high for History: and Vossius is of the same Opinion.

Flavius

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Flavius Vopiscus.

THIS Author, a Sicilian Born at Syracuse, has writ the Life of the Emperor Aurelian, and also of Tacitus, and his Brother Florianus; to which he likewise adds that of Probus, which he Dedicateth to Rufus Celsus, as he calls him in the Life of Firmus. Afterwards he Composed those of the four Tyrants, Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus and Bonosus, and lastly those of the three Emperors Carus, Numerianus, and Carinus at once, which is all remains of his; for we have no Author that attributes any thing else to him. As for the time wherein he liv'd we have sufficient Authorities to ascertain it. He tells us himself that his Uncle was present at that Harangue made when Aper was killed by Dioclesian. In the Life of Carinus he Celebrates the praises of Dioclesian and Maximinian, of Galerius and Constantius, and says that each of their Lives was written in so many particular Books by Claudius Eusthenius, Secretary to Dioclesian: And says on that very Subject, it must not be Expected that he should do the same, because it is very dangerous to Write the Histories of Princes while they are alive. Whence it is Evident that he lived

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lived after the time Constantius Chlorus, Father of Constantinus. And he says in the Life of Aurelian, We have at present Constantius for our Emperor. But I am apt to think that that was the first Life he Writ, and that he Composed that of Carinus after the death of Constantius; for if it be not so, in the room of Constantius we must read the Emperor Constantinus, or else understand Constantius, Son of the said Constantinus. But the first of these two Opinions is far the most probable; and certainly, by those words which we find in the Life of Probus, it is Evident that he Writ long before that the Life of Aurelian, viz. But since no other undertakes it, I cannot suffer, after having been the only Person that has Writ the Life of Aurelian (which I did as exactly as I could) and having also Composed the Lives of Tacitus and Florianus, that that of Probus, and the memory of his glorious Actions should lye buried in silence. If I live I design also to write all the Lives of the Princes since his time down to Maximian and Dioclesian. Methinks we have reason to praise, in Vopiscus, besides his Learning, the order which he always observes, in the recital of what he Writes; which Spartianus, Capitolinus, and the other Authors of the Imperial History have not took so much care of, since in the Judgment of several, Affairs therein are far more Confused. He had likewise proposed to himself to Write the Life of Apollonius Tyanæus, whose Sorceries the Gentiles made use of to oppose, and set up against the true Miracles of Jesus Christ, and in the Life of Aurelian he calls that Impo-
stor,

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stor, A Person who had acquir'd a vast Reputation by his Wisdom, in the ancient Opinions of the Philosophers, a real Friend of Truth, and worthy of Divine Honours. And a little after. What Person was ever seen more holily, more venerable, more possessed of the Opinions of the Ancients, and more Divine among Men? He restored Life to the Dead, and both spoke, and did many things above the reach of human Power. But if any one would know more as to the particulars, let him read those Grecian Authors who have written his Life. From these words it is easie to guess, what a Rhapsody of Lies we might have expected from Vopiscus concerning this Person, whom he so much admired, if he had writ his Life, which he presently after promises in Language which sufficiently testifies the Veneration he paid to his memory.

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